LIFE of POPE LEO XIII

FROM AN AUTHENTIC MEMOIR

MGR. O'REILLY

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LIFE OF LEO XIII

FROM AN AUTHENTIC MEMOIR

THIS BOOK IS ISSUED

WITH THE

APPROBATION AND BLESSING

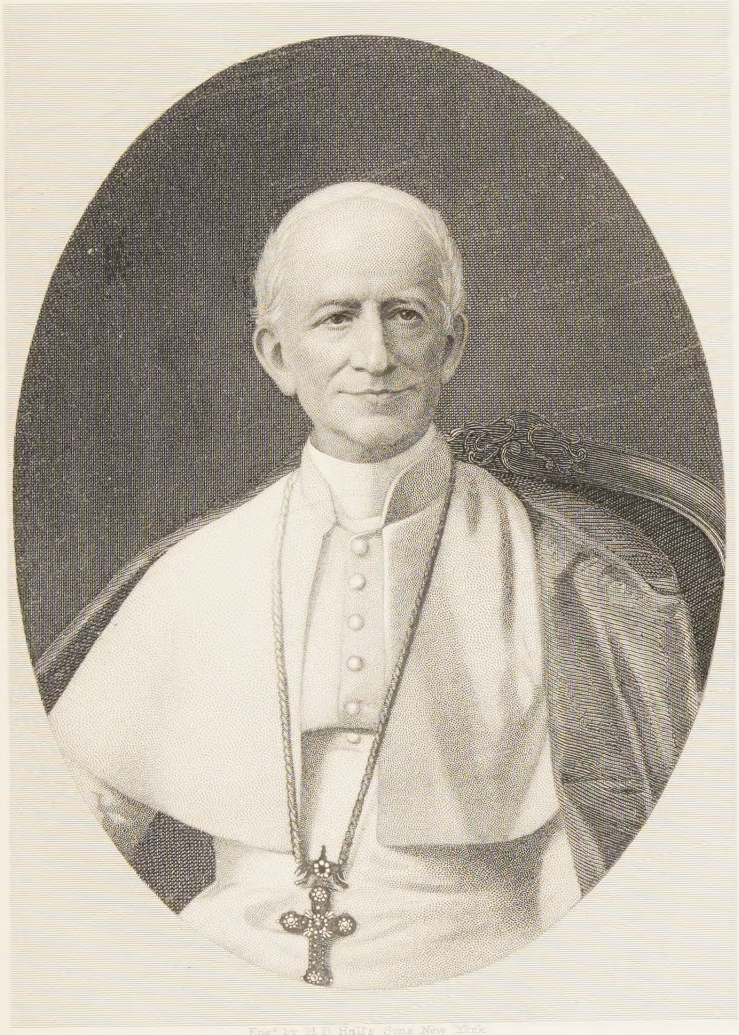
OF

The Pope,

AS A SOUVENIR

OF HIS

GOLDEN JUBILEE YEAR.



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Leo P. P. XIII.

THE ABOVE PORTRAIT OF LEO XIII WAS SELECTED BY HIS HOLINESS FROM HIS PRIVATE CABINET, AND PRESENTED WITH HIS AUTOGRAPH SIGNATURE, TO MR WEBSTER EXPRESSLY FOR THIS BOOK.

Rome, July 13, 1886. Bernard O'Reilly.

LIFE OF LEO XIII

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HIS HOLINESS THE POPE

BY

Right Rev. BERNARD O'REILLY, D. D., D. Lit. (Laval,)

Domestic Prelate of His Holiness, Pope Leo XIII.

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TO HIS EMINENCE JAMES CARDINAL GIBBONS,

Archbishop of Baltimore.

YOUR EMINENCE: It is most fitting that this biography of LEO XIII., the work of an American priest, should be dedicated to you.

You have shed a new lustre on the See of Baltimore, first filled, a century ago, by John Carroll—an ever dear and honored name among Americans—since adorned by the learning of a Kenrick and the eloquence of a Spalding, and hallowed by the apostolic virtues of the archbishops who preceded and followed them.

Two years have not passed since the Christian world beheld you, at the head of eighty-six prelates, opening the Third National Council of Baltimore, the most important ever held in the New World. We all know now with what exceeding care the Holy Father had prepared and disposed all things for this great assemblage. He would have the work done there to be considered in a special manner his own. In the impossibility of presiding in person, he committed to you the charge of representing him; he followed the proceedings of that august body with absorbing interest, and approved of their acts with often expressed satisfaction.

In raising to the supreme honors of the Roman Purple the Apostolic Delegate who had so admirably presided over these momentous deliberations, LEO XIII. has fulfilled the wishes and prayers of the American Church and ratified the judgment of the entire American people.

That Your Eminence may be spared to see Religion extend her sway while our Republic advances in all that constitutes Christian civilization, and that the teachings and examples of the life herein sketched may become to our land the LUMEN IN CŒLO foretold long ago, is the prayer of

Your devoted servant,

BERNARD O'REILLY, S.T.D.

ROME, June 3, 1886.

BELOW IS THE REDUCED FAC-SIMILE OF A LETTER FROM
HIS EMINENCE JAMES CARDINAL GIBBONS ARCHBISHOP OF BALTIMORE,
ACCEPTING THE FOREGOING DEDICATION.

Baltimore, Nov. 5th 1886

Rev. Dear Father.:

I am deeply grateful to You for your great kindness in dedicating to me the English edition of Your Life of Leo XIII., and for associating my name with the distinguished Cardinal Parocchi whom I had the honor of knowing for several years and to whom You dedicate the French edition.

I shall naturally take a lively interest in the work, not only on account of my relation to it, but still more on account of the august character of the subject who is to-day a spectacle of admiration to the world.

I am happy to learn that the Holy Father has been graciously pleased to bestow his approbation and blessing on the work, and that You have been furnished with authentic and valuable documents bearing upon the life of the illustrious Pontiff.

Believe me Yrs. Very Sincerely in X.

Rev. Bernard O'Reilly. James Card. Gibbons
Archbp. of Balto.

FROM THE AMERICAN CARDINAL.

BALTIMORE, November 5, 1886.

REV. DEAR FATHER: I am deeply grateful to you for your great kindness in dedicating to me the English edition of your LIFE OF LEO XIII., and for associating my name with the distinguished Cardinal Parocchi, whom I have had the honor of knowing for several years, and to whom you dedicate the French edition.

I shall naturally take a lively interest in the work, not only on account of my relation to it, but still more on account of the august character of the subject, who is to-day a spectacle of admiration to the world.

I am happy to learn that the Holy Father has been graciously pleased to bestow his approbation and blessing on the work, and that you have been furnished with authentic and valuable documents bearing upon the life of the illustrious Pontiff.

Believe me, yours very sincerely in Christ,

JAMES CARDINAL GIBBONS,
Archbishop of Baltimore.

REV. BERNARD O'REILLY.

BELOW IS THE FAC-SIMILE OF A LETTER FROM
CARDINAL LUCIDO MARIA PAROCCHI, VICAR OF HIS HOLINESS LEO XIII.

Monsieur:

Le Révérend Docteur O'Reilly m'a communiqué votre désir de publier la Vie du Saint Père Léon XIII., qu'il vient d'écrire avec l'encouragement l'approbation et la bénédiction de Sa Sainteté, sur documents authentiques et autorisés, avec le concours et la direction de personnes haut-placées près du Souverain Pontife.

Je vous en félicite dans l'intérêt de la foi et de la civilisation, auxquelles Léon XIII. consacre toujours son génie avec le dévouement d'un grand Chrétien et d'un grand Pape. En souhaitant à votre entreprise si digne du plus heureux succès, les divines bénédictions, j'ai l'honneur de me dire

Rome, 27 avril 1886.

Mr Charles L. Webster

Votre très-dévoué serv.

L. M. Parocchi

Cardinal Vicaire de Sa Sainteté.

CARDINALIS VICARIUS URBIS

Translation of the letter on the opposite page from Cardinal Parocchi, Vicar of His Holiness Leo XIII.

SIR: The Reverend Doctor O'Reilly has informed me of your desire to publish the Life of OUR HOLY FATHER LEO XIII., which he has just written with the ENCOURAGEMENT, the APPROBATION, and the BLESSING OF His Holiness, from AUTHENTIC and AUTHORIZED DOCUMENTS, with the concurrence and the direction of persons high placed near the Sovereign Pontiff.

I congratulate you thereupon in the interest of faith and of civilization, to which Leo XIII. ever consecrates his genius with the devotion of a great Christian and a great Pope. While wishing your undertaking, deserving as it is of the greatest success, the divine blessing, I have the honor to be,

Your very devoted servant,

L. M. PAROCCHI,

Cardinal Vicar of His Holiness.

ROME, April 27, 1886.

MR. CHARLES L. WEBSTER.

LETTER OF COMMENDATION FROM HIS EMINENCE JOHN CARDINAL SIMEONI, PREFECT OF THE PROPAGANDA.

S. Congregazione di Propaganda,

Segreteria,

N. 152.

Risposta intorno alla Vita

di Leone XIII.

Rome, January 21, 1887.

Reverend Sir:

I received not long ago your two letters. I am much pleased to learn that the editing of the first volume of your Life of the Holy Father is happily approaching its completion. I congratulate both yourself and Mr. Webster on the activity and energy displayed TO MAKE OF THIS WORK A SPLENDID ONE, in every way worthy of the subject, and in spite of the opposition encountered and of more than one serious difficulty met with, and successfully overcome. I entertain a firm confidence, and I pray with all my heart that your united efforts may be crowned with gratifying results.

Meanwhile, I also pray our Lord to bestow on you every blessing.

Yours affectionately,

JOHN CARDINAL SIMEONI, *Prefect.*

✠ D., Archbishop of Tyre, *Secretary*

Dr. Bernard O'Reilly.

FROM THE ARCHBISHOP OF NEW YORK.

452 MADISON AVENUE,
NEW YORK.

NOVEMBER 29, 1886.

MR. CHARLES L. WEBSTER:

DEAR SIR: From your favor, of recent date, I am glad to learn that THE LIFE OF POPE LEO XIII., written by the Rev. Dr. O'Reilly, is now completed, and will very soon be given to the public, in the Jubilee Year of the Sovereign Pontiff. From very many points of view the luminous career of Pope Leo XIII. is full of interest. In your publication this interest is enhanced, first, by the fact that the narrative is drawn from authentic sources, and next that it is presented in the graceful and polished style already so favorably known to the large circle of Dr. O'Reilly's readers.

I congratulate you, therefore, on the happy thought of this important contribution to the Holy Father's Golden Jubilee, and I trust that your success will be commensurate with your enterprise and your labors in offering to us all a rare gem in a handsome setting.

I am, my dear sir,

Very respectfully yours,

M. A. CORRIGAN,

Archbishop of New York.

THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

THE life of Leo XIII. has been devoted, next to the divine interests of souls, to the culture and advancement of letters and science. What he effected by his generous patronage and bright example in Perugia, and wherever he could exercise influence, the following chapters will fully relate. What he has effected in Rome and throughout the Catholic world during his Pontificate we shall also record there.

Leo XIII. stands forth even now as one of the most cultivated scholars of the present or of any past century. His Encyclical Letters, apart from their opportuneness, their doctrinal authority, and their wonderful grasp of the moral needs and dangers of Christian society, are acknowledged to be masterpieces of literary composition, models of the purest and most exquisite Latinity.

But superior to all these qualities of intellectual culture is the man's own *stainless character*, a saintly life lending tenfold authority to his exalted station, and to the recognized abilities of the ruler and the statesman.

The work which is here laid before the public is one that ought to commend itself to every man and woman in both hemispheres.

Even those who most differ from Leo XIII. and the Church of which he is the head, are fain to acknowledge that no other teacher in modern centuries has given utter-

ance to such pregnant, needful, and far-reaching words of inspired wisdom.

If Christian society, and with it Christian civilization, are to subsist and endure, it must be—all acknowledge it—on the basis laid down by the Pontiff in his wonderful Encyclical *Immortale Dei.*

But all Christian men and women, to whom, in an age running so fast into the reckless extravagance and furious appetite for luxury and sensual enjoyment of the Imperial Roman world, the return to the Gospel ideals and practices is a cherished dream, must hail the law of Christian living laid down by Leo XIII. as a raising anew on high of the banner of Christ.

To scholars of every land, no matter what department of learning they cultivate, the name of Leo XIII. must ever be an honored, if not a cherished, name.

It is not so much that he has himself been all his life an unwearied student and an admired publicist, as that, both before and after his elevation to the Pontificate, he has been the consistent advocate and generous promoter of education in its truest and noblest sense, of a thorough education for the people as well as for the leading classes.

This is clearly shown by what he attempted and achieved in Perugia; by what he has strenuously endeavored to accomplish in Rome in the face of the most adverse circumstances; and by the encouragement given and the sacrifices made by him, throughout Italy and the entire Christian world, to found great educational centres worthy of the age and its requirements.

Nor has the world-wide fame of Leo XIII. as a scholar failed to help him less wonderfully than his diplomatic skill toward winning the confidence of governments and peoples. It is his reputation for superhuman prudence, for moderation, and for the most varied learning that has enabled him

to restore friendly relations between the Holy See and the most hostile non-Catholic Powers; that has helped him to prevent an open rupture with more than one cabinet; that has caused him to be chosen as Arbitrator between Germany and Spain; and that has gained him the happiness of concluding with Portugal a Concordat healing the inveterate and complicated grievances arising out of the Portuguese protectorate over the East-Indian churches.

Enlightened public opinion, founded on the exquisite tact shown by the Pontiff in dealing with ecclesiastical matters in Great Britain, demands even now that British statesmen shall treat the Holy See with the same deference and respect shown by those of Berlin. There are mighty questions threatening the internal peace of the Three Kingdoms, which the far-seeing wisdom of the Head of Christendom and the inviolable sense of justice of the common Parent of Christians can alone solve satisfactorily and once for all.

In this connection we cannot regard as without a providential purpose the fact that Leo XIII. is the only Pope who, since the reign of Henry VIII., has set foot on the shores of England, and studied there the great social, political, and religious problems, on the solution of which depends the future of civilization.

BERNARD O'REILLY.

ROME, June 7, 1886.

NOTE.—The AUTHENTIC MANUSCRIPT MEMOIR, placed in our hands by THE VATICAN to serve us as a guide in our narrative, is designated as MS. in our quotations throughout this volume.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

PART FIRST.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

Lumen in Cœlo: "The Light in the Heavens"—What the reader will find in this Life..... PAGE 33–36

CHAPTER II.

Carpineto, the Birth-place of Leo XIII.—The mountain-town; history and description—The home of the Pecci; parents and children—Who the Pecci were—Birth of Joachim Vincent Pecci, now Leo XIII.—His Mother: her virtues; a model wife, mother, and Christian..... 37–45

CHAPTER III.

Social and religious condition of Italy when Vincent Pecci was a child—Early education under the Jesuits at Viterbo and in Rome—Uncommon promise of Joachim Vincent Pecci—His early taste for Latin literature and proficiency in the language—The Countess Pecci's devotion to St. Francis of Assisi shared by her children—The Third Order of St. Francis—Vacations at Carpineto—Sickness and death of Countess Pecci.. 46–62

CHAPTER IV.

Leo XII. succeeds Pius VII.—He reorganizes the great schools in Rome—Vincent Pecci at the "Roman College," or Gregorian University—Success at the end of his under-graduate course—He studies philosophy and the sciences—A great disappointment—Character and conduct of the young man of twenty—The Jubilee of 1825—Leo XII. walking barefooted and in penitential weeds through the streets of Rome—Pious enthusiasm of the youth of the schools—Again on the hills at Carpineto... 63–74

CHAPTER V.

DRAWN TO THE SERVICE OF GOD.

Among the divinity students of the Roman College—Rising above his fellows—How the great Jesuit school fostered a noble intellectual ambition—In the Academy or College of Nobles—Aiming higher and higher still—The University of SAPIENZA—The holy friendships formed by Joachim Pecci—Cardinals Sala and Pacca prize him—Initiated in the science of administration—Pecci ably assists Cardinal Sala during the cholera—HOLY ORDERS: sub-deaconship and deaconship—The beautiful church in which Cardinal Odescalchi ordained Joachim Pecci—The saintly memories which cluster around the tomb of St. Stanislas Kostka—The monument of Charles Emmanuel IV., King of Sardinia and Piedmont, who died an humble lay-brother here—Joachim Pecci ordained a priest, Dec. 31, 1837 .....APPENDIX A and B: The University of Sapienza..... PAGE 75–87

PART SECOND.

ADMINISTRATIVE AND DIPLOMATIC CAREER.

CHAPTER VI.

Delegate or Governor of Benevento at twenty-eight—Peculiar difficulties in his way—Dangerous illness—The people praying for his recovery—Recovery; energetic administration—How Monsignor Pecci dealt with smugglers and brigands—How he treated guilty nobles—The young Governor a true statesman—How he develops the resources of the province—His recall; death of his Father.....APPENDIX C: The College of Cardinals. 91–101

CHAPTER VII.

Monsignor Pecci appointed Delegate or Governor of Umbria—First acquaintance with PERUGIA—The cause of unrest in the Papal States—What Mazzini and Young Italy wanted—Monsignor Pecci's practical mind—Reception of Gregory XVI. in Umbria—His extreme satisfaction with Mgr. Pecci—Reforms effected in the province by the Delegate—Not a single criminal in the prisons of Perugia—Recalled to Rome..... 102–109

CHAPTER VIII.

NUNCIATURE IN BELGIUM.

Monsignor Pecci appointed Nuncio to Belgium—Consecrated Archbishop of Damietta—Constitutional Government in Belgium—The country a fair battle-ground between religion and irreligion—Birth of the Belgian Constitution—The King—The school question in Belgium—Its extreme importance in that country—Impression made by Archbishop Pecci at the Court of Brussels—A saintly Queen and her influence—The undenominational University of Brussels—The Catholic College of St. Michael—Lively interest taken by the Nuncio in this institution—The Belgian Episcopate revive the UNIVERSITY OF LOUVAIN—Monsignor Pecci in Louvain—Difficult position of the Nuncio between the political parties—His qualities and personal influence as remembered by Belgians—He interferes between Catholics themselves—He advises the founding in Rome of the Belgian College—The people of Perugia ask the Pope to give them for bishop Monsignor Pecci..... 110–126

PAGE

CHAPTER IX.

STUDYING LONDON, PARIS, AND ROME.

Universal regret in Belgium at Monsignor Pecci's recall—Joachim Pecci in LONDON—Knowledge obtained about the Three Kingdoms—Joachim Pecci in PARIS—Court and throne on a volcano—Joachim Pecci in ROME—The Pope sick to death—His true character and services—First acquaintance with Pius IX.—What the Archbishop-Bishop of Perugia saw in Rome in the first month of Pius IX.'s reign—The true story about Monsignor Pecci's appointment to the See of Perugia—He visits Assisi before entering Perugia—How his people received him—Why he entered Perugia on the Feast of St. Ann: the sweet memory of his Mother—The Perugians, and the revolutionary passions at work among them—Forecast..... 127–139

PART THIRD.

JOACHIM PECCI'S GLORIOUS EPISCOPATE IN PERUGIA.

CHAPTER X.

PREPARING FOR THE BATTLE

EDUCATION the first care of the Bishop of Perugia—He takes for his model in this St. Charles Borromeo—The true need of the Italian populations in 1846. I. EDUCATION OF THE CLERGY: 1. What the MEMOIR says about his educational labors—The

Diocesan Seminary "the apple of his eye"—His generous and intelligent expenditure—His attention to perfect order and discipline—Strong and careful culture—He calls attention to the scientific method of St. Thomas Aquinas—What his method really is—"Academy of St. Thomas Aquinas"....2. Laboring to raise the level of *spiritual* as well as that of *intellectual* culture—How such husbandry was rewarded—Testimony from the MEMOIR..... PAGE 143–166

CHAPTER XI.

PREPARING FOR THE BATTLE.

II. *The Second Education of the Clergy*—SANCTITY and SCIENCE: 1. Walking with them in the paths of holiness—He makes them his joint fellow-laborers in all pastoral charities—Testimony from the MEMOIR—His own private life a MIRROR—RULES OF CONDUCT for his priests—"An exemplary and laborious life"....2. They must be LEARNED; they are the expounders and defenders of Revealed Truth..... 167–176

CHAPTER XII.

IN THE BATTLE.

III. The Bishop in the conflict defends and protects his priests—The Revolution resolves to extinguish the Priesthood—Cardinal Pecci's defensive measures—Pastoral Letter—Society for redeeming clerical students from enforced military service—His society eminently successful—Needs of the clergy, beggared by the "sequestration" and "incameration" of ecclesiastical property—A private relief fund established at the Cardinal's instance—The Royal *exequatur* forbidding bishop or priest from being installed in office or drawing their revenues without Government license—The military law compelling priests to serve in the ranks of the army—Magnificent REMONSTRANCE drawn up by Cardinal Pecci and addressed to the King—A courageous arraignment of the Revolution, of the King himself, and his Ministers—They simply want to extinguish religion and morality in Italy, and to make it impossible to send missionaries abroad 177–185

CHAPTER XIII.

JOACHIM PECCI THE GREAT BENEFACTOR OF PERUGIA.

A pregnant chapter—A bird's-eye view of the entire field of the Bishop's activity—Famine and earthquakes desolating Umbria—What the son of Anna Pecci did and made others do—

The devoted Bishop and Good Shepherd in 1860, when the city was stormed by the Piedmontese—Death-struggle between the Church and the Revolution—Cardinal Pecci confronts the enemies of religion as the leader of his brother-bishops and the Champion of Religion—What the MEMOIR says—Female education not neglected in the struggle—Defending the Ladies of the Sacred Heart—Institutions founded, or improved, for every want of soul or body, for all classes, sexes, and ages—All-embracing charity—Cardinal Pecci's Pastoral Visitations of his diocese—His zeal in building and restoring churches; his great generosity..... 186–195.

PAGE

CHAPTER XIV.

IN THE BATTLE.

Cardinal Pecci, as Bishop of Perugia, undertakes to thoroughly enlighten his people on the errors of the day—Pastoral Letter on the abuses of magnetism....I. His Pastoral on the Temporal Dominion of the Holy See—An admirable exposition of the entire Roman Question—Prophetic picture of what was to be the position in Rome of Pius IX. and Leo XIII.—Cardinal Pecci reveals the secret designs of the Revolutionary conspirators—A strong appeal to the Perugians—The traditional devotion to the Popes of the old mediæval city....II. Fidelity to Pius IX. in the face of the triumphant Revolution—Joachim Pecci the well-inspired spokesman of his brethren—He indignantly denounces the frauds of the Piedmontese, and spurns, in their name, the bribes offered to bishops and priests..... 196–212

CHAPTER XV.

THE FIERCE BATTLE WITH ANTI-CHRIST.

I. *Cardinal Pecci defends the liberty of the Church*—England and France in 1859–61 siding with the powers of evil—Terrible propaganda of impiety and immorality all through Central Italy in those years—Eloquent Remonstrance of the Archbishop and Bishops of the Marches—Joint PROTEST of the Archbishops and Bishops of Umbria, drawn up by Cardinal Pecci—The noble appeal for the rights of Christian truth and freedom .II. *Cardinal Pecci's defence of the Christian Family*—Christian matrimony set aside by the Piedmontese invaders—Memorable DECLARATION drawn up by the Cardinal in the name of his Brother-Bishops—His noble letter to the King on the same subject—Consequences of this anti-Christian law—A golden lesson for American statesmen and

churchmen on divorce laws....III. *Cardinal Pecci enlightening the Christian homes of his people*—His beautiful Pastoral on Current Errors and Christian Life—Words deserving of being printed in letters of gold—"Scientific instruction without religious teaching will give you clever young men and women; religious education will give you *honest and virtuous citizens*"..... 213–235

PAGE

CHAPTER XVI.

The Battle for his Clergy growing fiercer—The worst enemies and persecutors of the clergy were apostate priests—Terrible indictment against them of Cardinal Newman—Numbers of these returning into the States of the Church with the Piedmontese armies—They inspired and encouraged the worst laws against the Church—Abolition of the courts which had condemned them—Education, charity, and beneficence secularized—The Religious Orders abolished by the Royal Commissary, Marquis Pepoli—Protest of Cardinal Pecci—Sacrileges committed in Perugia—The indignant Letter to the King in favor of the Religious Orders—Another indignant remonstrance to the King on the suppression of the Monastery of Monte Corona—The commissary has done everything to thwart the King's merciful intentions—Incredible duplicity and cruelty—All these steps availed nothing—Cardinal Pecci sued before the courts and acquitted—Multitudes of Religious of both sexes dispossessed of everything and reduced to extreme want—His efforts to relieve them—He once more resists the exercise of the Royal *exequatur*—His noble protest against this enslaving of the Church—The new legislation subjects every function and act of the bishop and priest to the inspection of State functionaries—A terrible arraignment in his Collective Letter to the King—All the Government persecutions and punishments are for the good and faithful priests; all the favors and rewards for the fractious and the wrong-doer..... 236–253

CHAPTER XVII.

A pause in the conflict; two family feasts—1. Celebrating Joachim Pecci's elevation to the Cardinalate... 2. Perugia celebrates his Episcopal Silver Jubilee—Feasting with sad hearts—Prophetic significance of the public prayers... 3. Made protector of the Franciscan Third Order—A spiritual feast at Assisi—The most effective reform for the whole of Christian society everywhere—How people in the world can be Christ-like—Joachim Pecci striving to restore the Divine Ideal—The beautiful spirit and more beautiful life of Francis of Assisi... 254–269

CHAPTER XVIII.

1877.

1. Cardinal Pecci at the Golden Jubilee of Pius IX.—How the Piedmontese Government attempted to mar the universal joy —Cardinal Pecci, at the head of the Italian Episcopate, addressing Pius IX.—*Crux de Cruce* and *Lumen in Cœlo*....2. Cardinal de Angelis dies; Cardinal Pecci appointed Cardinal Camerlengo—The shadow of the coming cross....3. The light still shining brightly on Perugia—Last Pastoral Letters on the "Church and Civilization"—The first mention in his writings of the *Culturkampf*—Death of Pius IX.—Last words to the Church of Perugia..... 270–284

PAGE

PART FOURTH.

THE PONTIFICATE.

CHAPTER XIX.

I. *The Conclave:* Would the Cardinals be allowed to elect freely? —Cardinal Pecci's firm but prudent counsels—Protest of the Sacred College against the title of King of Italy assumed by Umberto I.—Precautions for the secrecy and security of the Conclave—Opening of the Conclave—First Ballot: 23 votes for Cardinal Pecci; his fears; the shadow of the cross —Second Ballot: 38 votes for Cardinal Pecci; intolerable dread; the shadow deepens; he wants to protest, but is prevented—Third Ballot: 44 votes out of 61 for Cardinal Joachim Pecci—Bowing to the Divine Will—"By what name do you wish to be called?"—"By the name of LEO XIII."—Joy in Rome—Astonishment and joy in Perugia..... 287–307

CHAPTER XX.

II. *Lumen in Cœlo*—Congratulations from all the Catholic Powers—The first Papal blessing given within the Basilica of St. Peter—The second PRISONER OF THE VATICAN—Crowned in the privacy of the Vatican—The greeting of Catholic Spain to Leo XIII. —Illumination in Rome—The police allow the roughs to smash all lighted windows—The first acts of Leo XIII.: Restoration of the Scotch Hierarchy; Encouraging young Artisan Societies in Paris; Encouraging Belgian noblemen to do the same for workingmen—The noble Consistorial Allocution of March 28—First Encyclical Letter. *Inscrutabili*, of April 21— The Italians expected a "liberal policy"; disappointed—

PAGE

The ONE GREAT PROMINENT IDEA in this and in all Leo XIII.'s teachings is the absolute necessity of Christianity, that is, of THE CHURCH, to human society—Analysis of this Encyclical—Contrast between society in the ages when Christianity was reverenced and made the law of life, and the irreligious society of the present age—True and false civilization—What the Popes have done for civilization and humanity in the past—Special benefits conferred by them on Italy—He demands the restoration of the liberty of the Holy See—Impressive appeal to sovereigns, rulers, statesmen not to reject or neglect the aid to be found in the Church and Religion of Christ—Education—The Family—He urges all bishops to disseminate a sound knowledge of Christian Doctrine—Necessity of a sound philosophy for all the sciences, for sacred science in particular—Domestic educati n and the Christian family—Great utility of confraternities or pious guilds.....APPENDIX D: The right of veto in Papal elections..... 308–334

CHAPTER XXI.

ANTI-CHRIST solemnly defies Leo XIII. in Rome—*Apotheosis of Voltaire*—Cardinal Franchi Secretary of State—He makes a journey to Ireland—Dies, and is replaced by Cardinal Nina—Important letter of the Pope to the latter, sketching out the policy he has pursued and intends for the future to follow—Appeal to sovereigns and rulers to accept the aid of the Church—Intolerable tyranny of the Italian Government—Letters of the Pope to the Emperor of Russia and the President of the Swiss Confederacy—The centenary of the death of Voltaire celebrated in Rome by all the anti-Christian societies of France and Italy—A carnival of impiety and blasphemy—It was a solemn declaration of war to the death against the Head of the Christian Church—Acts of solemn reparation by Romans and other European Catholics—The clerical students of the Diocese of Rome visit the Holy Father—The Roman Government forbids the Catechism to be taught in the primary schools—Atheism to be everywhere an inflexible rule in public instruction..... 335–352

CHAPTER XXII.

1878–1879.

Difficulties of the new Pontificate—Pilgrims—Solicitude for France and Germany—Encyclical on SOCIALISM—*The first* JUBILEE—Leo XIII.'s thorough knowledge of the situation of the Papacy in Rome and of the Church throughout Italy—Consolations during the summer of 1878—Pilgrims from Germany—Letter to

the Corporation of CORK—Pilgrims from Spain—Their cruel detention by the officials at Civita Vecchia—Impolicy of annoying or insulting pilgrims—Congress or meeting of Catholic journalists in Rome—Address of the Holy Father—Eloquent Letter to the Archbishop of Cologne—Encyclical on SOCIALISM—Description and history of this error—Difference between France and Germany with regard to Socialism—Effects of the Encyclical in the latter country—Lessons for statesmen in all lands—Light breaking in the East..... 353–369

PAGE

CHAPTER XXIII.

LEO XIII. AND THE EASTERN PEOPLES.

I. *Leo XIII. and the Slavonic Races*—Terrible persecutions against Catholics in Russia—Advances made by the Russian Government in June, 1877—Cardinal Simeoni sends for the Czar's perusal an official statement of grievances—Returned unceremoniously without explanation or excuse—The Pope dismisses the Russian Ambassador—Leo XIII.'s endeavor to conciliate—Letter to Alexander II—The two Archdukes, Sergius and Paul, visit Rome—Sudden death of the Emperor—Centenary of the Apostles of the Slavs, SS. Cyril and Methodius, in 1880—Encyclical on their labors—Great enthusiasm among the Slavs—A numerous pilgrimage—Creation of a regular Episcopal Hierarchy in Bosnia and Herzegovina....2. *The Greeks, and the Peoples who cling to the Greek Liturgy*—The Greek National College of St. Athanasius in Rome, founded in 1577 by Gregory XIII., enlarged by Leo XIII., and the course of studies widened and improved....3. *Eastern Peoples of the Ottoman Empire*—An object of most especial solicitude to Leo XIII. from the beginning of his reign—The Sublime Porte learns to prize the salutary influence of the Church—The Babylonian Patriarch, Mgr. Abolionan, officially confirmed by the Sultan—Appeasement of the bloody feud between the Nestorian Jacobites in Syria and the Catholics ...4. End of the Armenian Schism—A repetition in Turkey of the drama of the "Old-Catholic Church" in Germany—"Infallibility" the cloak of ambition and cause of schism—Singular wisdom of Leo XIII.'s clemency to the first repentant sinner; all the others return in succession to the fold—Monsignor Hassun, the Armenian Patriarch, the champion of Faith among the Armenians—He is created a cardinal and made to reside in Rome—Leo XIII. founds in Rome a national college for the Armenians—The Chaldeans have also flourishing seminaries at Mossoul under the Dominicans....*Note:* Leo XIII. intended central universities in Athens and Constantinople..... 370–394

CHAPTER XXIV.

LEO XIII. AND THE EASTERN PEOPLES.

II. *Persia, China, and Japan*—1. The students of the Propaganda and the Ottoman Empire—The Emperor of Persia; his real character—His oldest son, Prince Zel-el-Sultan, most favorable to the Christians—The third, or youngest son, Naïb Sultaneh, equally tolerant and liberal—The Lazarists the efficient missionaries in the Persian Empire—Archbishop Thomas, a Lazarist, and Apostolic Delegate, reports favorably to Rome—Leo XIII. sends the two princes the Grand Cross of Pius IX.—Solemn presentation of the insignia to the princes....2. Letter of the Pope to the Emperor of China—Opening of direct diplomatic intercourse with the Court of Pekin....3. Letter of Leo XIII. to the Emperor of Japan—Favorable dispositions towards the Catholic religion in Japan—Letter to the King of the Shoa Gallas—How Christian civilization can be promoted by commercial enterprise..... 395–404

PAGE

CHAPTER XXV.

LEO XIII. AND GREAT BRITAIN.

1. Gratitude of the Popes for the liberty enjoyed by Catholics in the English-speaking world—The old anti-Papist feeling in England in 1850; a brief manifestation—Growth and prosperity of the Church in Great Britain from 1850 to 1878—The revival in the land of St. Margaret—The sweet hope of a revival of true charity between the islands with the return of the true Faith—The restoration of the Hierarchy in Scotland the first official act recorded of Leo XIII.'s Pontificate—Beautiful language addressed to Scotland—The unfulfilled hope of Pius IX. now an accomplished fact—Eloquent appeal to Scotch Catholics—The hills of Scotland put on gladness—The spirit of St. Margaret and St. David abroad....2. The Apostolic Constitution *Romanos Pontifices*—The glorious story of missionary devotion which led to the relative positions of the old Regular Orders and the restored Hierarchy of England and Scotland—Traditional love of the Holy See for the nation—The national character—Happy settlement of all the present difficulties..... 405–419

CHAPTER XXVI.

LEO XIII. AND IRELAND.

Why Leo XIII. desires to see a cordial union between England and Ireland—The conditions of such a union—The cause of

chronic famine and unrest—The true genesis of crime in Ireland—What Leo XIII. would have seen in Ireland in the autumn of 1879—The Land League—To stop agrarian violence and stifle secret associations the clergy must have the confidence and control of the people—The National Party—The marvellous power of ORGANIZATION—Letter of Leo XIII. to the Irish Hierarchy in January, 1883—"The most righteous cause dishonored by iniquitous means"—Appeal to Irishmen's love for the *Catholic name*—Confidence that the British Government will grant satisfaction to the just claims of Irishmen—New difficulties—Second Letter of the Pope—The just cause of the country to be kept apart from the plots of secret conspirators—The Propaganda Circular—Death of Cardinal McCabe—The Pope confirms the election of Dr. Walsh—What Leo XIII. recommends to Irishmen..... 420–439

PAGE

CHAPTER XXVII.

1881.

Funeral of Pius IX.—Leo XIII. recounts the inhuman outrages of the mob who assailed the funeral cortége of Pius IX.—Minister Mancini's disingenuous statements—Absolute necessity of the Pope's being Sovereign in Rome..... 440–444

CHAPTER XXVIII.

LEO XIII. AND THE UNITED STATES.

First official act in 1884 to convene the Third National Council of Baltimore—The Archbishops summoned to Rome in the November preceding—The coming Council the most important and numerous ever held in the New World—Retrospect: What the United States were when Joachim Pecci was born; the twofold fact underlying the unparalleled prosperity of the American Republic: 1. The people a *religious people*; 2. They were *a practical, conservative people*—Their institutions, hallowed by religion at their birth in the far past, the outgrowth of their social life—The American *Revolution*, or War of Independence, conservative, not revolutionary—The same type preserved in every new State organized—The French Revolution of 1789 essentially *destructive*—Maryland alone contained originally the nucleus of a Catholic population—Its Catholic sons foremost in devotion to the Union—Birth of the Catholic Hierarchy—The Irish Catholic element—The Germans—RELIGION the great formative force in the United States

—Meeting in November, 1884, of the National Council— EIGHTY-THREE prelates telegraph to the Holy Father—Proceedings of the Council—Courtesy and kindness of the Baltimoreans—The Pastoral Letter of the Council; a wonderful document—The warm, patriotic spirit of the Fathers of the Third National Council—Their estimate of Leo XIII.—EDUCATION the chief care of the Council and of the Pope—The Pope and the National Catholic University of America—Elevation to the Cardinalate of the Archbishops of Baltimore and Quebec..... 445–463

PAGE

CHAPTER XXIX.

LEO XIII. AND GERMANY.

The German Difficulty the greatest inherited from the preceding Pontificate—History of the *Culturkampf*, or "Civilization Conflict"—Admirable *organization and cohesion* of the Catholic Party in Germany—The spirit which animates their yearly assemblages or congresses—The "Old-Catholic Church"—A cruel policy doomed to end in discomfiture—Results of the *Culturkampf*—The fruits it had borne in October, 1878—Prince Bismarck tells the story of his hopes of Leo XIII. and of his early negotiations with him—He enforces in Prussia the proscriptive and persecuting legislation of the first Stuarts in England and Ireland—The fear of "going to Canossa"—Law of June 5, 1883—Fearful condition of Prussian Catholics at that time—The Polish Question a disturbing element—If Bismarck could come to think about Poland as Gladstone does about Ireland—End of the *Culturkampf*..... 464–478

CHAPTER XXX.

LEO XIII. AND HIGHER STUDIES.

Anxiety to provide truly Catholic primary and intermediate schools as the nurseries for his universities—Letters to Cardinals Monaco la Valletta and Parocchi—His zeal for the revival of CHRISTIAN PHILOSOPHY—His purpose of enthroning St. Thomas Aquinas as the "Angel of the Schools"—Leo XIII. and TRUE SCIENCE—Reforming all education on Christian principles—Encyclical of August 4, 1879, on Christian Philosophy—His description of St. Thomas Aquinas and his method—Enthusiasm among Catholic scholars—Reforms in the schools of higher studies in Rome—His great care in raising the standard of education among the clergy of the Diocese of Rome—His letter to Cardinal Parocchi—Outcome of this letter..... 479–492

CHAPTER XXXI.

LEO XIII. AND FRANCE.

PAGE

The self-destruction progressing in France a unique spectacle in history—The task before Leo XIII. in 1878 of saving France from the suicidal folly of French irreligion—Accounting for the conflicting good and evil in France—What Joachim Pecci beheld there in 1846....THE GOOD: Wonderful revival of religion—The overflowing missionary spirit—A revival of the apostolic fervor which evangelized North America—This chivalrous religious spirit characteristic of ancient as of modern Catholic France.—THE EVIL: Voltaire implants anti-Christian impiety; the "Philosophers" inculcate scepticism—The good and the evil struggling for the mastery in 1846—Progress of Catholic institutions down to 1878—Progress of anti Catholic teaching and passions—Which force will overcome the other?—The secret anti-Christian societies masters of the Government and of France in 1878—The majority and the minority in the population of France—Sum of active forces in each—Armed resistance out of the question—*Organization, cohesion, unity* of purpose and action necessary among Catholics—These elements did not exist—What was Leo XIII. to do?—1880: Suppression of the Religious Orders—Letter of Leo XIII. to Cardinal Guibert—A noble defence of the Religious Orders—It was only shouting at Niagara to stop its rushing waters—The majority of the French nation disfranchised virtually—How French Republicans understand liberty—Leo XIII. severely blamed by Frenchmen—Elections of 1885—Letter of Cardinal Guibert to President Grévy—A prophetic voice from France 493–519

CHAPTER XXXII.

LEO XIII. AND THE SPOLIATION OF THE PROPAGANDA.

The great missionary school of the Propaganda—Annual Academy held on January 6, the Feast of the Epiphany—In 1880 the Academy held in the Vatican—Protestant admiration for this College and for the Congregation *de Propaganda Fide*, on which it depends—For a truly Catholic Italy the Propaganda would be a wonderful source of influence abroad—The Piedmontese Government determined to extinguish the institution—First seizure and sale of its property in 1874—Lawsuits ending in decree of January 29, 1884, decreeing the conversion of its property into state bonds—Leo XIII.'s protests on March 2 and March 24—Diplomatic note of February 10 to the Catholic Powers—Effect of this act of the Piedmontese Government on public opinion abroad..... 520–536

CHAPTER XXXIII.

LEO XIII. AND SPAIN.

"The Prince of Peace"—*Papal Mediation*—Its necessity acknowledged by non-Catholic writers—The mediatorial office an unmitigated blessing—This is demonstrated by the mediation of Leo XIII. between Spain and Germany—History of the difficulty about the Carolinas Islands—Prince Bismarck offers to submit the question of right to the Pope; accepted by Spain—Speedy termination of the inquiry—Judgment accepted and ratified by both Governments—Death of Alfonso XII.—Leo XIII.'s account of the mediation—Restoration of this mediatorial office of the Papacy most desirable—It would be a boon to the nations—Interest taken by the Pope in the shrine of St. James at Compostella—History of the shrine—Pope Calixtus II. and Compostella—The relics of St. James and his disciples hidden away in the sixteenth century—Rediscovered by Cardinal Paya—The question of authenticity submitted to Leo XIII.—He sends Monsignor Caprara to Compostella—Decision of the Pope—The birth of Alfonso XIII.—The Pope his godfather.....APPENDIX E: Mediation..... 537–559

PAGE

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE PRISONER OF THE VATICAN AND THE JUBILEE OF 1887..... 560–574

CHAPTER XXXV.

LEO XIII.'S SACERDOTAL JUBILEE.

Spontaneous homage of Sovereigns and Peoples to the Prisoner of the Vatican..... 575–602

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Leo XIII. on Civil Society in its relations with the Church, with the principle of authority, and with human freedom.. 603

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Labors of Leo XIII. in favor of higher studies in America..... 645

APPENDIXES..... 681–689

ADDENDA.—The Jubilee offerings of the Christian people to Leo XIII..... 690–695

INDEX..... 699–711

ILLUSTRATIONS.

ALL the illustrations in this work are full-page engravings executed by the BEST AMERICAN ENGRAVERS, from original photographs SENT FROM ROME expressly for this book. None of them have ever before appeared in print, and they form a valuable and interesting ADDITION to the life of the illustrious Pontiff.

PAGE

Fine steel engraving of the Pope, engraved from a photograph presented by the Holy Father, with his autograph signature, expressly for this book.....Frontispiece

St. Peter's in Montorio, erected on the spot where St. Peter, the first Pope, was crucified head downwards..... 35

Panoramic View of the Village of Carpineto, birthplace of Leo XIII.. 39

The house in which Leo XIII. was born at Carpineto..... 48

Church of St. Leo, Carpineto, attended by His Holiness when a boy.. 54

Interior of the Church of St. Leo, Carpineto, restored by Leo XIII... 61

Fine colored plate accurately representing Leo XIII. in his Audience Chamber, clothed in his Pontifical robes.....facing 113

Door of the Municipal Hall, Cathedral Square, Perugia..... 148

Cathedral Square, Perugia, showing the great Fountain, the Municipal Hall on the left, and the Cathedral on the right, where Leo XIII. was Bishop for thirty-two years..... 171

Quirinal Palace—old Palace of the Popes..... 189

Tomb of Pius IX. in the Church of San Lorenzo, outside the walls of Rome..... 193

The Tiber: St. Peter's in the distance; Castle and Bridge of St. Angelo..... 209

Panoramic View of Rome from the Roof of St. Peter's..... 219

Front View of St. Peter's and the Vatican..... 243

Interior of St. Peter's Church..... 249

Palace of the Vatican—Residence of the Pope..... 267

Fine colored plate accurately representing the officers and guards of the Palace of the Vatican, in full uniform.....facing 304

His Holiness taking recreation in the Garden of the Vatican..... 329

Interior of the Vatican Library..... 359

Pio Clementino Hall of Statuary, Vatican Museum..... 399

Interior of the Sistine Chapel in the Vatican..... 447

Braccio Nuovo: Statuary Collection, Vatican Museum..... 487

Museo Chiaramonti—Vatican Gallery of Ancient Sculpture..... 517

Garden of the Pope, Vatican, Recreation Place of His Holiness..... 539

Leo XIII. on his Throne in his Private Audience Room..... 562

Fine steel engraving of Lucido Maria Parocchi, Cardinal Vicar to His Holiness.....facing 573

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EARLY LIFE OF JOACHIM PECCI TILL HIS ELEVATION TO THE PRIESTHOOD, INCLUSIVELY. *March* 2, 1810–*Dec.* 31, 1837.

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CHAPTER I.

Auguror: Apparent flammantia lumina cœlo,
Sidereoque rubens fulget ab axe dies.
—Leo XIII., *Poems.*

ALL through the long Pontificate of Pius IX., especially when troubles thickened around him, people could not help saying that the words *Crux de Cruce*—"Cross upon Cross"—of the celebrated prophecy attributed to St. Malachy, were verified in his bitter and prolonged trials. While writing, in 1878, the Life of that Pope, the Author could not help asking himself, Who was to be his successor? For the prophecy depicts the Pontiff taking up the cross laid down by Pius as "Light in the Heavens"—*Lumen in Cœlo.*

Truly the unprecedentedly long reign of the late Pope had closed with the darkest days ever known to the Papacy since the times of the early persecutions. The States of the Church had been absorbed by the new kingdom of Italy. In the palace of the Quirinal was throned a power more hostile to everything Catholic than Henry VIII. or Elizabeth, and supported by a Parliament whose policy and principles are infinitely more irreconcilable with Catholicism than the policy and principles of Cromwell and his Parliament. The two most powerful empires in Europe, those of Germany and Russia, had broken off all diplomatic intercourse with him who was, in a very true sense, "the Prisoner of the Vatican." Republican France, in the hands of Voltairean sceptics and radical revolutionists, was with difficulty withheld from breaking openly with the Pope. Spain was friendly, but powerless to help him. Austria, like Belgium and Portugal, was secretly ruled by these occult but powerful organizations, which gave the law to the President of the French Republic, as well as to the successor of Victor Emmanuel. Great Britain,

which had efficiently aided in despoiling the Pope of his States, never had, since the reign of James II., sent an official representative to the Holy See; and the Republican Congress of the United States had, after our war, and forgetful of the thousands of Catholics who had died for the Union, suppressed the American Legation at the Vatican. It was an ungenerous and impolitic act, which another Congress and President will not fail to undo in the near future.

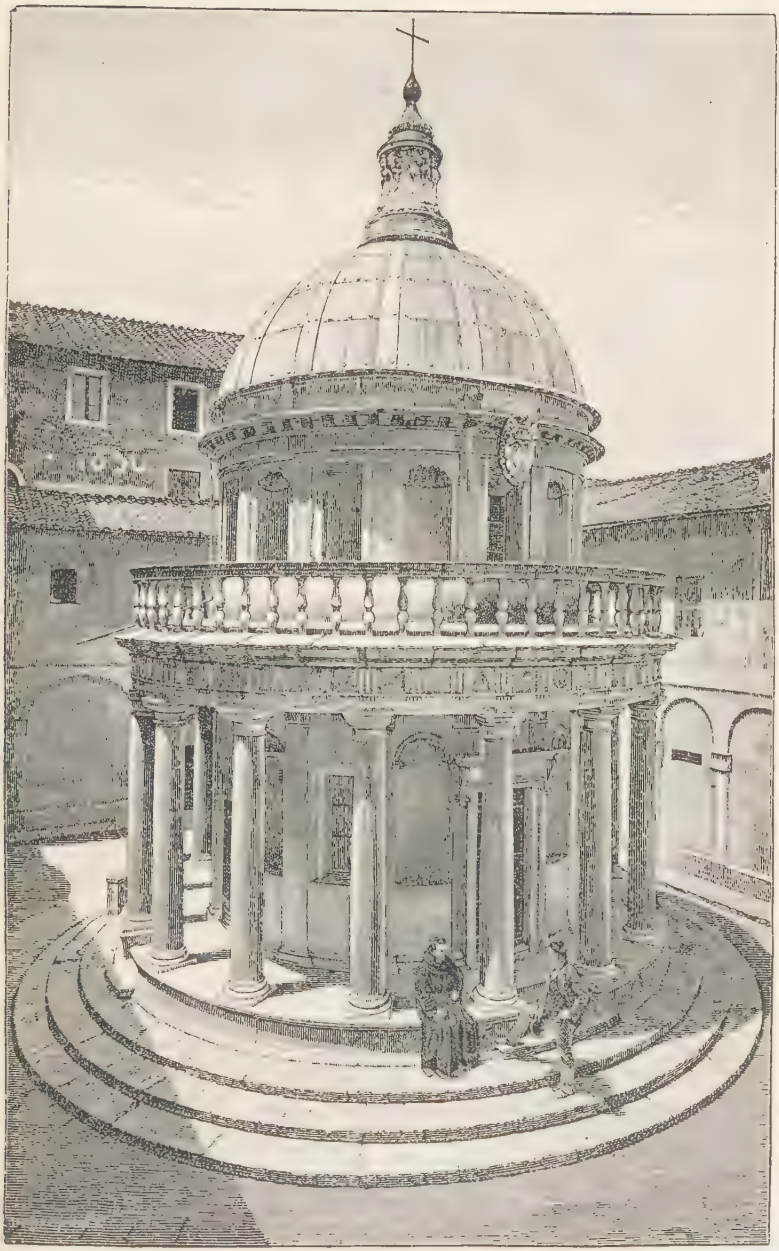
But meanwhile Pius IX. died, seemingly abandoned by all the nations who could help him effectually, and given over to the absolute dominion of the power which had stripped him of everything save the precarious tenure of the Vatican and its garden, with the mockery of a sovereign title, and which at any time could seize the Vatican itself and leave the Pope without a roof in Rome or in all Italy he could call his own.

It was dark indeed. And how and whence was the light to come amid this settled and ever-deepening gloom above St. Peter's and the venerable seat of an authority which had outlived that of the Cæsars, of Charlemagne and the Germano-Roman emperors who succeeded to his title?

The bright, solitary star which, in the ancient family escutcheon of the Pecci,* sheds so brilliant a radiance on the earth beneath, might, and doubtless did, to some persons appear an augury of coming dawn, of hope of better things for the Papacy, for Christianity itself.

But, leaving out of the question the prophecy and its suggestions, there is in the brief reign of Leo XIII. enough of splendid achievement to justify the pregnant words of the prediction, had it been authentic. Against all seeming hope, against all the most solemn utterances of political prophets in both hemispheres, the moral superiority which Leo XIII. established for himself by his noble character, by the firm but gentle dignity of his official letters, and by the incomparable eloquence and elevation of his solemn

* See Coat of Arms of Leo XIII. on the cover.



ST. PETER'S IN MONTORIO.

ERECTED ON THE SPOT WHERE ST. PETER, THE FIRST POPE, WAS CRUCIFIED HEAD DOWNWARDS

teachings addressed to the Universal Church, has disarmed prejudice and hostility. As we write it is hoped that Germany is again renewing with the Holy See the friendly relations of other times, repealing the oppressive laws enacted against Catholics, and paying, in the eyes of the civilized world, the most exalted homage to the personal character and sovereign rank of the Roman Pontiff. At the same time Russia, which had already made approaches toward conciliation, is said to be sending a special envoy to negotiate about the sad condition of Polish Catholics and other delicate and difficult religious matters in the empire.

Great as is this result, brilliant as is, assuredly, the light shed from the Chair of Peter during the eight years already passed of this Pontificate, the life of the man himself, from his childhood to his sixty-eighth year, when chosen to fill the place of Pius IX., is one long, luminous track, marked at its every stage by the gentlest, noblest virtues, by all those qualities which endear a man to all who know and approach him, by those utterances and deeds which all who value still what is most fundamental in Christianity are sure to admire and to praise.

Thus the personage whom we present to the study and admiration of the reader in the following chapters is not merely a great man, a great Pope, a great and eloquent teacher of all Christians and all mankind: he was a good and a true man in every relation of life in which he was placed; a gentle, docile, loving son; a child and a boy pious and thoughtful beyond his years, but a bright, joyous, manly, generous boy. And all the sweet promises which blossomed forth in his boyhood and youth were realized in the rich fruits of maturer years.

It is only by looking well into the life of him who is now Leo XIII., at all its stages, that one sees how beautiful it is. His pure, gentle, but erect figure is one Fra Angelico could have delighted to paint; his life would have been worthy of the pen which wrote the "Fioriti di San Francesco."

CHAPTER II.

BIRTHPLACE—PARENTAGE—HOME AND MOTHER.

THE subject of this biography was born at Carpineto on March 2, 1810.

There are several places in Italy all but identical in name with Carpineto—called sometimes Carpineto *Romano*, so called because it belonged to the territory immediately surrounding Rome. The most conspicuous of these localities, outside of Latium, is the ancient fortress of Carpineti, on a spur of the Æmilian Apennines, near Reggio, which was a favorite residence of Matilda, Countess of Tuscany, the protectress of Pope Gregory VII. and the benefactress of the Papacy.

Our Carpineto—to use the words of the authentic manuscript notes given to us to be our guide in this narrative—"is a populous little town of five thousand inhabitants, situated in a cleft of the Monti Lepini," a portion of the Volscian range nearest to Velletri. "It is *an eagle's nest*, placed for security high above the plain, between two gigantic rocks."* In ancient times it was fortified, some parts of the ruined walls and towers still remaining to attest the fact. Within its neighborhood also stood the Volscian city of Cuentra, destroyed by the Romans, and the ancient fortress of Pruni, ruined—so the local traditions say—by the Duke of Alba's soldiery in the sixteenth century. Its remains are still pointed out to visitors.

THE BIRTHPLACE OF LEO XIII.

The mediæval town became a feudal possession of the Aldobrandini. Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini, nephew of

* Such was the picturesque expression used by the venerable Cardinal Joseph Pecci in describing to the author the mountain-home of his family.

Pope Clement VIII. (1592–1605), built there at his own expense a monastery for Reformed Franciscan Monks, which we shall have occasion to mention more than once

Four parish churches, one of them being a collegiate church founded by Pope Clement XIV., himself a Franciscan, ministered to the spiritual needs of the population. Two of these were Gothic structures of the fifteenth century, dating from the Pontificate of Calixtus III. (1455–58). All of them, in the year of grace 1810, were in a sad state of dilapidation. The French Republican soldiers had passed there also, committing their wonted sacrilegious pillage and destruction; and the already scanty revenues of the parochial clergy had been reduced to the merest pittance by the Imperial Government in Rome

The elevated position of Carpineto, and its great difficul y of access from the valley of Latium beneath, are to this day obstacles which all but a few travellers, students, or artists care to encounter. The railroad which sweeps around the eastern flank of the Volscian range leaves wayfarers still far away from the lofty mountain-crest with its rare towns, hamlets, and ruins. And yet in the late autumn or the lovely spring weather a drive from the nearest railway-station in the valley, Segni, up the narrowing defile or cleft in the mountain-side, through which tumbles ever a foaming torrent, is one of unmingled delight. The wild, weird, and ever-changing scenery of the defile, with its lofty walls of rock, its trees and shrubs of every shade of green; the wild flowers that bloom on every side along the path of the stage-coach; the luminous haze which fills the air in November, as well as in March and April, and which, as you look back into the valley or catch a glimpse of the distant hills, shrouds every distant object with a veil of every shade of blue, fading often into delicate purple; the bracing, invigorating mountain-air—all fill one's soul with a sense of deep joy

About a mile from the top your *vetturino* points out, at the top of a sloping green expanse between two lofty acclivities, the country-house of the Pecci family amid

PANORAMIC VIEW OF THE VILLAGE OF CARPINETO,
BIRTHPLACE OF LEO. XIII.

clumps of tall chestnut-trees. It is a beautiful position; and one can fancy how happy parents, surrounded by a band of joyous children, could develop mind and heart beneath yonder shades and on that greensward, from which the eye can wander over panoramas of surpassing grandeur.

AN EAGLE'S NEST.

But here we are on the unequal rocky plateau of Carpineto—truly an eagle's eyrie fitting in between two enormous crags. No wonder that the first Pelasgi or Etrusci who wandered hither from the East, in quest of a secure and permanent home, should have fixed upon this almost inaccessible and impregnable site. The quaint, mediæval houses and streets straggle among the inequalities of the surface. And through them, to the very highest point of the plateau, the stage-coach labors along till it leaves you in front of a fifteenth-century palatial pile, with a church adjoining and separating it from the residence of the parochial clergy.

The masters of this palace in 1810 were Domenico Lodovico Pecci, then in his forty-first year, and his wife, Anna Prosperi-Buzi, who was in her thirty-seventh. Their union has been blessed with six children—four boys and two girls—the youngest child being an infant just baptized, to whom have been given the names of JOACHIM VINCENT RAPHAEL LODOVICO (or Louis). He is the subject of this biography. The other children are: Charles, a lad of sixteen; Anna Maria, almost twelve; Caterina, who is in her tenth year; John Baptist, in his eighth; and Joseph, who is just beginning his fourth.*

* Domenico Lodovico Pecci was born June 2, 1769, and died March 8, 1838. His wife, Anna Prosperi-Buzi, was born December 30, 1773, and died August 5, 1824. Of their seven children, CARLO was born November 25, 1793, and died in Rome August 29, 1879; ANNA MARIA, born May 25, 1798, died August 27, 1870; CATERINA, born November 4, 1800, died June 13, 1867; GIOVAN BATTISTA, born October 20, 1802; GIUSEPPE, born February 15, 1807; GIOACCHINO, born March 2, 1810; FERDINANDO, born January 7, 1816, died at college in his fourteenth year.

THE PECCI FAMILY.

But who are these Pecci in whose fortunes we desire to interest our readers?

The Pecci are of a noble Siennese stock. Since the accession to the Pontifical Chair of Leo XIII. travellers in the ancient and most interesting mediæval city are shown the Pecci Palace, adjoining the Cathedral Square, and in the cathedral itself the tombs of some high dignitaries of that name are pointed out. When the evil days preceding the reign of Duke Cosimo I. dei Medici had involved heroic Siena in a deadly but unequal struggle with her old rival and enemy, Florence—or, rather, with the Medici family, which had destroyed the liberties of the latter, and was bent on forcing the republican Siennese to bend their necks to the yoke—it so happened that the Pecci had taken sides against their countrymen.* Under the Pontificate of Clement VII. (1523–34), therefore, a branch of the Pecci, favored by that Pope, migrated into the States of the Church and settled at Carpineto. No one who has read the thrilling history of the siege of Siena by the Florentines under the Marquis of Melegnano—Giovanni dei Medici—but will easily understand how fierce and indomitable a spirit animated the Siennese women as well as men against their ancient foe, Florence, and how hard they were likely to make the lot of such of their own as had made common cause with the enemy.

THE PECCI OF CARPINETO.

In their new home at Carpineto the Pecci were not altogether safe from the warlike bands which in swift suc-

* The MS. in our hands thus relates this incident: "Un ramo della nobile famiglia Pecci di Siena, secondo un' antica tradizione domestica, sotto il Pontificato di Clemente VII., si trasferì in Carpineto, costretto ad esulare dalle fazioni di quella repubblica e rifugiarsi negli Stati della Chiesa col favore di Papa Clemente VII. della famiglia dei Medici, per la quale, come è fama, avevano parteggiato i Pecci." A note in the corrected MS. says: "*Esiste sul proposito una memoria scritta dal Conte Ceccopieri di Modena.*"

cession desolated Italy in the fifteenth century, allowing the land no rest, the scourge of the plague ever following fast the scourge of the sword. Still, apparently at least, the comparative quiet of their mountain solitude weaned their minds from martial pursuits and ambition and turned them to the old peaceful, intellectual avocations and culture so dear to the proudest Italian aristocracy of the Catholic ages. Letters and the law never seemed to the proudest nobles of the Italian republics a profession less honorable than that of arms. The professor's chair in any one of the great mediæval universities conferred, in public estimation, a higher degree of nobility than that of birth; and distinction in literature and science made its professors the companions and equals of princes and sovereigns.

Therefore it is that we find among the Pecci of Carpineto several who made themselves a name in the learned professions. Ferdinand Pecci was a renowned lawyer in the Pontificate of Benedict XIV. (1740–58); John Baptist Pecci, Vicar-General of Anagni, was appointed Bishop of Segni, but death prevented his taking possession of his see; and a Monsignor Joseph Pecci had so great a reputation in the Roman law-courts that Pius VI. entrusted to him the law-business of the Braschi family, then involved in a multitude of suits. He held a still higher place under Pius VII., who made him Commissary-General of the Apostolic Chamber, a position to which was attached much power and influence.

Count Domenico Lodovico Pecci—or Count Lodovico, as he was simply styled—to whom we have introduced the reader, had apparently embraced a military career, or was forced into it by Napoleon I., who needed all the soldiers he could get, and drew largely from the Italian populations to recruit his armies. Count Lodovico had married Anna Prosperi-Buzi, the daughter of a noble house of the ancient Volscian city of Cora—the modern Cori—situated on the western crest of the same Monti Lepini, and not very far distant from Carpineto. The Prosperi-Buzi held in the ancient Volscian stronghold and its district the same place

which the Pecci held in their own native town. And the Countess Anna brought to her husband a notable increase of property, which their descendants hold to this day in and around the old cyclopean walls made so famous in Roman history.

But she brought to him and to her children a still richer inheritance of Christian virtues and noble womanly qualities.

Her fourth son—destined one day to be Leo XIII.—was born on March 2, 1810. As Carpineto belonged to the diocese of Anagni,* whose bishop, Joachim Fosi, was a warm friend of the Pecci family, this prelate was invited to baptize the little stranger and to fulfil toward him the office of godfather. He bestowed on his godson the names of Joachim Vincent Raphael Louis. The name of Vincent was given him at the special request of the countess, who had a special veneration for the great Dominican missionary, St. Vincent Ferrer, Archbishop of Valencia; and she never called him by any other name. Indeed, so long as she lived the child and boy was only known by the name of Vincent Pecci. But when that worshipped mother was taken from him, and especially since 1830, he assumed and retained exclusively the name of Joachim. Was this to show still more his reverence for the memory of this admirable woman? Joachim and Anna are the names given, in the unbroken tradition of the Churches of both the East and the West, to the parents of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Mother of Christ. Her name, those of her parents and relatives, of the persons immediately connected with Him while He was on earth, such as the apostles and disciples, women as well as men, mentioned in the New Testament, and those of the apostolic men and saintly women who continued Christ's work in the first centuries, honored His faith by their lives, and bore him glorious witness by their death—have ever been especially dear in Christian households. It was thought, in the firm and universal belief of the real though invisible

* The native place of Boniface VIII.

communion between the spiritual world of the blessed in heaven and their brethren still struggling on earth, that the bestowing of these dear and honored names on children in baptism secured them special protectors in heaven, and was to them a powerful motive, when grown to manhood and womanhood, to honor by Christian lives the sainted names they bore.

So Joseph, Joachim, Anna, Mary, and all those sweet names so familiar in Catholic countries, are only flowers of Eastern birth, transplanted into the home-gardens of European peoples and shedding their sweet fragrance there.

Of the five sons, one, and he the youngest, died in his fourteenth year and while pursuing his studies in Rome. So that within the tapestried walls of the Pecci Palace in Carpineto, as well as on the greensward and beneath the chestnut groves of their country residence outside of the town, the fond and pious mother saw herself surrounded by a joyous circle of seven doting and happy children. And both she and her husband were such parents as could and would make home a paradise for their dear ones, a sanctuary of peace, piety, hospitality, and charity in the eyes of servants and dependants, of relatives and friends, and of the suffering and the needy far and near.

She must have been not only a lovely and loving wife and mother, but a noble and worshipped Christian woman, this Countess Anna Pecci, whose portrait, taken in the first years of her motherhood, still hangs in the great hall of her palace at Carpineto by the side of her handsome young husband.

For the writer of these pages it was extremely touching to hear her third son, the venerable Cardinal Pecci of to-day, recount, with a voice not unshaken by emotion, the qualities of the parent taken from her children all too soon. "She was, in truth, most devoted to the poor," he said. "She was always working for them. In seasons of great distress she had daily supplies of bread baked for them. You know how fond our peasants are of polenta, or rich, nourishing soup. She directed in person and watched the

servants while preparing and cooking huge caldrons of this species of pottage. This, as well as the bread, was dealt out under her superintendence to all who needed it. And she took especial care that the sick poor who could not leave their homes should have their supply sent to them; and that the bashful poor who could not bear to have their distress known should receive assistance in such a delicate way as to prevent their being abased thereby in their own eyes.

"She was the soul of every good work of piety and beneficence that was set afoot in the town. Indeed, she started many of them herself. But all this active outside charity never made her neglect her home-duties. She lavished on us all a mother's most devoted tenderness."

Both the count and countess were most earnest Christians. This union of minds and hearts in the knowledge and practice of the holiest and most ennobling duties, this one common hope of the Christian's exceeding great reward, was, in their home as in their life, the light which brightened and warmed everything around them, and filled with joy and bliss the hearts of their children.*

We may well believe that the law of home-life, so well proved by experience, held good in the palace of the Pecci, as elsewhere and at all times: that the generous encouragement and co-operation of the husband enable the wife to attempt, and almost to accomplish, impossibilities.

* In the Church of the Stigmata, where this good woman reposes in death, there is a plain marble slab on the floor, which records her worth: "Anna Alex. F. Prosperia, egenorum altrix, filiorum amantissima, domo Cora, Femina veteris sanctitatis, frugi munifica, H.S.E. Quæ omnis matris familiæ munere nitide et in exemplum perfuncta, decessit cum luctu bonorum Non. Aug. An. M.DCCC.XXIV.—Vixit dulciss. cum suis An.LI. M.VII. D.XI. Ludovicus Peccius conjux cum liberis mœrentibus. Mulieri rarissimæ incomparabili M. P. Ave Anima Candidissima Te in pace."

CHAPTER III.

DARKNESS AND STORM, AMID WHICH JOACHIM VINCENT PECCI IS BORN AND REARED.

SO passed, under the loving and watchful eye of the Countess Anna Pecci, the infancy and childhood of her two youngest sons, amid the serene atmosphere of these lofty Volscian hills, while Pius VII. was cruelly hurried, in the last stage, seemingly, of a mortal illness, from one prison to another; while the towering pride of the French emperor, bent on making the Church of Christ an instrument of universal domination and the captive Pope a docile tool of his state policy, shut up his venerable prisoner from all communication with the outside world, and by extreme and unmanly violence, as well as by every art of persuasion and deception, endeavored to extract from him concessions fatal to religion. From the heights around Carpineto both the countess and her husband could listen to the echoes of the mad and unholy wars kindled by the Napoleonic ambition rolling from the Straits of Gibraltar to the shores of the Baltic, and hear of his armies driven back in disastrous rout from the gates of Madrid, Moscow, and Leipsic to those of Paris, while the unquiet spirit of the foiled conqueror and pitiless tyrant broke forth from its prison in the Island of Elba to raise a fresh whirlwind of flame and blood in France; only, however, to be vanquished anew at Waterloo, and sent to fret and pine away amid the torrid rocks of St. Helena.

Then came the return of the care-worn and gentle Pius to Italy and that Rome where all the evil spirits that Voltaire and the Revolution had called up from the pit and let loose in France had been allowed to reign from 1797 till 1814. Nor did the restoration of the Pope to his capi-

tal, or of the other Italian princes to their States, put a sudden stop to the propaganda of evil so long carried on in the Peninsula with consummate skill and untiring energy.

What power save the creative power of nature, or rather of nature's God, can restore in a great country, in an entire continent utterly devastated by flame and convulsed by earthquakes, the beauty, the life, the order, the divine harmony of all things destroyed by the blind rage of the elemental forces? What husbandman, though never so skilful and so untiring, can weed out from his field in a day, a month, a single season, the tares which his enemy has sown during the night over the seed-grain cast into the furrows? Besides, the deeper and richer the soil the more rapid is the growth of the noxious weed, and the more difficult the task of ridding the land of its presence.

So is it with man's moral nature. The more privileged a people is in all the rarest gifts of intellect and heart, the more lavish toward them has been the bounty of Providence in the supernatural order, the deeper will be the perversion effected by an anti-Christian propaganda. What ruin, what desolation is comparable to the sowing of the minds of an entire nation with errors, prejudices, passions, which, taking deep root, prevent the possibility of cultivating or planting therein the most necessary and salutary religious notions?

Such had been the process carried on among all classes of the Italian population ever since the days of Voltaire. His works, in the native French, in excellent translations, and in popular editions, had been sedulously circulated from one end of the Peninsula to the other. As in France, so in Italy, scepticism had first tainted the upper classes, and from them and by them the intellectual pestilence had been spread downwards through the ambitious middle classes, reaching at length the laboring population in city and country. And so, when the Revolution of 1789 first startled Europe by its utterances and innovations, every one of its doctrines found a wide echo in Italy, and too willing apostles among the titled and the learned

THE HOUSE IN WHICH LEO XIII. WAS BORN AT CARPINETO.

devoted all their energy and influence to the work of popularizing it. When Voltaireanism and Illuminism had become incarnate in the Revolution of 1793, and sent their armies into Italy a few years later, there were found, unhappily, but too many influential Italians to hail their advent as the hosts of the new Liberty which denied God and declared war on the existing order of things.

Napoleon's inconsistent and spasmodic efforts to restore the altars which his soldiers had polluted and torn down, and to use, in forwarding his own schemes of domination, the mighty moral forces of religion, were productive, in Italy, of more harm than good. From one end of the Peninsula to the other, he, his officers, his soldiers, his co-operators and abettors of every degree and occupation, had for a quarter of a century taught a religious people to despise, to hate, to ridicule, to outrage religion and its ministers; taught Catholics to look upon the august Head of the Church as a usurper in the political order, as an anomaly and an anachronism in the new social order inaugurated by the Revolution. The revenues derived from the Pontifical States—a peaceful principality created and guaranteed by Christendom to the Common Father—were seized. They had ever been devoted to the fostering in Rome and throughout Italy of the Religious Orders and other institutions—the well-springs of education, piety, and the apostolic spirit at home, the nurseries of the missionaries who spread the name of Christ and the blessings of true civilization among the heathen peoples of both hemispheres. All Church property, all establishments of education and beneficence, the houses and revenues of the Religious Orders especially, were seized by the Revolutionary armies. The confiscations, the plunder, the destruction, the violation of the most sacred rights, and the disorder thereby caused in the popular mind and heart, in the most deep-seated notions, beliefs, and customs, constituted a condition of things so chaotic that no length of time, no labor of restoration, no efforts of the discredited ministers of religion to build

up anew the material temple or to win back the confidence of the alienated populations, have achieved anything like a real success, even down to our day.

And when the wave of French invasion had retired beyond the Alps, all the germs of evil deposited in the soil of Italy sprang up and brought forth the harvest that we know of. We know, too, how well the second generation of revolutionists have applied their wide-spread organizations to the cultivating in the souls of the people, with a scientific and fatal certainty, of all this growth of evil principles.

Pius VII. returned to Rome on May 24, 1814, to find before him, in the political, social, moral, and material ruin wrought by the French occupation, and the action of all the anti-Christian forces which had so long reigned supreme in Italy, a state of things which might well fill the youngest, the strongest, the bravest with dismay and discouragement.

Such was the social and religious condition of their beautiful native land amid which Lodovico and Anna Pecci saw their little family increase and grow up around them. How were they to preserve them from the irreligious indifference, the contempt, the hatred of all things holy, the habit of deriding the past, the false notions about liberty, the seductive theories about philanthropy and equality, which were floating for ever in the atmosphere, and carried on the wings of the wind like germs of intellectual and moral distempers more fatal than the cholera of 1832 or the Black Plague of 1347?

Where should they find for their sons, bright and quick, and eager to learn as these were, masters they could trust, schools without danger to piety and morality?

Count Pecci and his wife, though tenderly attached to their boys, and knowing how much their home and their brothers and sisters would miss them, felt that Carpineto, on its mountain-crest, was not the place in which to find a school fitted to prepare young men for public life. Rome was near at hand; and in Rome the Popes had ever been

solicitous to create and maintain the most efficient establishments of Christian education. Indeed, the worst enemies of the Papacy, who do not wilfully shut their eyes to the evidence of historical truth, are wont to confess that the Popes have been as much the generous foster-parents of letters and science as they have, confessedly, been the most liberal patrons of the fine arts.

But the passage of the Revolutionary armies through Rome and Italy had been as destructive to all educational institutions, to all serious intellectual culture, to the monuments with which Christian art had covered Italy, and to the beautiful creations of Christian genius, as had been the invasions of Attila and Genseric. What the blind and impious rage of Bonaparte's Sans-Culottes did not destroy or mutilate was carried away beyond the Alps. Paris, not Rome, was intended to be the centre of civilization as of dominion, and the parent of all culture in the new era which had dawned with the year 1793. But that culture and civilization were founded on principles in every way antagonistic to those which had formed and constituted Christendom. Even when General Bonaparte became consul and then emperor, his blundering and inconsistent efforts to reorganize in Italy a system of national education in harmony with the new Revolutionary creed, as well as with his own notions of Christianity, only resulted, as they did in France, in paganizing the spirit and teaching of public schools of every grade.

His war on the Papacy, his usurpation of the States of the Church and of the government of Rome, naturally led him, and those who carried out his will in the patrimony of St. Peter, to infuse into educational establishments of all kinds an anti-papal, an anti-Catholic, and, without his intending it directly, an anti-Christian spirit and tendency which Pius VII. and his successors have consistently combated, without being able effectually to exorcise it from the land.

The first great triumph of irreligion, in the last half of the eighteenth century, was to obtain, through the tyran-

nic influence of the united Bourbon sovereigns, the suppression of the Jesuits—the great teaching body in the Church—and to substitute for their numerous colleges in all Latin countries a thoroughly organized system of national non-religious education, as in Spain and Portugal, where the anti-Christian philosophers had it all their own way, on the "Philosophic" or Voltairean methods which prevailed in France till Napoleon created his National University—the most potent engine, next to the secret societies, ever devised by Cæsarism to take the youth of a nation out of the hands of Christian parents and the control of the Church.

The first care of Pius VII., restored to his people, had been to devise adequate means to counteract the effects of this evil teaching, as well as the seductive and demoralizing influence of so many years of horrible scandals, licentiousness, and blasphemy.

He restored, by a solemn bull, the Society of Jesus, suppressed by Clement XIV. by an act wrung from him by the threats and obsession of the Bourbon sovereigns, and which the Pontiff believed to be necessary to save the Church from the gravest dangers.

To the Jesuits, tried in the furnace by such long suffering as the innocent alone can bear in silence, and purified by the fires of calumny, by imprisonment, exile, poverty, and starvation, Count and Countess Pecci resolved to entrust their boys.

Joseph and Joachim (or Vincent, as the latter continued to be called till some years after his mother's death) were then respectively in their tenth and eighth years. It was hard, at so tender an age, to leave the warmth and shelter of their mother's wing, the comforts and freedom of their blessed mountain-home. The wise parents began, in the autumn of 1817, by taking their sons with them to Rome, and, after some days spent in making them see and admire what was most attractive in the Eternal City, they were left for some months in the family of their Uncle Antonio. Meanwhile the Jesuits had opened a college at Viterbo,

which was soon filled with the sons of the best families of Rome and all Italy. Thither, in the autumn of 1818, Joseph and Joachim Vincent Pecci were sent to begin their long and careful education for public life.

Whatever opinions may be entertained or expressed about the merits or disadvantages of schools in which children of either sex are reared away from their parents and deprived of a mother's loving care, of the examples and the safeguards of a Christian home, certain it is that these Jesuits of Viterbo, more than one of whom had travelled all the way to Russia to join there the noble band of exiles protected by the czar, were intent on giving to the youth confided to them the benefit of a truly homelike Christian education. They had toiled much, travelled much, sacrificed much, and endured manifold sufferings to gather among the snows and wilds of the Muscovite Empire the fruits of the ripest knowledge and the ripest virtue. They yearned to impart to the children of their native land what they had themselves acquired at such a cost—an equally ardent thirst for knowledge and for moral goodness.

Such were the masters into whose hands Joseph and Vincent Pecci fell at Viterbo.

As our chief concern is with the latter, it is interesting to gather from authentic records how it fared with him during the six years he remained at Viterbo (1818–1824). The tender and enlightened piety to which his admirable mother had formed him was—as became the most beautiful flower in the human soul—still further cultivated and perfected by men who prized moral excellence above all the treasures of mere knowledge. But while guarding and forming the heart, they also formed and developed the boy's mind. They filled him with a love for the ancient language of his native Latium, and for the classic literature come down to us from the Augustan age, which nothing could satisfy but the utmost perfection and the closest resemblance in composition and diction to the prose-writers, the orators and poets of Rome. Ever since the school-boy of Viterbo has become the teacher of the Christian world,

CHURCH OF ST. LEO, CARPINETO,

ATTENDED BY HIS HOLINESS WHEN A BOY.

European and American scholars have been able to admire and praise the classic taste and exquisite finish of the productions of his pen, in prose and in verse.

He gave early promise of uncommon literary distinction. Just as he had completed his twelfth year a college festival was got up to welcome the Provincial of the Jesuits, Father Vincent Pavani. This gave to Vincent Pecci the first recorded opportunity of showing his proficiency in Latin verse, as well as his admiration for the character of the venerable man who honored the name of Vincent.*

His masters, at the same time, bore unanimous testimony to the boy's tender piety and spotless purity of soul. A very serious sickness which he had during the college sessions of 1821 impaired not a little the robust health nourished in the bracing air of his native Volscian hills. But while his gentleness and patience under suffering won the hearts of the rector and professors, their devoted care of him made a deep impression on the little sufferer. The vacations spent at Carpineto beneath his mother's eye, and the thousand soothing and strengthening influences of maternal love, restored the invalid to health, but he never afterward enjoyed the physical vigor of his early boyhood.

This was, indeed, the sweetest season of life for Vincent Pecci and his brother. The countess lived most of her time in Rome, so as to be nearer to her sons while indulging her own pious tastes. Her frequent letters to them continued to foster in their souls the home-virtues she had planted there. She delighted in their progress, and took comfort from the frequent accounts received from the college of their good conduct and proficiency. Thus did she endeavor to find some compensation for the sacrifice made in sending them away from home at an age when boys most

* In our MS. is the following Latin epigram composed by Vincent Pecci for the Provincial :

"Nomine Vincenti, quo tu, Pavane, vocaris,
Parvulus atque infans Peccius ipse vocor.
Quas es virtutes magnas, Pavane, secutas,
Oh ! utinam possem Peccius ipse sequi !"

need a mother's eye and hand and heart, and when boys can be to a mother a source of unspeakable joy.

To be sure the sons and daughters who remained at Carpineto were, with the exception of Ferdinando, the youngest, a great comfort to the countess. Her daughters were now her companions, associated with her in all her good works and charities. But the anxious, motherly heart would busy itself principally about the two boys far away in Viterbo. She had now no fears about their moral conduct; they were both most exemplary, and the piety of both was solidly grounded in a thorough knowledge of the truths and duties of religion, superadded to the principles instilled into their minds by their mother's early culture.

One feature in her training of them at Carpineto was the deep reverence which her example taught them for the much-persecuted Franciscan monks of the neighboring monastery. These belonged to the strictly reformed branch of the great family of St. Francis, whom St. Bernardine of Siena, St. Peter Alcantara, St. John Capistrano, St. Leonard of Port Maurice, and so many other divine men taught to walk firmly and fervently in the arduous path of poverty and self-sacrifice trodden by the pierced and bleeding feet of St. Francis himself. The Franciscan monastery at Carpineto did not escape the vandalism of the first French invasion in 1797–98. The officers and soldiery of the Revolutionary armies everywhere displayed a peculiar animosity against the houses and brethren of that Order. The old Roman nobility were treated little better than the monks and priests; so the Aldobrandini were powerless to prevent the acts of spoliation and cruelty exercised toward the inmates of an establishment they were bound to protect. When Pius VII. was restored, and the religious communities suppressed and dispersed by Napoleon were allowed to return to their former homes, they had a hard struggle to face. Even when allowed to take possession of their monasteries—which was far from always being the case—they found their revenues confiscated. They had to depend on the charity of the surrounding impoverished

populations for their daily bread; they had not unfrequently to look to the generosity of old friends to build up anew and to render habitable the religious homes pulled down or wantonly wrecked by their temporary masters.

The Countess Pecci and her husband were not backward in giving a helping hand to the brown-coated and barefooted Observantines. The people of the mountainous districts of Italy have always cherished a warm and grateful affection for these sons of St. Francis, who were to them not only models of the most sublime Christian virtue, but benefactors, supporters, comforters in seasons of distress and illness. The monastery always shared with the needy poor the bread its brethren had begged in the neighborhood; there was always a dispensary where the sick got gratuitous advice, medicine, and care; and the brother-physician or surgeon, or dispensarian, visited the bed-ridden in their cottages, and brought with them ever balm and healing for the spirit, even when their drugs or simples availed not to restore health to the body.

And the Third Order of St. Francis, embracing men and women of every rank and profession living in the world, communicated to its members the most precious spiritual advantages of brotherhood with the Order, on condition of leading, in each one's respective sphere of duty, a life in conformity with the precepts of the Gospel, a life of ever-helpful charity to the neighbor for the dear love of the Father of all. This formed a close bond of union between every home in the district, whether that of the prince or of the peasant, and the Franciscan monastery.*

* The Third Order of St. Francis, which spread so rapidly over all Europe and embraced persons of both sexes and of every rank and condition, counted within the lifetime of St. Francis upwards of 500,000 members living in the world, only in a most exemplary manner. In our times many pious Catholic men and women join it, because it is especially intended for them. The rule does not bind them to take a vow of poverty; it only enjoins the practice of works of charity, daily prayer, a regular performance of church duties, confession and communion, and, in their daily lives, bids them to refrain from excess or indulgence in the pomps

The Countess Anna was a member of the Third Order, and her example inspired all others to join it, and thereby to pledge themselves to a faithful observance of all the duties of Christian manhood and womanhood. She was most punctual in her attendance at the meetings held in the monastery chapel for purposes of devotion or charity. And she loved to bring her children with her. Thus did the little Vincent become from his earliest years familiar with the brown habit and sandalled feet of the sons of St. Francis of Assisi. From his mother's lips he heard the story of the gentle saint's wonderful and beneficent life, told in the simple way in which true mothers can tell such stories of Godlike virtue and generosity. And the outlines of that life remained imprinted on the bright child's memory, till in after-years he could fill in every detail from his own careful studies. At any rate, the example of both his parents, the ardent and active piety of his mother, and, later on, of his two sisters, but in particular his familiar acquaintance with the humble, self-denying Observantines, the air of poverty and purity which reigned in their church, that "beauty of holiness" which encircled like a halo the men and the place, stamped on the boy's soul such impressions of living faith and piety as nothing ever afterward could weaken.

The year 1823 passed away at Viterbo with the same uniformity of application and uncommon literary success for Vincent Pecci. He was already in the higher Humanities courses, in which he was introduced to all the chief masterpieces of composition in his own native Italian, as well as in the classic Latin and Greek. He revelled in these studies, for which he seemed to have an uncommon

and vanities of the world. It is a holy conspiracy or brotherhood, in which the members help each other by word and example to live up, in the ordinary walks of life, to the precepts and spirit of the Gospel; the great and the rich restraining themselves from a wrong use of their wealth, and using it generously to help the needy and to encourage the industry of the laboring poor.

It was the Christian communism revived by St. Francis in the thirteenth century, and which we shall see Leo XIII. endeavoring to restore.

aptitude. His masters—the very best classic scholars whom the Society of Jesus had in the Peninsula—knowing what precious material they had in Vincent Pecci, took especial pains to form and perfect his taste. He only needed guidance and moderation. A disposition like his required no artificial stimulus to make him keep up with the most advanced or outstrip them.*

The vacations of 1823 were again spent on the sunny heights of Carpineto, the boys and their brothers taking long draughts of the bliss of home-life by the side of such a mother as Anna Pecci was. They were now, respectively, Joseph in his seventeenth year and Vincent in his fourteenth. It was for them the very springtide of existence, the blossoming of the soul into all the beautiful promise of a future carefully prepared for both by the culture of their parents and by the conscientious labor of the masters they had chosen for their sons.

From the healthy amusements and recreations of Carpineto the proud mother sent them once more back to Viterbo. She was never again to gather them round her in that home which she had made to them a paradise.

A fatal sickness had seized upon her, and her husband, at the first serious symptoms of danger, decided that they should go to Rome, so as to be within reach of the best medical skill. But the ripest medical science in Rome could not arrest the progress of the disease. In the prime of life the adored wife and mother felt that she must leave husband and children when she was most needed by them.

* In the United States very many among both clergy and laity will remember some of Vincent Pecci's schoolmates at Viterbo, and later at the Roman College. The venerable Father Tellier, S.J., who died not many years ago in Montreal, Superior-General of the Mission in Canada, was, by his exquisite taste and the finished literary excellence of all his compositions, a not unworthy rival of him who was destined to produce the Encyclical *Immortale Dei* Another classmate was the V. Rev. Wm. S. Murphy, whose memory still lives in New York, New Orleans, and St. Louis. A third was the Rev. Paul Mignard, S.J., of St. Xavier's, New York. These men never ceased praising the enthusiastic love of study with which such masters inspired them.

It was then that her deep faith and enlightened piety stood her in good stead. She had too long studied to make her own will conform in all things with the Divine not to accept the sentence of her physicians with perfect submission. She had all her life sought too earnestly spiritual strength and comfort in their true source not to find them in abundance in her supreme need. Her sons were sent for, and hastened to the bedside of their dying parent. What both Joseph and Vincent there saw and heard made on such minds as theirs indelible impressions, and gave to their course in life a direction which they, perhaps, did not then appreciate. The mother's heart yearned for her little Ferdinand, then in his eighth year. But he would soon follow her.

Her last looks rested on the circle of her loved ones' faces. She died, as die all who live for home and duty, for God and neighbor, blessed of God and men. Her body was arrayed in the brown habit and cord of the Franciscan Tertiaries, and by them taken to the Observantine Church of the Forty Martyrs (*SS. Quaranta Martiri*), where she was buried amid the tears and prayers of her family, of the poor of Rome, who had learned to love her. Her husband and children were inconsolable; the three youngest were old enough to estimate the greatness of their irreparable loss. To Vincent, whose life we are especially busied with, this church and its treasure have never ceased to be a thing most sacred and most dear. We shall, in a future chapter, relate the special care bestowed by him on this sanctuary, which is the birthplace and the centre of activity of one of the most admirable Confraternities of Rome dedicated to works of enlightened charity.

The affectionate heart of the thoughtful and gentle youth yearned long for her who had left her own image on his features, his heart, and his life. People have related to us in Rome touching anecdotes of the tenderness with which, in his now venerable old age and exalted position, he paints to children presented to him the unspeakable privilege of possessing a mother's love and care, and

INTERIOR OF THE CHURCH OF ST. LEO, CARPINETO, RESTORED BY LEO XIII.

insists on the fulfilment of the sacred duties of filial piety. His voice then assumes an accent of special tenderness, and his delicate, transparent features are overspread with a special light.

Even as we write this our soul is still moved after seeing the Pope, in his seventy-seventh year, surrounded in early morning by families—parents and children from different lands far asunder—kneeling around him, while that great, fatherly heart of his went out in looks and words of love to those who are truly every one his own, confided to him by Christ.

It is an education in itself to follow the progress of such a beautiful life.

CHAPTER IV.

JOACHIM VINCENT PECCI FORMS THE ACQUAINTANCE OF LEO XII.—1825.

WHILE the Countess Pecci, in the last days of her life, was made happy by what she knew herself and heard from others of the love of her sons for all that should excite the noblest ambition of youth, the saintly, meek, and much-tried spirit of Pius VII. passed to its everlasting rest. In his place was elected Cardinal Annibale della Genga, who took the name of Leo XII., and who set himself, from the very beginning of his reign, to complete the work of reconstruction inaugurated by his predecessor. The new Pontiff had a perfect consciousness of the spirit and tendencies of the nineteenth century, of the disorder fallen upon the States of the Church during the long, sad years which closed with the life of his predecessor, and of the manifold and urgent needs in the Church itself, which claimed all the zeal of a saint and the authoritative energy of the Supreme Pastor.

Leo XII. displayed both the one and the other during his all too brief Pontificate. Feeling that the enemies of religion and society were using education as a mighty and most effective force to dechristianize Europe and the world, Leo applied himself to collect around him in Rome the most accomplished educators. Italy, he thought, ought, by the superior culture and the superior virtues of its inhabitants, to set the example to the rest of the civilized world. Rome, being the centre of Catholicity, the seat of the great teaching and governing authority in the Church, should be like an unfailing light set on high and

shedding its radiance abroad through the whole earth, like the fountain-head and source of the waters of life for all humanity, ever gushing and ever pure. In Rome, grouped around the Shrine of the Holy Apostles, were the great nurseries of the apostolic and missionary spirit, to which all heathen lands looked for the men who were to evangelize them. There were the splendid seminaries of learning, in which the twin lamps of sacred and secular knowledge had been ever fed by the Sovereign Pontiffs from out the revenues of their narrow principality. There resided the various and admirable administrative bodies who were the Pope's efficient instruments in governing the Church Universal.

Papal Rome and the Papal States had thus the honor of being, in the designs of that Providence whose course the Christian historian marks all through the events of the last two thousand years, the country and the people set apart by Him to help Him in making Christians of all the tribes of earth, and in binding all men in the sweet chains of one common brotherhood. The glorious and exceptional prerogative bestowed of old on Palestine and its chosen people was transferred, in the Christian Dispensation, to Italy and the Roman State; they were to be the great agency, under God, for Christianizing, civilizing, and uniting the entire human family.

Napoleon's genius clearly perceived this truth, and his blind ambition impelled him to endeavor to transfer from Rome to Paris, with the seat of the Sovereign Pontificate, that of this unique and universal moral power, more far-reaching than his imperial sway. But God, who will move the foundations of the earth in order to give freedom to His Church, independence to His Vicar, caused the Napoleonic Empire suddenly to fall and vanish like a splendid dream, and Pius VII. returned to his people.

So must it befall, sooner or later, any earthly power which attempts to incorporate with its dominions the principality created by Providence and the accord of Christian nations to secure to the Papacy not only per-

fect freedom in the discharge of its divinely appointed office, but the indispensable means for fulfilling it.

Leo XII., who had borne his part in the sufferings and sorrows of the seventh Pius, threw his whole energy into reorganizing perfectly every part of the vast administration of the ecclesiastical government, and restoring perfect order, discipline, and observance in the great monastic bodies, and in creating schools of every grade, such as were needed by Christian Rome in presence of new circumstances, new ideas, and the new and irresistible tendencies of the age.

The College of Viterbo was too far away from Rome, where it was the wise policy of the Popes to open great central schools accessible not only to the young students of the great Religious Orders, but to those of the various national colleges sent to the Eternal City to learn the sacred sciences within the shadow of the Vatican, and to all the Roman youth of every class, whose education was the special care of the bishop and clergy of Rome.

Leo XII., in the year 1824, restored the famous Collegio Romano to the Jesuits. Few indeed as were the men who had survived the long period of dispersion, exile, poverty, and proscription consequent upon the suppression of the Society by the Bourbons, their spirit had passed into the noble band nursed among the snows of Russia; and the young men who flocked to the Jesuit novitiates after the restoration of the Society allowed themselves to be moulded to the same heroic generosity and lofty intellectual ideas which had characterized, in their long and cruel trial, the dispersed sons of St. Ignatius.

When, in the autumn of 1825, the Roman College solemnly inaugurated its courses of ecclesiastical and secular teaching, its halls were at once filled by fourteen hundred students. Among these was Vincent Pecci. His brother Joseph, impressed by his mother's death, and attracted by the lofty ideals of self-sacrificing virtue and zeal in the divine service followed by his Jesuit masters, had, with his father's consent, cast his lot with them. The

younger brother, reserved providentially for even a higher destiny, gave himself up to his ardor for study, his enthusiasm being constantly fed not only by the genius and methods of his masters, but by the emulation they knew so well how to maintain among their pupils of every degree. The taste for literary excellence developed at Viterbo by the illustrious Father Lionardo Giribaldi was still further cultivated and matured by such renowned men as Fathers Ferdinando Minini and Joseph Bonvicini. Under them he completed what may be considered the middle collegiate course in the Jesuit system—Humanities and Rhetoric.*

That, in these very years, the lad of fourteen was earnestly endeavoring to grasp the full significance of the political, social, and religious changes occurring on every side, we have an indication in a Latin oration which he was chosen to deliver before the assembled students and faculty at the end of his year of Rhetoric. Vincenzo Pecci (as he continued to be called by his school-fellows) had taken for his subject, "Pagan Rome as compared with Christian Rome," and pointedly referred to the moral and unbloody triumph of the Holy See, in the person of Pius VII., over the brute-violence of Napoleon's military despotism. The honor of delivering this oration was due to the fact of the young speaker's having won the prize of excellence in Latin prose-composition.

More remarkable still was his success in Latin verse. The rule for all who contended here for the prize of excellence was that they should within the space of six hours, and without any external aid whatever, write a certain

*The first or lower course in Jesuit colleges, according to Acquaviva's "Ratio Studiorum," consists of the *infima*, *media*, and *suprema Grammatica*, or first, second, and third Grammar classes or forms. Then come the two classes of Humanities and Rhetoric, equivalent to the Sophomore Course in American colleges. To the Undergraduate Course among us corresponds their Philosophy Course, which lasts three years, and comprises, besides Logic, Metaphysics, and Ethics, a course of pure and applied Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Natural History, Geology, Biology, etc.

number of Latin hexameters on a specified subject. This subject happened to be the Feast of Belshazzar. Young Pecci produced one hundred and twenty verses of such unquestionable excellence that the prize was unanimously awarded to him by the judges. This, however, was not his only success: to him were also awarded the first honors in Greek.

Thus was crowned, while he was yet only at the beginning of his Undergraduate Course, the uncommon ardor with which young Pecci had given himself up to the cultivation of the classical literatures of Greece and Rome. The fine taste thereby developed only made him more ambitious to acquire a perfect mastery of his own native Italian. We shall have occasion further on to show that his efforts here were rewarded with no less success.

The masterpieces of these ancient classic literatures must ever be, so long as civilization lasts, the most perfect models of literary composition, of the most beautiful thoughts clothed in language the most beautiful. To public, professional men of every class, whose great instrument of action and influence is human speech, oral and written, a perfect mastery over the resources of one's own native tongue is indispensable. And experience has demonstrated that, in our own days as in the past, the men who in Church and state are the leaders of their fellow-men —like a Newman, a Gladstone, a Leo XIII.—are men who have most assiduously and successfully cultivated classic antiquity.

These academic honors were won at the end of the college sessions of 1825. The more serious studies and less inviting subjects comprised in the curriculum of philosophy often prove a source of failure to young men who have distinguished themselves in the pursuit of mere literature. But where imagination and intellect are equally balanced and harmoniously developed, there is no reason why great success in the culture of letters should not be followed by equal success in philosophy and the sciences.

Vincent Pecci proved that his faculties were so happily balanced and cultivated.

In the printed list of prizes distributed in the Collegio Romano at the end of the scholar-year 1828 our Pecci's name is mentioned for the first prize in Physics and Chemistry, and for the first *accessit* for mathematical physics. And, in connection with this creditable fact, it should be mentioned here that among the Faculty of Science in the Roman College at that time were such men as John Baptist Pianciani and Andrea Carafa, scientists of European fame. For a brief space, in 1848–49, the United States possessed, together with the illustrious Pianciani, such of his exiled brother-professors as the astronomers De Vico and Secchi. The government of Washington, well aware of the merit of the great scholars whom Mazzini and Garibaldi would not tolerate in Rome, vainly endeavored to secure their services for the observatory of the Federal capital, while the British government were equally anxious to place under their direction the observatory of Calcutta. Father de Vico, returning temporarily to London, caught typhus-fever from a poor Irish emigrant to whom he ministered on shipboard, and died a victim to his charity. Secchi lived to create the science of solar physics; to become, in spite of the disfavor attaching to the name of Jesuit, a foremost authority in the highest walks of science; and to see, before his death, his brethren driven pitilessly forth from the great University School,* which had so long been one of the glories of Italy, the nursery of great Popes, great scholars, and great Christian men.

The success which rewarded Pecci's application to philosophy and science at the end of 1828 increased all through the next year. His acknowledged superiority to his fellow-students caused him to be selected, at the close of the curriculum, to defend against all objectors, and in the most public manner, theses so chosen

* The Collegio Romano was also called the *Gregorian University*, from Gregory XIII., who erected the present magnificent building.

from the subject-matter of the three years' teaching that they would in reality embrace the entire field of philosophy.

This was the highest distinction that could, at that stage of his university career, be conferred upon the young student, then in his twentieth year. Such public disputations on philosophy, canon law, theology, etc., have always been held in high honor in Rome. They were characteristic of the mediæval universities, and were adopted by the Jesuits in their great schools as one of the most powerful stimulants to the pursuit of excellence in every department of human learning. These solemn academical tournaments, which were frequented by the élite of Roman society, and in which the most learned men and the highest dignitaries, even cardinals themselves, entered the lists, were often graced by the presence of the Papal Court. It required both uncommon ability and uncommon nerve in a young man to face such an audience, and to reply, during six entire hours, to the most formidable and unforeseen objections, urged, too, by men thoroughly versed in the dialectic art.

Our young philosopher threw himself into the work of preparation with his habitual ardor—with too much ardor, indeed; for he had never quite got over the effects of the gastric fever which had brought him to death's door at Viterbo. The mental excitement and fatigue consequent on overwork were soon visible. The family physicians would not hear of his exposing himself to the public ordeal that awaited him. His masters, however, who were perfectly aware of his thorough mastery of the subject-matters to be discussed, had to acquiesce reluctantly in the decision of the physicians. Still, they were unwilling that one who, in the judgment of students and faculty, was pre-eminently distinguished for talent and proficiency, should be deprived, by the accident of illness, of all the honor he so well deserved. The Faculty decreed that a solemn attestation of Pecci's worth in connection with the

proposed academical solemnity should be drawn up and given to him.*

One of his schoolmates in Viterbo and in Rome wrote in February, 1878, immediately after the election of Leo XIII.:

"I can bear witness to the fact that while yet at Viterbo he won our admiration not only by his quick intelligence, but still more by the singular purity of his life. During our Humanities course we were rivals, and there each time I saw him he impressed me as being all life and intellect. All through his studies in Rome he never sought social gatherings, *conversazioni*, diversions, or games. His work-table was his world; it was paradise to him to be plunged in the study of science. From his twelfth and thirteenth years upwards he wrote Latin prose and verse

* Here is the document in question, still carefully preserved by the Pecci family:

"COLLEGIUM ROMANUM SOCIETATIS JESU.

"Fidem facimus præstantem juvenem Joachinum Vincentium Pecci per triennium in hoc Athenæo Gregoriano philosophiæ studio vacasse, in eoque adeo profecisse ut judicio Doctorum Decurialium dignus habitus sit, qui de selectis ex universa Philosophia thesibus, labente anno scholastico 1829, publice disputaret. Cum vero id perficere ab infirma valetudine fuerit prohibitus, rem ipsam nostris hisce literis testatum volumus, atque optimæ spei adolescentem promerita laude et elogio prosequimur.

"*Datum in Collegio Romano*, 30 *Xbri*, 1830.

"FRANCISCUS MANERA, S.J.,

"*Præfectus Studiorum.*"

"ROMAN COLLEGE OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS.

"We hereby attest that the distinguished young gentleman, Joachim Vincent Pecci, has studied philosophy in this Gregorian University during three years, and that his proficiency therein was such that, in the judgment of the Faculty, he was chosen as fit to maintain a public disputation on a selection of theses from the entire philosophical curriculum at the close of the year 1829. But inasmuch as he has been prevented by illness from so doing, we desire to bear witness to the fact itself by this written attestation, and bestow on a youth of such excellent promise the honor and praise he deserves.

"*Given in the Roman College, October* 30, 1830.

"FRANCIS MANERA, S.J.,

"*Prefect of Studies.*"

with a facility and an elegance that were wonderful in one so young." *

During his university studies Joachim Pecci resided with his uncle Antonio in the Muti Palace. He seems to have been singularly drawn to Pope Leo XII., whose life closed in 1829, just as Pecci was terminating his philosophical studies. In 1825 the Holy Father proclaimed a Jubilee for the entire Christian world. The last had been in 1800, just after Pius VI. had died, exiled and imprisoned, at Valence, in France, and when Pius VII., elected under the protection of the Russian flag, was beginning his long martyrdom. Much had been done during these twenty-five eventful years to blot out from the souls of the Latin peoples, with the veneration for the religion of their ancestors, the belief in the divinity of Christ and the very notion of a Godhead. Could Leo XII. stir what had once been a united Christendom by the proclamation of a Jubilee? And would pilgrims from every Christian land be seen to come, at the Pontiff's call, to kneel once more at the shrines of the Apostles? Such questions did grave men ask each other as they surveyed the wide-spread wreck around them and listened to the sneers of the sceptic press, which were only the echo of the old Voltaireanism.

Leo XII.'s prophetic soul was deeply moved and comforted by the sight of the throngs of pilgrims, the very élite of Christian countries, who filled Rome and consoled the Vicar of Christ for half a century of persecution, destruction, and blasphemy. He himself gave the example of unaffected piety by visiting the privileged churches of Rome, and joining his own people and the pilgrims of every land in supplicating the divine mercy in the sore need of the Christian world. He also saw to it in person that the preparations he had ordered to be made for the reception of the multitudes of strangers were carried out in the proper spirit. Men who bore a part in these proceed-

* Letter written in February, 1878, to Father Ballerini, editor of the *Civiltà Cattolica*, and quoted in the "Cenni Storici," c. i. p. 2.

ings have put on record their testimony to the living piety and indefatigable charity of the nobles, clergy, and people of Rome, animated by the person and examples of their saint like Pontiff.

These were days which made on the young and pure soul of Joachim Vincent Pecci impressions which shaped the whole of his after-life. The spectacle of Leo XII., pale, emaciated, brought back from death's door by a miracle, expending all his energy in purifying the house of God and building up the ruins made by revolution and impiety, dying like a saint and desiring to be buried near the altar-tomb of St. Leo the Great, where he should be under the feet of the multitude, were lessons which the serious-minded and noble-souled son of Countess Anna Pecci was to treasure up for imitation.

The boy—for he was only fifteen in 1825—followed the Pope from church to church, from hospital to hospital, as with naked feet and in penitential garb, amid the chant of penitential psalms and prayers, the Common Father of Christendom taught his people how to turn away the divine anger from the earth torn by convulsions and swept by pestilence and flame. All Rome imitated the conduct of the Supreme Pastor. Nor were the youth of the Roman schools backward in following in the footsteps of their elders. Together with the students of the Collegio Romano, and headed by their respective professors, they imitated the touching precedent set them by the Holy Father, and made the pilgrimage and the visits to all the seven churches in the most edifying manner. Ending with St. Peter's, these thousands of young men of all nations were then ushered into the Belvidere Court in the Vatican, where Leo XII. appeared on the middle balcony above and blessed them solemnly.

Joachim Pecci was unanimously selected, young as he was, to head a deputation of students and to present to the Sovereign Pontiff an address of thanks in Latin. This incident, connecting himself personally with a Pope for whom he entertained so deep a veneration,

was one of the most cherished memories of his later years.

Thus the springs of religious feeling opened by a Christian mother in the soul of her child, and so carefully fed as he grew up, gave forth their waters all through youth and manhood.

But the memory of that lost mother, so tenderly loved, and the image of her blessed home at Carpineto, haunted Pecci amid the halls of the Gregorian University, his quiet rooms in the Muti Palace, and all the sights of Rome at her busiest and most exciting times. His vacations were always spent among his native hills, the recollections and atmosphere of which never failed to brace up soul and body during the few weeks of occupied repose enjoyed there.

An incident connected with the annual vacation spent among his native hills may be given here as quite characteristic of the student of nineteen. During his fowling and hunting excursions he was fond of resorting to the church of Our Lady of the Annunciation, at some distance from the town, and in which was a painting of the Madonna held in great veneration. It was his custom to pay the homage of his devotion to the Incarnate God and His Mother, and then to rest himself in the shady portico. Having made inquiries about the sanctuary and the painting, he learned that the latter had been brought to its present site from a little oratory built on the banks of the mountain stream, that the ground for the present church had been given by his own family, and the new edifice itself reared by the piety of the people.

He thereupon resolved to place on record the memory of these facts; selected a monumental stone, fashioned it, and then wrote out the following inscription, which he cut into the slab himself. Scholars can judge of the ripe knowledge of the classic lapidary style already acquired by one so young:

MARIÆ SANCTÆ
DEIPARÆ AB ANGELO SALUTATÆ
TEMPLUM HOC
QUOD POSITUM INFERIUS SECUS FONTEM
EMINERE OLIM MINUS POTERAT
CAIETANUS PASQUALIUS
FUNDO A GENTE PECCIA TRIBUTO
Ære a Carpinetensibus collato
In elatiori et amœniori hacic loco
EREXIT
AN. D. MDCCLXXVII.

TO HOLY MARY
THE MOTHER OF GOD, SALUTED BY THE ANGEL,
THIS TEMPLE
WHICH, PLACED LOWER DOWN NEAR A STREAM,
WAS THEN LESS CONSPICUOUS,
CAJETAN PASQUALI,
THE GROUND BEING GIVEN BY THE PECCI FAMILY
And the money made up by the Carpinetians,
Here in a loftier and pleasanter place
ERECTED
A.D. 1777.

CHAPTER V.

DRAWN TO THE SERVICE OF GOD.

IT cannot be wondered at if, taught from his earliest years to revere and love the humble sons of St. Francis of Assisi, Joachim Vincent Pecci should have felt secretly drawn to a life of self-denial and sacrifice. The study of the history of that sweet saint, when he was better able to appreciate the divine poetry with which it is filled, and a knowledge of the labors, at home and abroad, of the great family of saints, missionaries, apostles, and scholars founded by the seraphic lover of Christ crucified, could not help to increase this attraction toward the service of God.

Then the apostolic virtues, the eminent learning, and the still more eminent holiness of life of the first generation of restored Jesuits, who were Pecci's admiration at Viterbo and in Rome, together with the never-to-be-forgotten figure of the seventh Pius, surrounded with the halo of suffering and sanctity, and the noble life of his immediate successor, Pope Leo, were more than enough to inspire a nature already religiously inclined to embrace a career of devotion to the good of others. He did not feel called to follow his brother, and selected the ranks of the secular priesthood in which to combat and to labor.

He therefore was matriculated in 1830 among the theological or Divinity students of the Gregorian University, his Alma Mater. Whatever may have been the undisputed excellence of the Jesuits' Faculty of Arts in every department, it is no exaggeration to say that in the sphere of sacred knowledge they surpassed themselves. Their theologians, in 1830, were a galaxy of accomplished men whose

fame belongs to both hemispheres. Among them were Perrone, whose works have ever since been classic in the great Catholic schools of all countries, and Patrizi, whose commentaries on Scripture are esteemed even by Protestant Biblical scholars.

It was, in more than one way, an age of religious renovation, a sort of intellectual renaissance after a period of revolution and decay. A noble spirit of emulation under Leo XII. and his successors possessed all the great Religious Orders in the Church, and was manifested in the bands of learned professors with whom they filled the chairs in the Propaganda, the Sapienza, the Minerva, and the other celebrated schools of Rome. Leo XII., soon after his accession, in 1824, issued a bull, *Quod Divina Sapientia*, reorganizing Intermediate and University Education throughout the Papal States. A congregation of cardinals was given charge over all these educational establishments; and the great University of the Sapienza,* which was, properly speaking, the University of Rome, was renovated and improved in its faculties, methods, and discipline, so as to be thoroughly on a level with the highest requirements of the times.

Joachim Pecci needed no stimulus to urge him to attain in sacred science the degree of excellence reached by him in letters and philosophy. People were then carried onward and upward by the powerful current which had set in, and which was most favorable to all the highest studies. His very first year in the Divinity curriculum was crowned by such a triumphant success as went far to compensate him for his accidental failure of the previous autumn. He was again selected for a solemn public disputation, or "Theological Act," as it was called, embracing select questions from

* The University of the *Sapienza* derives its popular name from the text inscribed over its rear entrance by Sixtus V., who was a Franciscan monk, had filled the chair of Theology in it, and became, when Pope, one of its most generous benefactors. The text is: *Initium sapientiæ timor Domini*—"The beginning of wisdom is the fear of the Lord." The words are a bitter comment on the principles which now guide the teaching of the sceptic or anti-Christian professors under King Umberto.

all the matters taught.* The University Register merely says that "the young gentleman gave such proof of his talent as to enable one to foresee that he would attain great distinction." But the Annuary, recording the list of premiums and the names of the laureates, goes out of its way to praise his great talent and his no less great industry.†

So much, in fact, did he rise above his classmates, and above the level of knowledge to which mere learners generally attain, that he was appointed to repeat the lectures on philosophy to the pupils of the German College. It was a happy selection for him, as it compelled him to put his scientific lore into more perfect form in order to render it profitable to his hearers.

We find also mentioned in our manuscript guide another fact equally creditable to the Faculty of the Gregorian University and to the subject of this history, and one which should interest all who are concerned in teaching

* The fact is thus mentioned in the College Register: "Vincentius Pecci de selectis quæstionibus ex tractatu de Indulgentiis, nec non de Sacramentis Extremæ Unctionis atque Ordinis, in aula collegii maxima, publice disputavit, facta omnibus in frequenti præsulum aliorumque insignium virorum corona, post tres designatos, arguendi potestate. In qua disputatione idem adolescens tale ingenii sui specimen præbuit ut ad altiora proludere visus sit"—"Vincent Pecci held a disputation in the great hall of the college on selected questions on Indulgences and the Sacraments of Extreme Unction and Order. There was a large attendance of prelates and other distinguished men, who were allowed, after the three regular objectors had done, to present their objections. The young disputant gave such evidence of his ability that one may easily divine to what distinction he is sure to attain" ("Cenni Storici," *ibidem*, n. 3)

† "Inter theologiæ academicos, Vincentius Pecci strenue certavit de Indulgentiis in aula maxima, coram doctoribus collegii, aliisque viris doctrina spectatissimis. Quum vero in hac publica exercitatione, academico more peracta, industrius adolescens non parvam ingenii vim et diligentiam impenderit, placuit ejus nomen honoris causa heic recensere"—"Among the theological students Vincent Pecci well maintained a public disputation in the Great Hall before the college Faculty and other persons greatly distinguished for learning. Inasmuch as in this public act, carried on according to rule, the laborious candidate displayed great talent and learning, it is deemed well to give him here honorable mention" (*ibidem*).

how to expose and how to defend the entire system of Revealed Truth.

Father Perrone, the eminent professor of theology, and the no less distinguished Father Manera, who was prefect of studies, had established an academy among the theological students for the encouragement of all who wished to acquire more than ordinary skill in expounding the dogmas of Revelation and in defending them against the most formidable objections of science and unbelief. To give this academy a firm standing in the public opinion of the university two solemn disputations were held in the university hall. Four of the cleverest academicians prepared, each on a given line of argument, the most knotty difficulties found against the supernatural order by science, rationalism, materialism; against the Catholic Church by Lutherans, Jansenists, Rationalists, or Cæsarists. The person chosen on both occasions to expose the doctrines of Revelation and to detect and refute all possible objections was Pecci. Many of our readers will be familiar with this large freedom of discussion, this thoroughness with which the youth of our great Catholic university schools are trained to the knowledge of theology, and the care taken to familiarize them with the most formidable weapons used by the adversaries of Christianity, as well as with those employed in defending it by its most successful apologists.

Nowhere are truth and error placed side by side and studied in all their bearings with a more conscientious and thorough earnestness than in the Roman schools, and in all those who follow the same well-approved and large-minded methods.

But these same readers will have also appreciated how creditable was the part assigned to Vincent Pecci. And, in fact, the credit by him won was all the greater that he never failed to meet his opponents with victorious arguments couched in language as elegant as it was precise.

The time had now come when he was to lay aside the name of Vincent, by which he had been known all through his college and university courses. In 1832 he won and re-

ceived his degree of Doctor in Theology, the highest and most important academical distinction conferred by the Church. Thenceforward he invariably signed his name *Gioacchino*, or Joachim.

Having determined to cast his lot with the secular priesthood, he found himself, at the end of the year 1832, in the necessity of choosing between a career of parochial duty or the service of the Holy See. With the approval of his father and uncle he resolved on the latter course, and, in consequence, entered the academy or college for noble ecclesiastics, which was the nursery of all who were destined for a diplomatic or administrative career under the Pontifical government. The students of this establishment pursued in the University of the Sapienza the special courses appropriate to their calling. There the Sovereign Pontiffs had secured the services of the most eminent jurists for the schools of civil and canon law, the chairs being won by a public concourse.*

Pecci, while applying himself diligently to acquire a thorough knowledge of civil and ecclesiastical jurisprudence, profited also by the great facilities offered in the Sapienza to push still further his studies in theology. Indeed, he gave in public more than one proof of his uncommon proficiency therein. He won, in particular, in 1835, a very enviable intellectual triumph, together with a premium of sixty sequins ($132) offered for the best essay on one from among a hundred given theses. These were numbered, and the contestants had to draw by lot. The thesis which fell to Pecci was that of "Immediate Appeals to the Roman Pontiff in person." †

And so at each stage of his education the young nobleman displayed the same conscientious determination to do well whatever he had to do, to master thoroughly, in order the better to serve the Divine Master, whatever branch of sacred or profane science was set before him. Among the

* See further information on the University of the Sapienza in Appendix A.

† See Appendix B.

young nobles who were his schoolmates in the Ecclesiastical Academy was one to whom he became bound by a life-long friendship—the Duke Sixtus Riario-Sforza, whose saintly life, heroic virtues, self-sacrifice, and unbounded charities have been made known to the whole civilized world by the pens of non-Catholic writers. Appointed Cardinal Archbishop of Naples during the troublous days which beheld so many political and social changes in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, as well as in the entire Peninsula, Cardinal Riario-Sforza won the veneration of all by showing himself the man of God, the good shepherd ever ready to lay down his life for his stricken flock.

Such friendships, springing from identity of disposition in two young souls drawn together, honor both the one and the other.

In such holy companionship, and buoyed up by lofty aims, Joachim Pecci labored to make himself worthy of the degree of Doctor in Civil and in Canon Law, which was bestowed on him after the usual examinations.

All these successive academical triumphs, achieved under the eyes of the highest dignitaries and the most learned men in Rome, spread the young doctor's fame among all classes of Roman society, and brought him under the favorable notice of the reigning sovereigns themselves. More than one even among the cardinals, attracted to him by his unaffected piety, his modesty and gentle courtesy, and by the solid and general knowledge which was so rare in one of his years, foresaw that he would render great service to the Holy See, and bestowed not a little pains in counselling and directing him. The venerable Cardinal Sala, in particular, who had been associated with Cardinal Caprara * in the disastrous legation to Paris in 1808, and whose soul had been tried, like that of Pius VII. himself, by the six terrible years that followed, conceived a warm attachment for Pecci. In their intercourse the young and inexperienced churchman learned,

* Cardinal Caprara was no match for Napoleon in the crooked ways of diplomacy.

from one who had been thrice purified in the furnace, many lessons which were soon to be of priceless service to himself in governing men and dealing with governments.

After the death of Leo XII., in 1829, the College of Cardinals, moved by the same lofty motives which had directed their choice in the election of the two last saintly Popes, gave their suffrages to another man of equally splendid virtue and uncommon learning. But Pius VIII. only shed a brief gleam of brightness on Rome and the Chair of Peter; and then came the stormy reign of Gregory XVI., to be followed by one more stormy still, more disastrous to the liberty of the Sovereign Pontiffs, and protracted beyond all those which had come before it.

Pius VIII., who took in the members of the Ecclesiastical Academy the interest which a sovereign and a parent should take in the principal nursery of his future assistants in Church and state, watched the progress of Pecci, and bestowed on him more than one mark of his regard.

But the illustrious Cardinal Pacca, the friend, counsellor, and fellow-sufferer of the seventh Pius, happened to be the protector of the academy, and took a lively interest in the gentle, pious, refined, and cultivated youth, whom everybody loved and praised because of his retiring, modest, and unobtrusive disposition. When Gregory XVI. had succeeded to Pius VIII., Cardinal Pacca warmly recommended to him the young Pecci, in whom his experienced eye had discovered uncommon merit and the promise of a great career. Gregory thereupon, in January, 1837, appointed Joachim Pecci one of his Domestic Prelates. It was a distinction fairly won, not granted to mere nobility of birth, but conferred on the true nobleness of rare virtue united to accomplishments as rare.

His preparatory studies were now completed. He was about to begin his twenty-eighth year, the ordinary age for receiving Holy Orders. He therefore left the academy, and went to reside once more with his uncle Antonio in the Muti Palace, near Ara Cœli. On March 16 he was appointed Referendary to the Court of *Segnatura*—an appointment

indicating that the sovereign and his counsellors had discovered in the young prelate administrative talent of a high order. This was made still further manifest by his being given soon afterward a place among the prelates of the Congregation *di Buongoverno*, specially charged with the financial administration of all the communes of the Papal States. Here he came under the immediate control of his friend Cardinal Sala, who was president of the Congregation or Permanent Committee of Government.

Meanwhile the terrible Asiatic cholera had invaded Italy and made its way to Rome. Cardinal Sala was appointed by the Pope to superintend all the cholera hospitals in the city. The mortality was fearful, baffling the skill of the physicians and sweeping away persons of all classes. Monsignor Pecci, not being in priest's orders, could not help in ministering to the spiritual needs and comfort of the plague-stricken. But, possessing, as he did, the entire confidence of the cardinal, he became his right-hand man, displaying not only great practical judgment in providing for the urgent wants of so many thousands, but that indefatigable zeal and that fearlessness of personal danger which came as much from his own ardent piety and his love of the poor as from his natural unselfishness and generosity.

If, during these awful summer months, Monsignor Pecci had often wished that he, too, could be privileged to minister priestly consolation to the dying, his desire was soon to receive a partial fulfilment, at least. He was told to prepare for Holy Orders as soon as, with the cold weather, the plague had subsided.

On November 17 and 24, 1837, respectively, he received subdeaconship and deaconship at the hands of Mgr. Sinibaldi, Archbishop of Damietta, in the little interior chapel where died St. Stanislas Kostka, at the church of "St. Andrew on the Quirinal."

It will help the reader to understand the hidden springs of the life we have undertaken to describe if he will pause with us a moment in this, one of the most beautiful sanc-

tuaries in Rome itself, one of the sweetest and most restful spots for the traveller and pilgrim in this city so crowded with the monuments of pagan civilization and Christian piety. The author has just returned from a visit to this place—already doomed, with all the edifices which line the same side of the street opposite the grand masses of the Quirinal Palace, to disappear within the next twelve months.

Let us go back together to the 13th of November, 1837, the anniversary of the death of Stanislas Kostka (about 1580), the boy-saint whom Catholic Poland reveres as its patron and protector in heaven. Here he arrived, foot-sore and exhausted, with the seeds of a mortal disease fast spreading in his frame, after his long and perilous journey from his native land. He had left his brother's lordly halls to cast his lot with the brethren of Bellarmine and Aloysius Gonzaga, of Francis Xavier and Francis Borgia, and give his life to the work of evangelizing the heathen in Asia, America, and Africa. But the light of that young life, after blazing out with surpassing splendor in the novitiate on the Quirinal, went out for ever. The sweet odor of his virtues remained; the memory of the angelic youth—reminding one of Samuel at the same age, a bright lamp in God's house shedding unearthly radiance on the holy place for a brief time—remained ever after his death, more potent to kindle in the pure souls of the young and the truly noble an ardent love of supernatural excellence than the examples of a long and eloquent career.

A kindred feeling that moved both Cardinal Charles Odescalchi, then Cardinal Vicar, and Joachim Pecci, to select the same chapel as the scene of the latter's promotion to the Priesthood. Little dreamed either of them how solemnly, fifty years thereafter, this 31st of December, 1837, and the dawn of the New Year on the morrow, would be commemorated in Rome and in every part of the civilized world.

Sunday the 31st December has dawned on Rome. It is the day appointed by Cardinal Odescalchi, who is himself to be the celebrant. As we enter the gem-like church

of Saint Andrea, we find it well filled with worshipers. It is ever so with this favorite place of devotion during the early morning hours, on both week-days and Sundays. Look around you, and you will easily understand why rich and poor, the lowliest and the highest in Rome, are attracted hither even before the dawn. The beautiful temple itself is circular in form. The interior space on both sides of the high altar is occupied by little chapels or niche-like recesses, at the altars in which priests continually succeed each other in celebrating mass. All is reverence and devotion here. The priests are careful to read the prayers of the liturgy in a low and subdued voice, no one interfering with or distracting his neighbors by a single loud tone. It is a continual murmur of prayers ascending.

Such is the restful spot which welcomed Stanislas Kostka at his arrival in Rome. And healing and heavenly as men found its atmosphere three hundred years ago, such do they find it in our day.

Yonder, in the middle of the semi-circular wall to your left, is the urn of lapis-lazuli, containing all that was mortal of this angelic youth. After glancing at it, let us enter the Novitiate and hasten to the sanctuary where Cardinal Carlo Odescalchi is about to confer the sacred order of Priesthood on Joachim Pecci. The chapel is on the first story, and comprises not only the room in which Stanislas died, but the two adjoining little apartments. It is still, with these additions, but a diminutive sanctuary. The members only of the Pecci family, with a few dear friends, and the Jesuit Novices who have succeeded Stanislas in this nursery of apostolic men, are privileged to be present. Joseph Pecci, the beloved brother and companion of Joachim, is there in his simple black Jesuit cassock, his soul deeply stirred by the solemn rite about to be administered, as well as by the sweet and dear memory of the years these two had spent together at Carpincto and Viterbo. Count Ludovico Pecci, already within the shadow of death, is also there, recalling the worshiped image of the wife and mother, who would have been so happy on

this day to give her best beloved child to the service of the Master.

Between the altar and the company of worshipers there is barely space for the Cardinal and his assistants to move freely. His is a saintly presence, recalling in very deed the person and virtues of his model and patron, St. Charles Borromeo. Before him, at his feet, kneels the deacon, Joachim Pecci, in his alb and stole, with his pale, spiritual features overspread with a light that is not of earth. You might fancy that the venerable Cardinal and the young Levite had stepped out of one of Fra Angelico's canvases, so like are they in feature and expression to the creations of the inspired Christian artist.

In a very short time this cardinal will lay aside his high dignity, his princely rank, turn his back on the near prospect of a dignity still higher, and become a novice within these same walls, emulating the humility, the obedience, the poverty practised by Stanislas Kostka, coveting only and gaining all too soon the honor of dying near where he died, clothed with the poor livery Stanislas wore, and happy to be called his brother.

Pecci felt himself called to struggle and triumph in another sphere. But still he, too, felt his soul filled by the spirit of the place. Here had passed the great soldier-saint who yearned to win all souls by persuasion and supernatural holiness to the service of Christ, and to make the cross rule over every tribe of earth. Here, attracted by the magnetism of Ignatius's heroic self-denial, Francis Borgia, Duke of Gandia and Viceroy of Catalonia, had lived, greater in the garb of poverty than when he outshone princes in the imperial court. And here Francis Xavier had fed the sacred fire with which later he set all souls aflame along the coasts of India and the Archipelago to Japan, where the fire of faith still burns inextinguishable.

How often had Pecci meditated on all this during his long years of serious study in the Roman College and the Sapienza, and his frequent visits to these beautiful shrines, which are, to souls touched by the love of things supernal,

like shady groves near life's dusty and sun-burnt road with their springs of living water!

Not without its influence on his generous spirit had been the sight of a royal tomb in the little church beneath. Nor can the pilgrim from afar who chances to know the touching story of the king who lies buried there, pass it by without pausing reverently awhile to recall the memory of his trials and those of his saintly queen. He was Charles Emmanuel IV. of Savoy, King of Sardinia and Piedmont, and she was Marie Clotilde, of France, sister of Louis XVI., and a worthy daughter of St. Louis. This royal pair, driven from their throne by the Revolutionary armies under Bonaparte, had to fly from country to country as the wave of French invasion spread. But everywhere they won the admiration and love of all classes by their noble fortitude, their benefactions, and the sweet fragrance shed by the angelic virtues of the queen. Scarcely had they been restored to their kingdom when she was called away to her rest, and he, ambitious only to be worthy of her in the better life, laid down his recovered sceptre and became a poor lay brother in this house where St. Stanislas had lived and died.

Little dreamed he, as his last years were spent here in the shadow of the Peace Eternal, that long ere the century had closed, princes of his own blood would be enthroned yonder across the way in the Quirinal; that the men whom he called his brothers and served with his royal hands, would be pitilessly expelled from their home; and that house and church, the chapel and shrine of St. Stanislas and his own resting-place in death, must disappear before the blind hatred of the new domination.

But we must not anticipate.

The next morning, January 1, 1838, the Pecci family once more assembled in the little sanctuary, where on the day before the Divine Spirit had set His seal on their young priest. How lovingly, reverently, Father Joseph Pecci attends on his brother during the latter's first mass! How well Count Ludovico could sing, with Blessed Simeon in

the Gospel, his hymn of Thanksgiving to God and farewell to earth, after witnessing that morning's sacrifice!

The day was spent by Mgr. Pecci with his brother Joseph within the Novitiate of S. Andrea. He had that morning begun a priestly career, the vicissitudes of which were only known to Him who alone chooses Apostles, gives to their hearts the divine strength to bear and to suffer, to their minds the supernal light with which to illuminate the world in its darkness, and to their lips far-reaching and consuming words of fire.

And so begins that half-century of labor and teaching, ending with the marvelous spectacle witnessed in the Vatican on January 1, 1888.

PART SECOND.

JOACHIM PECCI'S ADMINISTRATIVE AND DIPLOMATIC CAREER.

January, 1838–1846.

CHAPTER VI.

MONSIGNOR PECCI'S FIRST SHINING PROOFS OF PRACTICAL STATESMANSHIP—GOVERNOR OF BENEVENTO.

[1838 to 1841.]

THE life of Joachim Pecci was thenceforward devoted to the service of the Holy See, although his hope and desire were that he might be allowed to labor for it in Rome and to confine his attention to purely ecclesiastical matters. Cardinal Sala, who was well acquainted with the wishes of his protégé and with his capacity, had taken pains to have him attached to the great congregations of the Propaganda, of Bishops and Regulars, and of the Council.* Cardinal Lambruschini, who was the Pope's Secretary of State, or Prime Minister, and who appreciated Monsignor Pecci's rising merit, had him appointed official to several other most important bodies, placing him, in this preparatory stage, under the especial care of the learned prelates (soon to be cardinals) Frezza and Brunelli. This solicitude about his thorough training was an evidence of the great opinion they had of his ability and character.

He must have given more than ordinary satisfaction to the cardinals who watched his conduct so closely during the trying cholera season, and they must have reported to the Holy Father how well fitted the young prelate was to manage the most important public business and to govern men; for Gregory XVI., in February, 1838, appointed him Delegate or Governor of the Province of Benevento, with instructions to repair without delay to his government.

This little principality, which is only forty-six geo-

*See Appendix C.

graphical square miles in extent, was given, like other possessions, to the Popes by the piety of former ages. It is situated in the midst of what was once the kingdom of Naples, a short day's journey from the city of that name, and in the midst of a population which, in 1838, had been rendered utterly reckless of all rule by the preceding political and social changes. Napoleon I., in his hour of undisputed supremacy, had given this little territory, with the title of Prince of Benevento, to his clever and unprincipled minister, Talleyrand. There are writers who say, not without some show of good reason, that Talleyrand, whose wife Pius VII. had refused to see during his stay in Paris for the coronation ceremonies, had revenged himself on the Pontiff by urging the crowned soldier to possess himself of the Papal States, and to bestow on him, the apostate ex-Bishop of Autun, a slice of the territory thus sacrilegiously and iniquitously taken away from an unarmed and defenceless sovereign.

This is not the place to show how little such usurpation and spoliation served either the emperor or the minister who was his evil genius. But the French rule in Benevento, as well as the short-lived reign of Murat in Naples, together with the growth and spread, in the south of Italy especially, of Carbonarism, Jacobinism, brigandage, and lawlessness, rendered the government of these populations a matter of almost moral impossibility, once the French had withdrawn and the former rulers resumed their sway.

The men who had been the firmest in their loyalty to the princes expelled by Napoleon, and had been most active in organizing against the French occupiers the guerilla bands which defied the pursuit of the best-disciplined troops, soon became themselves the terror of the entire country. They levied a heavy tax on the towns and hamlets they protected, or pretended to protect, against the foreign invader; they blackmailed the rich and the powerful, and profited by the fear they inspired to oppress and to plunder friends as well as foes, and to gratify with impunity their greed or their private resentments. Indeed,

the powerful and the rich who had, in the beginning of the invasion, been instrumental in getting up these armed bands, and had often led them in their desperate encounters with the French, soon began to feel that brigandage was a powerful weapon for serving their own selfish purposes, even when it had no longer the pretext of serving the public good.

The restoration, therefore, of the Bourbons to Naples and of the Pope to Rome found, in every province of the southern kingdom at least, society in town and country fallen back to the disorders of the feudal times. The wealthy and the nobles had filled their castles with armed retainers, and these had to live on the country.

In the little province of Benevento another evil seriously increased and complicated this state of lawlessness and confusion. The Papal rule was mild and fatherly at all times; the people had no heavy burden of imposts or taxes to bear. Then a small province situated in the very heart of a foreign and quite different government would naturally become the refuge of smugglers and a retreat for evil-doers flying from justice.*

There was thus perpetual risk of conflict between the Neapolitan and the Papal authorities, as well as a growing contempt for all law and order among the Beneventini, particularly among the classes interested in maintaining disorder and violence.

Such was the state of things for which it was expected a young priest of twenty-eight years could find a remedy. Gregory XVI. and his counsellors must have had a very high opinion of the youthful prelate, and his ability to cope with well-organized bands of desperate men, to think of despatching him on such a mission, when others, far more experienced and of higher dignity, had failed to check the inveterate disorder and had retired, baffled, from their battle with brigandage and smuggling.

But, whether he had taken the seeds of typhoid fever

*See the author's "Leo XIII. and his Probable Policy," New York, March, 1878; MS.

with him from Rome, or had contracted the disease during the then long and tedious journey through the Pontine Marshes or his brief stay in Naples, he was taken suddenly ill the third day after his arrival in Benevento. Perhaps, considering the nature of the disorders which he was commissioned to repress, and the numbers of men of all classes interested in their continuance, it was a kindly disposition of Providence which permitted the young Delegate to be thus brought to death's door almost immediately on his arrival amidst the excited population. The Beneventini had been very favorably impressed by the youth, the dignified bearing, the gentle courtesy, and the graceful speeches of their new governor; and while both the lawless among them and the law-abiding were discussing the qualities of the man and his probable course of action, they were startled to hear that his life was in imminent danger. Then people began to speak of the goodness he had displayed toward the poor people during the terrible visitation of the cholera, and the grateful popular heart was moved by the mortal peril of one so young and so accomplished, sent among them, too, on an errand of mercy in favor of the oppressed laboring classes.

The ripest medical skill which Naples could supply was summoned; but the very best physicians could only declare that their skill was powerless, so malignant was the distemper and so rapid the effects of its poison on a frame exhausted by long and severe study, and perhaps weakened by the austerities of ascetic fervor. The case was pronounced hopeless.

Meanwhile public prayers were offered for his recovery in all, the churches of the city. But the ardent southern nature would not be contented with that. As the danger of losing their youthful governor increased hourly, and people could only speak of his goodness, his piety, and his learning, he seemed to them an angel sent to heal all their public ills, and about to be suddenly taken from them in punishment of their own evil doings.

In the outskirts of Benevento is one of those sanctuaries of the Blessed Virgin Mary, one of those chosen spots dear to those who, in the ever-recurring political commotions of the times and the popular suffering they brought in their train, loved to come to the Incarnate Son of God and to supplicate His aid, as it were, in the house of His Mother and through her intercession.

This sanctuary, where the popular belief asserted that our Lord had often heard the cry of bruised hearts and needy souls, was called the Church of the Virgin of Graces. Thither the citizens went in solemn procession to implore Christ's Mother to plead with her Son for a life so dear to them—so precious, though they knew it not, to the Universal Church.

There was also in Benevento at that time a college of Jesuits which did good work in educating the youth of the province and the neighboring country. To them Monsignor Pecci was well known, having been trained in their schools, and reflecting such honor on his masters by his brilliant successes. Their concern was therefore great at beholding him reduced to such sudden extremity by the dreaded fever. The rector of the college, Father Tessandori, was one of that early generation of the restored Jesuits who had sacrificed much, braved persecution, and been purified by the flame of long and malignant obloquy. The people revered him for his saintly life, the educated admired him for his great learning. He was simply a man of God. He joined his prayers with those of the entire population, and had, moreover, recourse to one of those divine men who pass through this world like Isaias in the days of Achab and Jezabel, appearing in public only to be the interpreters of God's judgments on an offending generation, or to confound His enemies by some unexpected display of His power; who were, in seasons of dire distress, the comfort and the salvation of the famishing and plague-stricken. Such had Francesco de Geronimo been in the last century to the whole kingdom of Naples. And now Father Tessandori invoked his succor in favor of the young

prelate, on whose preservation so many mighty issues depended in the designs of Providence.

Certain it is that all these prayers were heard, and that, against all hope and contrary to the judgment of the physicians, the fever relaxed its hold on the victim.* On first hearing of Monsignor Pecci's illness the Pope manifested the deepest concern. He, too, had daily prayers offered up in Rome for the recovery of the sufferer, and demanded that daily information should be sent him about the progress of the illness.

The recovery, coming as unexpectedly as the malignant fever itself, filled the people of Benevento as well as the Roman Court with sincere joy. No sooner was Monsignor Pecci able to attend to business than he set about making himself thoroughly acquainted with all classes of the people, and took every possible means to repress the inveterate disorders which had until then defied all efforts at reform, as well as to promote education, agriculture, and industry in the province.

His first act, however, was to lay, at the request of the octogenarian Cardinal Bussi, Archbishop of Benevento, the corner-stone of a new church in honor of Our Lady of Graces, destined to replace the venerable but ruinous sanctuary whither the citizens had gone in solemn procession to pray for his own recovery. The new edifice was a votive offering to the Incarnate Word and His Mother in thanksgiving for having been preserved from the cholera the year before. The plague had committed fear-

* The MS., as was to be expected where anything *miraculous* is concerned, is extremely measured in its statement:

"Il Padre Tessandori, Rettore del Collegio dei Gesuiti, uomo di santissima vita, assisteva con carità ammirabile al letto del Prelato morente, e con una reliquia di San Francesco di Geronimo posta sul corpo dell' infermo, scongiurava con fervidissime preci la grazia della guarigione. Fu meraviglioso l'intervento di questo Santo, e non è lecito svelarne il segreto."—"Father Tessandori, Rector of the Jesuit College, a man of most holy life, stood by the bed of the dying prelate with admirable charity, and, by means of a relic of St. Francis de Geronimo placed on the invalid's body, he besought the grace of a perfect cure with the most fervent prayers. The mediation of the saint proved to be miraculous, but we are not allowed to reveal its secret."

ful ravages in Naples and its environs, but spared Benevento.

The entire city and country was represented at the solemn ceremony of blessing the corner-stone. It afforded Monsignor Pecci a most favorable opportunity for making the acquaintance of the people of every class, to whom he now felt so grateful, and whose attachment to him was naturally increased by their own pious interest in his recovery. Happy and graceful at all times in his discourses, his words on this occasion must have had, together with the eloquence of the heart, a peculiar force and appositeness from his own relation toward the people and the province.

The brigands, smugglers, outlaws, and their protectors fancied, at first, that they could be more than a match for the young scholar, pale from the long vigils of his study in Rome, and now sadly debilitated by a dangerous illness. But the knowledge he had previously had, as a high officer of the Roman government, of the condition of things in Benevento and of the misdeeds of the men who now confronted him, had enabled the delegate to make up his mind to quick, sharp, and decisive measures.

The Pontifical troops at his disposal made a sudden and combined descent on the principal strongholds of the brigands, on the most secret retreats of the outlaws and smugglers. One of the most dreaded chiefs of these lawless bands, who kept the country in perpetual fear, was one Pasquale Colletta, who had his centre of operations in the Villa Mascambroni, whence, at the head of fourteen desperadoes like himself, he was in the habit of raiding the country on every side. All had to pay this brigand blackmail in order to save their property, persons, and lives.

It was with equal joy and surprise, therefore, that the Beneventini one morning beheld this dreaded tyrant, with every man of his band, led in chains through their streets by the Pontifical soldiers. Toward men who had stained themselves with innocent blood, and who had set at naught all law and authority, the Delegate was justly severe. No

intercession availed to save the murderer, the midnight robber, the oppressor of the weak, the defenceless and inoffensive. But with this inflexible firmness toward the inveterate criminal and law-breaker he joined great patience in examining into the cases referred to him, and great impartiality in weighing the evidence for and against the criminal.

The decision once given, however, was irrevocable.

He was, if anything, more severe toward criminals of high social standing than toward those of inferior rank and education. Nor did it avail the noble, wealthy, or powerful relatives or friends to intercede for high offenders, once the guilt of the latter had been clearly established.

One of the most serious sources of difficulty between the Pontifical and the Neapolitan governments arose from the fact that numbers of political conspirators and others guilty of high political misdemeanors in the kingdom of Naples had long found a safe refuge in the province of Benevento, where they continued to hatch their plots and to defy all pursuit. This had given rise to grave complications.

Monsignor Pecci's firmness toward these refugees forced them to quit the Pontifical territory and to seek an asylum elsewhere. Thereby the difficulty between the two governments was happily terminated, and King Ferdinand expressed his satisfaction and thanks through the Marquis del Carretto, his minister.

In an earlier biography the author related, in substance, the following fact, to which later authentic information permits him to add fuller details.

One day, while the whole province of Benevento and the adjacent Neapolitan districts were excited over the success with which Monsignor Pecci was following up his raids on brigandage and smuggling, a nobleman of the former locality, who had been the most active promoter of all these disorders, had the audacity to complain to the Delegate that the custom-house officers had not respected the privacy of his home, nor the dignity of marquis inherited from his ancestors. Vainly did Monsignor Pecci endeavor

to convince his arrogant visitor that the laws are made for all classes in the community without distinction of birth or rank; and that the highest in station owe to those beneath them the example of being law-abiding. The man's pride was up in arms against such reasoning, as well as against the pale, sickly young prelate who had dared to put such an insult on his nobility as to threaten to have his ancestral castle searched by the *gendarmerie*.

He told the Delegate to his face that he would forthwith set out for Rome, whence he would soon return with an order recalling the man who was turning the country upside down. "You may go on your errand, my lord marquis," was the firm and calm reply. "But I warn you that on arriving in Rome you shall have to pass through Castle Sant' Angelo before carrying your complaints to the Vatican."

The answer completely cowed the blusterer, who had to give up all thought of resistance. Immediately afterward his castle was surrounded and taken by the Pontifical troops, and its numerous garrison of brigands and smugglers carried off to prison.

In this campaign against brigandage and smuggling Monsignor Pecci's right-hand man had been an officer of the name of Sterbini. With his aid he also established customs offices, with an efficient military support, at the most important points of the frontier, giving to Sterbini the superintendence of the whole.*

The young Governor did not content himself with ridding the province of all these chronic sources of evil; he had carefully and conscientiously studied its resources and the needs of the population. To develop agriculture and other local industries, roads, good and practical at all seasons, must be opened between Benevento and the adjoining provinces of Molise, Terra di Lavoro, and Avellino. This would make their market-towns easily accessible to his people, and place the markets of Benevento within easy distance of the neighboring Neapolitan populations.

* MS.

He made a rapid journey to Rome to confer with Gregory XVI. and his ministers on what he purposed doing for the development of the province entrusted to him, and returned with full powers to carry out the plans proposed. So the new roads were at once constructed. Moreover, the taxes and imposts levied by the French during their occupation, and, like all French exactions in countries held by the sword, wrung from the people in spite of the absence of commerce and local industry, had not been altogether repealed after the restoration of the Papal authority. The young Delegate, who had even then a keen eye for the needs of both country and people, a just and warm sense of the duties more even than of the rights of the government with respect to the governed, had not much difficulty in persuading one so wise and so unworldly as Gregory XVI. and his treasurer, Monsignor Tosti.

The people of Benevento were relieved of their burdens; brigandage and smuggling disappeared; the reign of law, with order, peace, and security, was firmly established in town and country; agriculture revived in this atmosphere of true liberty with law and with lightened taxation; industry and commerce sprang into new life with agriculture and the opening of accessible markets. All men went about their business without fear of midnight violence or outrage committed in the open day. It was a transformation; and less than three years of wise statesmanship and true political economy had sufficed to make the change.

Just then the King of Naples was urging the Pontifical government to exchange the province of Benevento for a larger territory adjoining the Papal States, and apparently much more desirable to the Pope. The negotiation was very nearly concluded when the Secretary of State, Cardinal Lambruschini, thought it proper to notify Monsignor Pecci and to ask him to give his advice in writing. This made the latter write at once an energetic remonstrance against the impolicy of such an exchange, accompanied by a detailed report and considerations of a high political and

moral order which should forbid the Pope's government from entertaining such a proposition. Among the motives urged against the cession of Benevento were deep religious reasons. The ecclesiastical province of that name had one metropolitan and fourteen suffragan sees, so that the spiritual needs of the people were far better provided for than they were likely to be under a merely secular government.

The advice of the Delegate prevailed with the Holy Father, and the negotiations were broken off.

So, with the extirpation of brigandage, the expulsion of political conspirators and refugees, and the revival of agriculture and industry, it was now an easy task to govern Benevento. Any delegate would be sure to be welcome and blessed there who would be more anxious to fulfil his duties as the representative of a fatherly sovereign than to stand on his rights as a ruler and a master.

Gregory XVI., whose expectations had been more than justified by the inexperienced young prelate of twenty-eight, had now a wider field for his talent—an administration beset with far more difficulties.

So Monsignor Pecci was suddenly summoned to Rome. But to this day his name is loved and blessed by the Beneventini.

One circumstance unmentioned in our manuscript *Memoir* occurred soon after Monsignor Pecci's departure for Benevento—that was the death of his father, which took place on March 8, 1838. It was a great grief to the young prelate, and contributed not a little, perhaps, to the utter prostration which at one time threatened to cut off all hopes of his recovery.

CHAPTER VII.

PERUGIA AND ALL UMBRIA FIRST BECOME ACQUAINTED WITH JOACHIM PECCI—HOW THE YOUNG STATESMAN DEALT WITH THE CAUSES OF ITALY'S UNREST.

[May, 1841, to January, 1843.]

MONSIGNOR PECCI was recalled to Rome from his government in May, 1841, and was immediately appointed Delegate of Spoleto. This was rapid promotion for one so young. But, amid the effervescence which the revolutionary societies were fomenting all through the Papal States—all through the Italian Peninsula, indeed—the Sovereign Pontiff thought that one who had shown so deep and almost intuitive a knowledge of the means of preventing as well as of curing popular discontent should be sent to one of the principal centres of agitation—Perugia.

Perugia, the capital of Umbria, is, like Chiusi and Spoleto, like Orvieto and Siena, like the ancient Etruscan Fiesole, one of those hill-cities with which Central Italy abounds, and whose position above the plain suggests security from predatory warfare, where it has not been chosen also for security against the malaria which ravages the lowlands. It was one of those mediæval republics whose growth was fostered by the Church, and whose foundation and progress were the joint product of free labor sanctified and sustained by religion. Like its sister-commonwealths of Umbria, Etruria, Emilia, and Lombardy, Perugia had a long struggle against the ambition of the feudal nobles and its own wealthy burgesses, all striving to win the mastery by force of arms or to purchase it by gold. Gold and the military skill of the aristocracy succeeded everywhere in stifling the liberty which the workingmen's guilds had created

in possessing themselves of the rich field cultivated so painfully during long centuries by religion and free labor working side by side, and just as it was ripening into the golden harvest of the most magnificent civilization the world had ever seen.

This beautiful city of Perugia, just as it had passed for ever out of the hands of one set of tyrants to be ruled by the Popes as sovereigns, was made still more beautiful by one of its own adopted sons, Pietro Vanucci (better known as the painter Perugino, the master of the great Raphael). In the latter half of the fifteenth century the tyranny which had sprung up in the Italian free cities on the ruins of mediæval liberty was half-concealed under the outward forms of self-government still left in the hands of the citizens. The thrift of the labor guilds had literally created Siena and Florence, Pisa and Genoa, Perugia and Arezzo and Assisi, just as they had Milan and Lodi, Crema, Cremona, Mantua, and Verona, with so many others all over the land.

It was the Guild of Merchants who invited Pietro Vanucci to adorn the City Exchange with the masterpieces of art which we admire even in their decay. And the magnificent cathedral, with the numerous churches which shine on the hillside like brilliants in the diadem of a queen—what are they, like those of Florence, Siena, Pisa, and Milan, but the creations of a generous people of workingmen, craftsmen, and merchants?

The important province of which Perugia was the capital possessed many beautiful cities, each sprung from the same forces of labor, magnificent piety, thrift, religion, and liberty. Near at hand was Assisi on its hill-top, with the glorious temple and monastery which had sprung, grown up, and blossomed out of the tomb of St. Francis. Why mention others?

But in the year 1841 the seeds left behind by French Voltaireanism and Jacobinism had been long growing and waxing strong, till they now defied all efforts to uproot them. They had become so thickly mixed with the wheat in the ripening harvest-field that to the wisest husbandry

it was a puzzle to know how to prevent them from utterly choking the good grain.

Italy in 1820 counted upwards of one hundred thousand Carbonari, or charcoal-burners. But all the Carbonari of 1820 were, some writers affirm, not hostile to religion, certainly not to the religion of Christ. The more formidable, far more wide-spread, infinitely better organized societies which covered, like a net from which there was no escape, every province and city, every town and hamlet of the Peninsula, were pledged to the destruction of the existing Church and religion, as to that of the sole barrier which stood between them and the realization of a United Italy, free from foreign domination; of a kingly Italy first, if so it must be, but finally in the constitution of a republic without Church, pontiff, or priest—*a radical centralized democracy.*

Ideas, in our day, are the seed which the great vehicles of thought, the printing-press, journalism, and club oratory, sow all over the face of the earth, and cultivate there with a scientific husbandry matured and perfected by our knowledge of the intellectual past. Illuminism, Voltaireanism, Jansenism, and then the Jacobinic frenzy employed these agencies to destroy the Christian order and the Christendom of our fathers. Mazzini's genius welded all these agencies into one mighty force. His was the brain which conceived, Garibaldi's was the arm which wielded, this mighty weapon; both were taken into the service of Cavour, who also had at his beck the veteran army and fleet of an Italian kingdom.

These were the forces and the men against which the old Italian political and social order was expected to do battle. But, while the aggressors knew their own purpose thoroughly, saw clearly the goal toward which their course was bent, had counted their resources up to a fraction, and were sure to be a unit when the time for action came, and resolved as well to be stopped on their way by none of the old-time forms or scruples, their adversaries were wrapped in a half-dreamy consciousness of approaching danger,

trusted implicitly for the preservation of what was most venerable in existing institutions to some intervention of Providence; whereas that Providence, who created the tremendous forces of free human agency, will have communities and their rulers ever wide awake to foresee dangers, and ever prepared and able to avoid them by timely and prompt preventives. They had no unity of purpose or of counsels, these shepherds of the peoples whose houses were undermined beneath their feet. They could not count on each other, and they scarcely counted on themselves.

The Holy See, aware of the falling off among its faithful people in consequence of their being drawn into the net of the secret societies; aware of the spread of revolutionary, anti-social, and anti-Christian pamphlets among the people; alarmed by partial risings here and there, by the utterances of the press at home and the loud and undisguised boastings of the English and the French press, had become fully alive to the danger. But at home and abroad every precaution taken and every effort toward repression were denounced as acts of treason against liberty, progress, enlightenment, and modern civilization.

Perugia, like Bologna, was one of the most active centres of this formidable propagandism and the agitation it inevitably tended to produce; they stirred up the most powerful patriotic passions combined with a passion more terrible still—the hatred of all religion, which is, like the most recently invented explosives, an uncontrollable force, developing with a suddenness that baffles all calculations and precautions, and destroying the man who uses it as well as the man whose destruction is aimed at.

Thither in 1841 was sent Joachim Pecci. He hastened to this new field of labor in order to make immediate preparations for the expected visit to Perugia and its province of Gregory XVI. For this much-abused Pope, whose every act was misconstrued and misrepresented by the anti-Catholic press of England, as well as by the organs of public opinion in the United States, was most anxious to see with his own eyes the condition of his people, and

to remedy, so far as he might, the abuses and evils of which they could justly complain. One thing at that time disagreeably struck strangers visiting Perugia. The old mediæval road leading up from the plain to the city was—as travellers may remember the old road at Laon running straight up to the fortifications at an angle of forty-five degrees –almost impracticable for vehicles of any description. This was a serious drawback to traffic.

The new Delegate saw at a glance what was to be done, and lost not a moment in doing it. Within twenty days a broad and well-paved thoroughfare winding up the hillside gave access to the place. And up this new road the Sovereign Pontiff was escorted by an enthusiastic multitude. It was thenceforward known as the Strada Gregoriana.

Monsignor Pecci's reputation had preceded him in Umbria: people expected from him intelligent and salutary reforms. The opening and completion of this new road made on them a very favorable impression, convincing them that their governor was a practical man who had an eye to the popular needs. This also inspired them with no little fervor in preparing for the reception of the sovereign. They took it as an evidence of his fatherly interest in their welfare that he had sent them a Delegate who had sincerely at heart the improvement of the country and the happiness of the people. So Gregory XVI. had from Perugia a right hearty welcome. He felt its warmth, guessed to whom he was indebted for all these demonstrations of respect and affection, and thanked Monsignor Pecci for them.

Gregory had a special predilection for the beautiful mediæval city, and the greeting given him by its people delighted him beyond measure. "During this journey through the provinces," he said to the Delegate in presence of a courtly crowd, "I have been in some places received like a monk; in several others with the ceremony due to a cardinal; in Ancona and Perugia I have had a reception such as truly becomes a sovereign."* In Città

*MS.: "Nel mio viaggio in alcuni luoghi sono stato ricevuto da

della Pieve the Pope rested for three days, during which he placed in the hands of the Delegate many presents and decorations for the most meritorious citizens of Perugia and Umbria. "Before long, Monsignor," he said, "and as soon as I shall have returned to Rome, I shall also remember you."

But the Delegate did not content himself with following the Pope to the principal cities of Umbria and sharing in the triumphal welcome everywhere given to the Holy Father. No sooner had the latter left Umbria for Rome than the Delegate began in good earnest the work he had set himself to accomplish. After doing what was of most pressing urgency for the capital, he resolved to visit every commune of the province in person, examining closely into every detail of local administration, informing himself exactly of the needs of each locality and the grievances complained of, correcting as he proceeded inveterate abuses, removing guilty or incapable officials, and taking note of the reforms to be submitted to the central government in Rome.

His presence was everywhere hailed with real satisfaction by the people. What he did on the spot, and what he promised to obtain from superior authority, contributed largely to remove well-founded popular discontent and to appease the agitation fomented by the secret societies. He was very firm in putting down these pernicious organizations. But he was not satisfied with repression; he left nothing undone to take away from these conspirators against Church and State the very reason of their existence by diminishing the burdens of the people, by fostering—as he had done in Benevento—industry, agriculture, and commerce, by securing an impartial, inexpensive, and prompt administration of justice, thereby making the people love and respect the law and its ministers. Meanwhile he was inexorable in punishing lawlessness and all disturbance of the public peace.

Frate, in molti altri convenientemente, ma da Cardinale; in Ancona e Perugia veramente da Sovrano."

In this way, within the space of one twelvemonth, Monsignor Pecci succeeded in effecting most important and beneficial changes in every department of the public administration. The communal or town councils were entirely remodelled; to cut off all pretexts for delays in terminating law-suits, all the courts of Perugia were united in one great building, and every door was closed against the ruinous custom of adjourning and procrastinating. So active was he in removing all causes of public discontent, and in repressing and punishing private wrong-doing, that *there came a time when the prisons of Perugia did not contain a single criminal.*

Moreover, to encourage thrift among the laboring classes, and to provide funds at a low interest for industrious tradesmen and farmers, he exerted himself strenuously to establish the Perugia Savings-Bank, contributing a generous share to the necessary capital.

But even then, at the very outset of his public career, the young statesman, who sought to grasp the whole problem of Italy's unrest and aspirations, clearly discerned the fact that there could be for the peoples of the Peninsula neither true political unity nor real and stable social progress and prosperity without a thorough moral renovation accomplished by true religion.

Religion, to fit a people for a new phase of existence, a new period of civilization and national greatness, must descend deeply into minds and hearts, implant there strong convictions, and the generous impulses to great deeds and great sacrifices which can alone spring from strong convictions.

All these springs of greatness in private and in public life had been either entirely obliterated in a great portion of the Italian people or weakened more or less in the remainder by the education given to the nation by the teachings of French infidelity, by the terrible influence of the long-prevalent revolutionary Jacobinism, and by the open or secret action of the anti-Christian societies. The most active and energetic elements of public life in Italy

in 1841–42 were the men in whose souls and lives the one absorbing passion was to overthrow religion and utterly to discredit among the masses the principles and practices of ancestral morality.

A scholar himself, and passionately devoted to the pursuit of the highest intellectual culture, Joachim Pecci believed that one of the most potent means of regenerating Italy was to give her leading classes a thoroughly religious as well as a thoroughly superior education. From them, he thought, true enlightenment would descend downward in society, helping the clergy and the most popular teaching orders of men and women to co-operate with Christian parents in thoroughly educating the children of the lower and middle classes. He therefore used all his authority and influence to open schools wherever there were none, to encourage and improve them where they existed. He especially exerted himself to give a new life to the College Rosi of Spello, the Pope appointing him Apostolic Visitor of the same. Its finances were placed on a prosperous and secure footing; a new staff of able professors were attached to the institution; its studies were thoroughly reorganized, and every precaution taken for the maintenance of that severe discipline without which there can be no steady progress in learning.

The Delegate was planning much more for the intellectual and moral advancement of Umbria, for the development of the material resources of that beautiful and classic land, when Gregory XVI. recalled him and prepared to send him on a mission of far higher importance and wider utility.

Thus was fulfilled the Pontiff's promise made at Città della Pieve: "Before long I shall remember you also."

242
BENICIA

CHAPTER VIII.

ARCHBISHOP PECCI STUDIES THE WORKING OF FREE CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT IN BELGIUM.

[1843 to 1846.]

THE young prelate, still in his thirty-third year, was not a little surprised to learn from the Holy Father that he had been chosen to fill the post of Apostolic Nuncio in the court of Brussels. This was in the beginning of January, 1843. On the 27th of that month the Pope nominated him to the dignity of titular Archbishop of Damietta. On February 19 his episcopal consecration took place in the ancient church of San Lorenzo *in Panisperna*, erected on the spot where, according to the constant tradition of Christian Rome, the heroic deacon of the second century was tortured to death. The consecrating prelate was Cardinal Lambruschini, the Secretary of State, who took a fatherly interest in Monsignor Pecci, on whose noble character and splendid abilities he had set a high estimate.

A month later, on March 19, the Archbishop-Nuncio set out for his destination. Traversing France rapidly, he spent a few days in Namur with his old friend and classmate in the Roman College, Canon Montpellier, later Bishop of Liége, and one of the most distinguished prelates of Belgium. In Brussels he was warmly welcomed by Monsignor (afterward Cardinal) Fornari, who had been his professor of canon law in the College of Nobles, and who had just been promoted to the Nunciature of Paris.

The veteran diplomat was able to give his old pupil precious information regarding the duties he was expected to fulfil in Belgium—duties which the division of religious and political parties, and the perpetual intrigues of the

already numerous and powerful secret societies, rendered extremely delicate and difficult.

In the separation of Belgium from Holland in 1830 the main directing force had been the love of religious liberty in the Catholic population, to whom the House of Orange refused obstinately the freedom of conscience stipulated by the Congress of Vienna. The union of the provinces, at best, had been a forced and unnatural one. There were irreconcilable antipathies of race as well as of religion—the memory of long historical antagonism, rendering the yoke of Holland still more galling to the Celtic Belgians, who, in race and language and creed, had more affinity to their powerful French neighbors. But it were hard to say which was the greater error, that of the Congress of Vienna deciding by a stroke of the pen the political and religious destiny of five or six millions of Catholics, or that of that other Congress of 1830–31 imposing on emancipated Belgium a form of constitutional government to which the people were strangers. The political quacks who think that the constitutional forms which suit the English race at home or in the United States ought also to suit Belgium, or France, or Spain, or Italy, forget that the institutions of a country are the natural growth and outcome of a people's habits and social life. Where, as in Great Britain and in the American Union, the form of government, with the laws and the judiciary, has ever been a part of the people's existence, it needs no political education to train the masses to the knowledge and exercise of their political rights. They are matters of course, as familiar to the farmer in the country as his implements and methods of agriculture; as handy to the craftsman in the cities as the rules and practice of his trade. How different among the Latin nations of Continental Europe and their offshoots was the use of the suffrage, whether open or secret, in electing to municipal or national offices! What a farce the ballot was from the beginning, and is still, in countries we might name! And what oppression is practised, in the name of liberty and under the sham of constitutional

forms, by peoples among whom anti-Christian teachings destroy the religious and moral sense, with the elementary and essential ideas of individual right, making what they call free government the most hideous intolerance and the downright and unrestrained proscription of all opinions, convictions, and acts which differ from their own false and narrow notions!

From the very birth of constitutional government in Belgium the country became, like the little Republic of Geneva, a hot-bed in which sprang up a luxuriant growth of secret associations conspiring against the monarchical institutions of the Continent. All political exiles, all socialistic and anarchical dreamers, found a safe refuge there, and there wrote and published, plotted and planned.

Belgium, Catholic Belgium, became especially the paradise of this *Occult Force*, not of the purely or professed benevolent and kindly associations which go by different names wherever the English language prevails, but of those bodies of conspirators against Church and State, against the entire social order inherited from the Christendom of the past, who are the legal and legitimate descendants of Weishaupt and his Illuminism. English and American societies long and blindly refused to acknowledge the evidence offered them that this Occult Force on the Continent of Europe, as well as in Spanish and Portuguese America, was a vast and mighty conspiracy against God.

Now our people have opened their eyes, and severed every tie of brotherhood, not of solidarity, with these banded enemies of all religion and of all society, since without religion society is impossible.

The reader, knowing the character, the creed, the aims, principles, and policy of this mighty organization in Europe, will not be surprised at the alarm and consternation of the Belgian Catholics when they found, from the very first day when Belgium elected her representatives to Parliament, that they had for principal adversaries the members of that body.

His Holiness Leo XIII.

We have often heard the Belgian hierarchy, as well as Belgian Catholic statesmen, accused of bigotry, intolerance, *obscurantism*, because of the stand they took and maintained in favor of denominational education, as against the godless schools patronized and advocated by Frère-Orban and his brother-sectarians in the past and present.

But the programmes of late years published both in France and in Belgium by the Occult Force triumphant must convince any impartial reader, if he be a Christian man, that the battle fought in constitutional Belgium from the beginning was between the supporters of Christianity, the advocates of a thorough religious education, on the one hand, and the conspirators against religion, who wanted to get possession of the youth of the kingdom and extinguish in their souls all knowledge or all love of the ancient faith of Christendom.

Such was the battle which raged in Belgium when, in late March, 1843, Archbishop Pecci presented to the Court of Brussels his credentials as ambassador of the Holy See.

Who was the king to whom these letters were presented?

Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, King of the Belgians, has already had biographers and historians, official and unofficial, to tell the story of his life and reign. His character is as well known to American as it is to European readers. The statesmen who had a voice in Continental affairs when the Great Powers decided who would be the constitutional head of the new kingdom decided in favor of this prince, because he was a liberal in politics, a nominal Protestant in religion, a member of this same organization, who had been married to the heiress to the British crown, who was uncle to Queen Victoria and her husband's near relative, and who was soon to become the son-in-law of the French King Louis Philippe. These two men were both cast in the same mould. What the Belgian sovereign was the public has long ago learned from the published memoirs of his intimate friend and chief counsellor, Baron Stockmar, as well as that of Prince Albert and his wife.

King Leopold, thus placed on the throne of Belgium

as a checkmate to the Ultramontane tendencies of the men who had created free Belgium, and a man acceptable to the numerous, powerful, and sworn enemies of the Church in that Catholic country, threw the whole weight of his influence from the beginning into the scale against denominational education.

Those among us in America who have always looked upon our public-school system as unimpeachable, because it freely educates the children of all citizens, rich and poor, without any regard to creed, will not see in the conduct of King Leopold anything that is blameworthy. But we in America are beginning to see that the public-school system was from the first open to two serious and unanswerable objections. It levied a heavy tax on those who objected conscientiously to schools where no religion whatever was taught, and refused to grant any share of the school fund to denominations who insisted on a religious teaching in their schools; and it tended practically (as it has now, confessedly, ended in doing) to turn out young men and women indifferent to all religious principle and practice—men and women all the more dangerous to the community that their trained intellect and acquired knowledge are a terrible agency in the service of their passions, whereas no fear of God is there to restrain them from evil courses or to encourage them to well-doing.

Besides, in a country like the United States, where so many sects exist side by side, with equal rights before the law, if the majority must decide the school question like all others of public importance, the minority must perforce submit. Still, that minority will deem it oppression to be taxed for an institution which they cannot approve of or profit by without violating their conscience. But where, as in Belgium in 1843, the immense majority were Catholics, and only demanded to be left free in educating their own children as conscience dictated, it was intolerable in the minority to impose on them a school system condemned by the Church, and which both conscience and experience proved to be blameworthy and pernicious.

Yet the English-speaking world, through its organ, the public press, has invariably sided with the tyrannical minority, and held up the struggles of the Catholics of Belgium and their clergy as the battle of ignorant and intolerant fanaticism against enlightenment, intellectual progress, and modern civilization.

And the struggle goes on still in the year 1889. It is still the contest between two antagonistic and diametrically opposite forces, that of religion on the one hand and that of irreligion on the other, for the possession of *education*, the mightiest means ever devised for the moral elevation or the utter destruction of the human race.

Had not the political battles of to-day in Belgium been fought on the same ground and for the same vital issues as in 1843 and the preceding decade, we should apologize to the reader for what might appear a digression of unwarrantable length. But Archbishop Pecci, as Nuncio to Brussels, found himself in presence of the same hostile camps which at this moment, and from his elevation to the Papal chair, occupy the attention of Leo XIII.

On his first appearance at court the new Ambassador of the Holy See made a most favorable impression. It was evident to all that he was an accomplished scholar, a well-bred and courteous gentleman, whose conversation, while carefully avoiding political subjects and diplomatic questions, could take the widest range. His learning, his education in the capital of Christendom, the historic centre of art culture, science, and letters, enabled him to speak on all topics with equal ease and authority. He had also inherited not a little of Roman wit. None, however, felt its edge save such as, in his presence, presumed to attack religion or trespass against propriety. For such offenders he had little pity. And more than one witty saying of his survives in the court circles of the Belgian capital.

Happily for the court of Brussels, for the entire Belgian people, indeed, the queen was one whose life was a mirror of all womanly virtues. Even over the mind of her sceptical husband she wielded the influence which deep faith

accompanied by saintly deeds exercises over all men in whom the moral sense is not quite extinct. Fervently practising the religion taught her by her exemplary mother, she was also devoted to all its interests and would have it preserved to her subjects as the dearest of all treasures. Her own education having been acquired amid the scepticism of French court society and the practical contradiction, in French families, between the faith of one parent and the actions and professions of the other, she prized at its full value the boon of Christian education for every household, every child in her kingdom.

The Belgian archbishops and bishops, in their unceasing struggle for this most precious fruit of the liberty of conscience guaranteed by the constitution, could always count on the sympathy of the queen and her secret advocacy of their sacred cause, even when prudence would not permit her to side with them openly. To the Nuncio her counsels were also of great assistance in the selection of a line of conduct which should protect the inalienable rights of the Church without bringing her authority into conflict with the principles of responsible government.

At any rate, while studying the position of the Belgian Catholics and devising the best means to protect their interests, Archbishop Pecci applied himself to the labor of visiting the great Catholic schools which had rendered the country famous in the past. Instinctively the Belgian clergy felt that, in the struggle for retaining under their own control the education of the youth of the kingdom, the first condition toward success was to make their schools superior to those directed by their antagonists. There could be for the state no decent pretext for interfering with educational establishments which did the work they had to do better than any other of the kind, and which did more of it.

This must be the law for denominational schools the whole world over. The Belgian hierarchy and their educationists made it a rule for themselves.

In the capital itself the College of St. Michael, be-

ing immediately under the eyes of king, ministers, and members of the Legislature, was more likely than any other to be taken by friends and foes as a measure of comparison in judging the excellence of the other Catholic schools and their methods. The Nuncio took a lively interest in this important institution, visited it frequently, won the confidence and affection of professors and pupils, and by his tact as well as by his zeal spurred them on to aim at the highest standards of proficiency. Such standards had ever been his own. On them, in every sphere of learning, he had regulated his own studies. And no one could converse with him long, or listen to him on public occasions when he had to honor his office and his reputation by some display of scholarly culture, without perceiving, in the exquisite finish of whatever came from his lips or his pen, how elevated were the literary and scientific ideals which he had successfully pursued.

Such a man, and he a young man, raised already to such eminence by these rare gifts, acquired as well as natural, had invariably great influence over the studious youth whom he addressed—over the most cultivated audiences, indeed.

From the visits he paid to the College of St. Michael, and the active interest he took in its advancement, dates a new period in the existence of that great diocesan school.

But side by side with that college the "Liberals" of Belgium—that is, the adepts of the secret societies, who masked their real purpose in the beginning, and won over to their views very many unsuspecting and not very serious Catholics, fascinated by the spell word of "liberalism"—had succeeded in creating an undenominational school of higher studies, with the name of "University of Brussels." This was solely under state control. The standards, the methods, the irreligious spirit of the French university and its dependent schools were the model after which the Belgian Liberals framed this great national institution. National they affirmed it was, although repudiated by those who had a right to speak and to act for the immense majority

of Nancy, lately returned from his apostolic missions in America, where many still living, from Quebec to New York, from St. Louis to New Orleans, treasure the recollection of his eloquence, his munificence, and his saintly life. It was a deep consolation to this son of the Crusaders of old to witness in Louvain the manifestations of that living faith which refused to yield to the disciples of Voltaire and the apostles of modern scientism the training of the youth of Christendom.

Of course the representative of the Holy See was received in Louvain with the cordial respect due to his character and mission. The rector and the members of the university faculties waited on him with an address of welcome, to which he replied in suitable and graceful terms. Then came, in the university library, a welcome from the students. One of them, a student in the law-school, who at present fills the office of judge in the high court of Namur,* delivered a discourse in the name of his fellow-students. To this the Nuncio replied: "I am happy," he said, "to witness here the rapid progress made by an institution that owes in a special manner its birth to the revered clergy of Belgium, whose illustrious head I see before me. This institution is also the creation of its worthy rector, of his learned staff of professors, of the whole body of Belgian Catholics. . . . Yes, the traditions of the ancient University of Louvain are still a living thing; and to you, gentlemen, it belongs to perpetuate them by your labors. You have already shown that you know how to continue the work of those who were here before you; henceforth your Church and your country also know what they can expect from you. Follow persistently the path you are pursuing; it will lead, doubt it not, to the most fruitful results. For my part, I cannot help being deeply moved by the sight of this assemblage of noble and dear young men whose souls are aflame with the love of the true wisdom and with devotion to Holy Church. This brilliant youth—I cannot question

* M. Capelle.

it—shall be one day the happiness and the honor of Belgium."

The journal from which these details are taken goes on to say that in the course of the afternoon Monsignor Pecci visited and inspected carefully the colleges and other buildings belonging to the university. He could not conceal the extreme satisfaction he felt at seeing all belonging to this great Catholic school in such a flourishing condition.

The position of a representative of the Holy See near a court, where powerful and contrary currents of influence were apt to carry even the strongest and best-intentioned beyond the strict boundaries marked by conscience, and where weak men are entirely lifted off their feet to drift helplessly with the tide, is one which demands in him who fills it the rarest gifts of the practical intellect and the upright will.

The kingdom of Belgium was under the protection of the Great Powers; its constitution, hurriedly framed in the hour of national triumph and enthusiasm, was accepted by a Catholic people without too close a scrutiny, in their impatient haste to become an independent people with a regularly constituted government acknowledged by other nations. Be it said to the eternal honor of the Belgian Catholics in sanctioning by their assent the principle of absolute freedom for all forms of religious worship, they fancied they were following the example first set by the people of the United States, and which their practical good sense and true love of liberty have carried out faithfully.

But the United States, happily for its people, never had, as a political party—in a minority, indeed, but active, determined, and perfectly organized—the anti-Christian sects and conspirators who in Continental Europe cloak their principles and designs under the fair name of Liberalism or Freemasonry. If this party were not masters of the situation in 1843, they were powerful and united enough to compel any party in the kingdom to compromise with

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The journal from which these details are taken goes on to say that in the course of the afternoon Monsignor Pecci visited and inspected carefully the colleges and other buildings belonging to the university. He could not conceal the extreme satisfaction he felt at seeing all belonging to this great Catholic school in such a flourishing condition.

The position of a representative of the Holy See near a court, where powerful and contrary currents of influence were apt to carry even the strongest and best-intentioned beyond the strict boundaries marked by conscience, and where weak men are entirely lifted off their feet to drift helplessly with the tide, is one which demands in him who fills it the rarest gifts of the practical intellect and the upright will.

The kingdom of Belgium was under the protection of the Great Powers; its constitution, hurriedly framed in the hour of national triumph and enthusiasm, was accepted by a Catholic people without too close a scrutiny, in their impatient haste to become an independent people with a regularly constituted government acknowledged by other nations. Be it said to the eternal honor of the Belgian Catholics in sanctioning by their assent the principle of absolute freedom for all forms of religious worship, they fancied they were following the example first set by the people of the United States, and which their practical good sense and true love of liberty have carried out faithfully.

But the United States, happily for its people, never had, as a political party—in a minority, indeed, but active, determined, and perfectly organized—the anti-Christian sects and conspirators who in Continental Europe cloak their principles and designs under the fair name of Liberalism or Freemasonry. If this party were not masters of the situation in 1843, they were powerful and united enough to compel any party in the kingdom to compromise with

them or to see the administration of public affairs brought to a dead-lock.

Monsignor Pecci, knowing well that a constitutional sovereign has to govern through his ministers, and that a ministry is only the instrument of the most powerful party, could only exert himself to win the confidence of King Leopold I. as well as the good opinion of his ministers. Once trusted and consulted by the king and taken into the confidence of his advisers, he might prevent much evil, albeit much positive good could not be achieved for the time being.

That his youth, his modest and dignified presence, his courtly and reserved address did win him golden opinions from the very beginning we have ample testimony from contemporary writers as well as from the lips of those who bore a personal share in the events we are narrating or pointing to. The young Archbishop-Nuncio was an accomplished scholar and diplomat; but he was also—everybody saw and declared it—a priest of unblemished life. Such a character exercises irresistible ascendency even in royal courts, even in the councils of the most characterless politicians.

"The affability of Monsignor Pecci," says on this head a Belgian biographer, "his exquisite tact, and his deep learning forced Leopold I., who was a discerning connoisseur of men, to form a very high opinion of him. He endeavored to make of him a counsellor and a friend, and induced him to be a frequent visitor at court. The king often conversed familiarly with him, and took pleasure in propounding all sorts of difficult questions. The Nuncio, however, was never taken aback, so that the king would end by saying: 'Really, Monsignor, you are as clever a politician as you are an excellent churchman.'

"Our beloved and regretted queen, Louisa Maria, had a great veneration for the Archbishop of Damietta, and never missed an opportunity to obtain his blessing for herself and her children. This is a fact which Monsignor Pecci

still remembers. Not long ago a Belgian priest, who went to Perugia to pay the prelate his respects, heard him recall these incidents. 'Yes,' said the Cardinal-Archbishop, 'I knew well the father of your present king, as well as his pious mother. I was often admitted to the cordial intimacy of the royal family, and I have often had in my arms the little Leopold, Duke of Brabant. I remember, too, that Queen Louisa Maria, who was so good a Christian, used to ask me to bless this her oldest child, . . . in order that he might be a good king. And I have often blessed him with the hope that he would.'

"We say it with sincere pleasure, Monsignor Pecci has preserved a grateful remembrance of our country. Every time that one of our countrymen approaches him he never fails to express the sentiments of affection he entertains toward Belgium. In Belgium itself many of our active politicians who then knew him describe the superior intelligence, the delicate grace, the practical tact with which he conducted everything pertaining to the business of his Nunciature in Brussels. In our highest society people still recollect his noble affability of manner, his correctness of judgment, and the elevation of his ideas. In the family of Count Felix de Mérode* Monsignor Pecci was a welcome guest, his brilliant conversation adorning that home-circle which has remained celebrated in the history of modern Belgium." †

To this testimony we add another, taken from a well-authenticated source: "The fact is that he [Monsignor Pecci] conceived so great an affection for that deeply religious country that he afterwards made of his archiepiscopal palace in Perugia a staying-place for every Belgian citizen who presented himself there. There also, during vacation-time, he was in the habit of welcoming the pupils

* One of the founders of Belgian independence, the father of the Countess de Montalembert and of the late Monsignor de Mérode, Minister of Arms under Pius IX.

† From a biographical notice by Count Henri de Condé in *Le Courrier de l'Escaut.*

of the Belgian College in Rome; and in this college he usually lodged when business brought him to the capital of Christendom." *

Being the man he was, trusted and respected, if not beloved, by men of all classes and parties, it was natural that his influence and authority were often used to prevent or to extinguish untimely discussions. His moderation was like oil on the troubled waters. And they were rough enough in Belgium in those days. Sometimes there was trouble between the Catholics themselves, and conflicts of rights which it required consummate prudence, as well as great learning, to terminate to the satisfaction of both parties. "In 1845 a very serious dispute arose between the Jesuits and the University of Louvain. It originated in the sudden creation of a special faculty of philosophy in the Collége de la Paix at Namur, the teaching of philosophy having till then been reserved in Belgium to seminaries for clerical students, and for laymen to the Catholic University of Louvain. So the Belgian Catholics thereupon were split into two factions. For the university stood all the bishops and a great portion of the clergy; for the Jesuits sided powerful and influential persons, even in Rome. The Nuncio did all he could to calm the public mind, and succeeded in getting both parties to refer their claims to the supreme judgment of the Holy See. The Pope asked the opinion of all the Belgian bishops, and adopted such a prudential course as effectually restored peace." † The Nuncio was thus justified in refusing to give his own decision on the point in dispute.

The law on intermediate education also gave rise to quite a breezy controversy among the Catholics themselves, the Catholic press being divided in opinion, and Bishop Von Brommel, of Liége, taking a very decided stand. But the Nuncio's timely interference and wise words of advice put a stop to the discussion, besides securing to the clergy an unexpected share in the superintendence of intermediate schools.

* *Civiltà Cattolica*, March, 1878; notice by F. Ballarini. † MS.

So was it when the Ronge scandal—the forerunner of the "Old-Catholic" scandal of our own days—broke out in Germany, and threatened to spread the flame of schism through the Rhenish Provinces. Monsignor Pecci at once took the most effective steps to prevent the mischief from crossing the German frontier, although its author was a native of the diocese of Liége. He went, without a moment's delay, to confer with the bishops of Cologne, Treves, and Mayence, and communicated with the nuncio at Munich, securing their co-operation in localizing and isolating this heretical pestilence.

During his stay in Belgium Monsignor Pecci seized upon every opportunity to encourage the prelates of that country in their constitutional efforts to obtain from the state a due recognition and support for denominational education. He was, as the reader may have gathered from this and the preceding chapters, more especially zealous in promoting the superior education of the priesthood, judging rightly that, in the march of modern progress, the clergy should lead in intellectual excellence as in holiness of life. And as in Rome, from the earliest Christian ages, had been established schools of sacred and profane learning—centres from which the soundest science in all that pertains to divine things, to the government and discipline of the Church and the relations of all legislation with her laws, is derived for all peoples—so Monsignor Pecci wished that the Belgian bishops should send to be formed thoroughly in Rome the most promising clerics of their respective dioceses. This project was first laid by him before the assembly of the bishops at Mechlin in August, 1844, and met with a unanimous and hearty approval. No time was lost in giving effect to their resolution. The Holy See was but too glad to second the zeal of its Nuncio and the desire of the Belgian hierarchy. An elevated and healthy location for the proposed college was found quite near the Quattro Fontane* in a vacant monastery founded in the

* The *Quattro Fontane*, or "Four Fountains," are placed at the intersection of two of the great thoroughfares in Rome—that leading from the

seventeenth century by Barefooted Carmelites (the reform of St. Teresa), and given by Pius VII. to the Nuns of the Perpetual Adoration (called *Sacramentine*). These, having in their turn selected a more desirable site near the Quirinal, left their monastery free for other purposes. Gregory XVI. immediately sanctioned the purchase of this property. And thus the Belgian College in Rome subsists to this day as a monument, and an eloquent one, of the enlightened zeal of the Archbishop of Damietta for the best interests of a country than which, if we except Ireland, none more thoroughly Catholic exists, a country also which is, without exception, the most thrifty and prosperous on the European Continent.

As the autumn of 1845 was drawing to its close Gregory XVI. was persuaded to recall Monsignor Pecci from a post which he had filled with such credit to himself and the Holy See, such benefit to religion, and such satisfaction to the Belgian court, clergy, and people.

The causes which moved the Pontiff to this step, though extremely honorable to the Nuncio, may be regretted by the statesman, the reader of this biography and its author, as they were by the most enlightened of Monsignor Pecci's friends and contemporaries.

His recall from Brussels to be made Bishop of Perugia, though intended by Gregory XVI. as a reward and a promotion, removed from the great scene of active diplomatic service a young man of surpassing ability to bury him during more than thirty-two years in the obscurity and limited usefulness of a bishop's office in a provincial town. Was this a misfortune?

Porta Pia to the Quirinal Palace, and that opened or completed by Sixtus V. from St. Mary Major to the church of Trinità de' Monti, on the Pincio, and called from him Via Sistina. The four fountains are situated in niches placed in the opposing angles of the four adjoining blocks. Three of these thus belong to the three neighboring palaces of the Barberini, Albani, and Trugli, the fourth to the little church of San Carlino. The practical old Franciscan monk who was the dreaded Sixtus V. wished to give the neighborhood a supply of wholesome water rather than a great work of art. Adjoining San Carlino is the Belgian College.

CHAPTER IX.

STUDYING LONDON, PARIS, AND ROME.

[1846.]

LET us forget Perugia and its expectant people for a few moments longer, and follow Monsignor Pecci, step by step, from Brussels to Rome. He had of his own free will, and at the first intimation of the reigning Pontiff's delicately expressed wish that he should accept the bishopric offered him, at once yielded. It was not in itself a promotion. Perugia was not an archiepiscopal see, while Monsignor Pecci was an archbishop, with only titular rank, it is true, but, bestowed on one who was beginning his regular career of nunciatures, it was sure to lead him ere long to the cardinalate.

It is not going out of our way for remote or deep reasons for the Pope's wishing the Belgian Nuncio to accept the proffered see of Perugia, to say that Gregory, aged, taught by long experience, and near his death, foresaw the fearful storms about to burst on the Pontifical States, and knew that Perugia was, on its hill-top, one of the centres of revolutionary activity. Both he and his sagacious Secretary of State, Cardinal Lambruschini, felt that such a man as Monsignor Pecci was needed. To Perugia, then, he consented to go.

In Belgium, it is not too much to say, court, clergy, and people were filled with deep and sincere regret at the first tidings of their young Nuncio's recall. He had proved that he thoroughly understood the country and its people, the political and social problems involved in this first stage of their independent national existence, and that he was one who could sustain and promote the best of all causes without arraying against it in open warfare the angry passions of its adversaries.

The king and queen, who had seen much of the Archbishop of Damietta in the intimacy of their private life, were grieved at his approaching departure as at the loss of a dear friend whose counsels had been to them light and comfort. The ministers were even more pained than the sovereigns. The clergy and the Catholic press of the kingdom were loud in deploring the withdrawal of Monsignor Pecci as a national calamity.

Leopold I. seemed unable to testify sufficiently his esteem for a man who had fulfilled his mission at the court of Brussels with such extraordinary satisfaction to all classes. He decorated him in the most solemn manner with the Grand Cross of the order founded by himself, and wrote with his own hand to Gregory XVI.:

"I feel bound to recommend Archbishop Pecci to the kind protection of your Holiness; he deserves it in every respect, for I have seldom seen a more uncommon devotion to duty, more upright intentions and straightforward conduct. His stay in this country must have enabled him to do your Holiness good service. I beg you to require him to give you an exact account of the impressions he takes away with him on Church matters in Belgium. His judgment on all such things is very sound, and your Holiness can trust him wholly."*

The Nuncio could not have spent three years in the intimacy of Leopold I. without hearing much of his niece, Queen Victoria of England, and of her husband, Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha. Baron Von Stockmar, who had had not a little to do with placing Leopold on the throne of Belgium, had also been instrumental in bringing about a marriage between the Queen of England and her cousin. He had great influence in both courts, all the greater that he carefully abstained from intruding himself upon the public of either country. He had learned to prize Monsignor Pecci, and at the joint solicitation of the king and his confidential adviser the Roman prelate consented to visit London.

*MS.

Of course he was warmly recommended to the queen and her husband, and by them was received as became one who was the friend of so dear a relative, and who had shown such extraordinary qualities in the discharge of his office under the most trying circumstances.

The Anglo-Saxon race, on both hemispheres, was too important a factor in the problem of Christian civilization at its present phase not to have, long before the year 1845, fixed the attention of one so well informed and observant as the Joachim Pecci whose career we have been following. Ireland, for centuries kept in the twofold degradation of enforced ignorance and hopeless, helpless poverty, had, as soon as the terrible yoke was somewhat lightened, flooded with Catholic exiles Great Britain in its length and breadth, her vast colonial empire, and that mightier empire of the United States. Everywhere the still increasing millions of the chronically starving Celtic race at home confronted England with a stern demand for political justice, and as a living assurance that, through the Irish race, Catholicism would, in all future time, be coextensive with the English-speaking world.

These Irish exiles in England in 1845–46 were mainly instrumental in building up and supporting the Catholic churches which began to reappear all over England, Wales, and Scotland; and in 1845 the religious world had already been startled by the issue of the Oxford movement and the Tractarian controversy. The foremost theologians and scholars of which the great Protestant university boasted had braved public opinion and renounced every worldly prospect to join the Church of Rome.

How could the Archbishop of Damietta forego the opportunity of seeing a country where the hand of Providence was so visibly sowing the seeds of a near and mighty religious and political change? At the head of the clergy of his church was then a man whom he had known in Rome—a great scholar like himself; a churchman such as Archbishop Pecci would have all those of his cloth in modern times; foremost in all learning, secular and divine; one looked up to

by the men of his nation; one revered as a great teacher by the Christian world. It was consoling to confer with such a man on the religious future of England, on the providential mission entrusted to the down-trodden Irish race, from which Dr. Wiseman himself was descended.

The illustrious visitor was, of course, received at the Court of St. James as the friend of the King of the Belgians could not fail to be. A whole month was thus spent in England, and spent to good purpose, as subsequent events proved. The knowledge and experience derived from the spectacle of the social life of a great and free nation; of the varied activities of the people; of whole populations plunged in hopeless poverty, in the most degrading ignorance and vice, side by side with the most enormous wealth, with upper classes holding the land in their own grasp and distributing among their sons the chief offices of government as if they were an heirloom; of a state Church splendidly endowed, and as alien to the impoverished, ignorant masses as if it and they belonged to different spheres—such contrasts and contradictions forced themselves upon the Bishop of Perugia. They were to occupy much of his thoughts during his long years of retirement and study in the capital of Umbria.

He was at the time unaware of the extreme gravity of the illness from which the Sovereign Pontiff, his friend and benefactor, was suffering. On his way homeward he spent several weeks in Paris, the guest of Monsignor Fornari, and honored by Louis Philippe and his family, to whom the Queen of the Belgians had warmly recommended him.

The social, industrial, and political condition of France at that moment was one which might well excite alarm in the mind of one less enlightened than Monsignor Pecci, and less familiarly acquainted with the attitude and aims of great political parties, with the ambitious designs of European courts, and with the terrible power and the well-defined plans of the secret organizations which were slowly but surely making themselves masters of Europe itself.

Even as the ex-Nuncio conversed with the French king

and queen, absorbed at the time in their projects of matrimonial alliances, their throne was like a frame dwelling in the Brazilian forests—though untouched in appearance, all eaten away secretly by white ants, and sure to collapse with the first breath of the storm.

Monsignor Pecci was destined to see more of these terrible workers. He arrived in Rome on May 22, 1846, when Gregory XVI., lying at death's door, could not read or receive the autograph letter of King Leopold. The two months spent in visiting London and Paris had a most serious influence in shaping the course of the Archbishop's after-life. Had he returned to Rome immediately on quitting Brussels, the Pope, who so highly prized his diplomatic services, might have reconsidered and cancelled his nomination to the see of Perugia, and, even if raised to the dignity of cardinal, as requested by the King of the Belgians and half-promised by the Pontiff in recalling him, Joachim Pecci could have rendered the Holy See the most important services at a period when far-seeing statesmanship was more needed in Rome, and in Rome's representatives abroad, than at any period in modern history.

But it is useless to speculate on what might have been. We are now in presence of a momentous change in Rome itself.

The mortal illness of Gregory XVI. filled Monsignor Pecci with deep sorrow. The firmness with which this Pontiff repressed the insurrectionary movements, at various points, of the secret societies; the dignity with which he repelled the pretensions of the English ministers and other foreign statesmen to dictate to him a line of policy in administering the States of the Church; and the reputation so easily created for him by the Liberal anti-Catholic press of being narrow-minded, illiberal, intolerant, and a despot, did not affect the judgment of those who approached him, who knew the man and the Pope in his daily life, and who could appreciate the thorough conscientiousness which he brought to the discharge of every duty of his high office, the deep love of his country and his people which

formed so salient a feature of his character. Gregory XVI. had the misfortune to be the chief obstacle in Italy, in Christendom, to the revolutionary designs of the Occult Force and its allied organizations, "Young Italy" and "Young Europe." Had he been an angel of goodness it was their interest to paint him with the colors of the Pit. And they strenuously labored to do so.

But Gregory XVI., as one who approached him nearly * testifies, was, like his immediate predecessor, Pius VIII., one of the most accomplished scholars in Europe. He was not only learned, but a generous patron of learning. His was a life of unwearied labor, self-denial, and self-sacrifice. Placed by the votes of his peers of the Sacred College in the Chair of Peter, his private life was governed by the same simplicity and piety which had distinguished him when only a Camaldolese recluse. Once official business and the cares of his vast administration left him free at the end of his long days of toil, he was only the monk Mauro Capellari, seeking the poverty and solitude of his cell, and the presence of the God who judges popes and emperors, as He does the lowliest priest and the poorest peasant, in the scales of inexorable justice.

To Cardinal Lambruschini, Gregory's great Secretary of State, and no less than his master the detestation of every secret or open conspirator, Archbishop Pecci, on his arrival in Rome, had no need to render a very long account of the mission he had fulfilled in Belgium. The secretary was well acquainted with all that had been done, and had already expressed his appreciation of it.

But there was one among the members of the Sacred College assembled in Rome in preparation for the conclave to whom the ex-Nuncio was led to open his heart. This was Cardinal Mastaï-Ferretti, soon to become Pope Pius IX. What the latter's opinion of the Archbishop of Perugia's services at Brussels was, and what he had said to him before the conclave, was expressed anew in the very first audience after his election to the Pontificate.

* See Cardinal Wiseman, "Recollections of the Four Last Popes."

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"We know you well," he said; "and we wish to reaffirm the pleasure we expressed to you on a former occasion about what you have accomplished in Belgium for the good of the Church." *

It fell to the lot of the new Pontiff to reply to the autograph letter of King Leopold addressed to Gregory XVI. "Monsignor Pecci, lately Nuncio near your majesty," wrote Pius IX., "has placed in our hands the precious letter which you wrote to our venerable predecessor on the 14th of May. . . . The high testimony which your majesty has pleased to render to Monsignor Pecci, Bishop of Perugia, is most honorable to that prelate, who shall in due time experience the effects of your royal and kindly wishes as if he had continued to fulfil to the end the course of his nunciatures." †

The Archbishop of Perugia did not prolong his stay in Rome much beyond the time necessary for completing his official account to the new Secretary of State and visiting Carpineto and the members of his family. Before, however, directing his steps toward Umbria, he had witnessed the exciting scenes which in Rome followed Pius IX.'s celebrated Act of Amnesty. But he knew all classes of the citizens too well, and was too well acquainted with the plans of the Revolutionists in the Eternal City, throughout the Papal States and all Italy, not to know that the

* MS.: "Prima di lasciare Roma, *Monsignore Pecci non aveva potuto vedere il Pontefice che lo aveva elett», Gregorio XVI., perchè passato a miglior vita in quei giorni:* ma essendo sul punto di adunarsi il Conclave volle visitare il Cardinale Mastai-Ferretti, vescovo d'Imola per farne la conoscenza; e ne fu accolto contratto della più squisita e benevola cortesia, e seco lui in confidente colloquio favellò dei felici successi della sua nunziatura al Belgio. Salito poco appresso Pio IX. sulla Cattedra Apostolica, lo ricevette a formale udienza con eguali sentimenti di cordiale benevolenza, ed ebbe a dirgli: *Monsignore, ben ci conosciamo, e su quello che ella ha fatto per la Chiesa nel Belgio non abbiamo che a rinnovarle i sensi di vera compiacenza che le esprimemmo nel nostro colloquio.*"

We have transcribed this passage as it is in the original, the sentences in italics being exactly left as they were, to convey to the intelligent reader the meaning intended by the writer.

† "Cenni Storici," i. 5.

hymns of triumph sung to the new Pontiff always ended by a prayer which sounded very much like a menace.

We must ask the reader to go back with us now to the capital of Umbria, and to learn from the most authentic sources the circumstances which led to the appointment of the Archbishop of Damietta, still only in his thirty-sixth year, to the important pastoral charge he so little expected.

Perugia lost its bishop, Monsignor Cittadini, in April, 1845. It at once occurred to the clergy and people of the diocese that they could have no more desirable successor to their deceased prelate than the man who, during his brief sojourn among them as governor, had won such golden opinions from all classes, and endeared himself to the people by advancing their best interests and by the shining examples of his private life.

"The city magistrates and the most distinguished among the nobility, through the intermediary of Cardinal Mattei, the Protector of Perugia, laid their wishes before the Sovereign Pontiff, who received the petition very favorably. Gregory XVI. was gratified to see renewed in the person of Monsignor Pecci what befell St. Ambrose, who, while governing the province of Æmilia, was sent to preside over the canonical election of a bishop for Milan, and was himself chosen by the people. Gregory, therefore, declared himself ready to accede to the prayers of the Perugine, provided they could obtain the assent of the prelate himself, 'who, created in 1843 Archbishop of Damietta, was then Apostolic Nuncio in Belgium.'* The latter, as well to comply with the kind intentions of the Pope as influenced by the affectionate memories and relations which bound him to Perugia, did not hesitate to change his career, and to accept this pastoral mission among a people who had for

* The MS., which is here quoted, underlines this last sentence, as if it was taken from the text of the Pope's answer to the petition of the Perugine. We shall see presently that Gregory XVI. did consider Monsignor Pecci's prompt obedience to his desire as an act which touched him deeply. It was sacrificing future prospects to the least wish of the Pontiff.

him so high a regard and asked so earnestly for his return to them. He was preconized * as Bishop of Perugia in the Consistory of January 19, 1846, and on July 26 following made his solemn entry into his church, according to the ritual prescribed for such occasions, and amid the general rejoicing.

"Before entering Perugia, however, and taking possession of his see, Bishop † Pecci gave another proof of his life-long devotion to St. Francis of Assisi. He made a pilgrimage to the shrine of the Umbrian saint, poured out his heart in the magnificent church of St. Mary of the Angels, within the exquisite little sanctuary of the Portiuncula,‡ and then tarried near the tomb of St. Francis himself in Assisi.

"Another incident also serves to define the character of Joachim Pecci. He had determined to make his entry into Perugia on July 26, the day on which the Church celebrates the feast of St. Anne, the mother of the Blessed Virgin Mary. This, as we know, was the name of his own mother, so tenderly loved, so unceasingly regretted. From her he had imbibed the deep piety which he ever cherished for the parents of Her who had given birth to the Incarnate Word. It is a sentiment which the Catholic heart

* "Preconizing" is the technical term for proclaiming in solemn Consistory such episcopal appointments.

† Perugia was not then an *archbishop's* see. But as Monsignor Pecci was titular Archbishop of Damietta at the time of his promotion to Perugia, according to Roman rule he was designated as "Archbishop-Bishop." We shall simply style him Archbishop henceforward.

‡ The *Porziuncola* is so called in the history of the Franciscan Order because it was at first a ruinous little chapel, in the plain below Assisi, which the Benedictines offered as a free gift to St. Francis and his two first companions. The plot of ground it covered, with the crumbling walls and roof, was thus the only *portion* of God's earth the Saint and his associates could call their own. There they lived during the beautiful period of their earliest growth. Later the chapel was repaired and made a sanctuary by the popular veneration. Around that little sanctuary, later still, a magnificent church was reared, called St. Mary of the Angels. But within this glorious temple, like the Ark of the Covenant in the Temple of Solomon, was preserved the *Porziuncola*, decorated and beautified by all the artists of Italy.

in every part of the world has ever instinctively cherished.*

"There was an immense concourse of people; and it was said that not less than sixty thousand persons came to Perugia from the neighboring districts and the surrounding country, lining the streets which lead from the Monastery of San Pietro to the cathedral. This happy event was also celebrated by a general illumination, and by literary academies vying with each other in honoring the man."

Under St. Anne's protection, with the holiest filial affections of earth and heaven purifying and elevating his spirit, Joachim Pecci entered the city in which, with his whole heart and soul, he intended to do the work set before him by the Incarnate God, the great Shepherd of souls.

The Perugians were impatiently expecting him. He was their own choice. He loved them and brought to them the devotion of a whole life still in its early prime, already crowned with glorious performance and filled with the promise of many fruitful years. His welcome was an ovation—not so much one distinguished by outward display as by the outpouring of unmistakable popular joy. Display enough there was, assuredly; for they thought they could not do enough for one who, during his brief stay among them, had done so much to better the condition of all classes. The streets were decorated on his passage, as if he were a royal personage whom all delighted to honor. The beautiful cathedral, which he was to beautify

* In France the national sanctuary of Ste. Anne d'Auray, near Nantes, is well known to all travellers. It has been ever specially dear to seamen. In Canada, below Quebec, on the North Shore and opposite the island of Orleans, is *La Grande Sainte Anne*, scarcely less famous than the church in Brittany, and which is also a national shrine.

In Youghal, Ireland, was once a Convent Church of St. Anne on the beach at the entrance of the harbor, and whose tower only still remains standing. It is the lighthouse—as it ever was in mediæval times, the nuns being obliged to see that the light was always fed. It was a sanctuary most dear to Irish seamen in Catholic times. Our New Ireland will rebuild it.

still more, was crowded to its utmost capacity as the people conducted him in triumph to it. There were addresses from the civil authorities, from the chapter and clergy, and other bodies, all heartfelt in the sentiments they expressed, and to all of which the Archbishop replied in his happiest vein; for his heart, deeply stirred by all these manifestations, went out to his people and was felt in every sentence he uttered. In the evening the entire city was illuminated; and the country folk from far and near who had flocked in lingered lovingly around the episcopal residence to catch a glimpse of their young prelate's person, to get his blessing or perchance a word of fatherly affection from his lips. And they were not disappointed.

Who that has mingled, in the Italian cities of the north and centre at least, with the masses of the common people in street, public square, or church, on any one of those great religious celebrations which are so dear to them, but must remember with emotion how gentle, how orderly, how well-bred, and how courteous toward each other and to strangers this much maligned people are? And who, coming from any part of the English-speaking world, and comparing the conduct of the popular masses in his own land, on days of public festivity, with that of the Italian *contadini*, but must ask, "On which side is true civilization, the result of long Christian culture? Is it not on that of the sober, peaceful, orderly, civil crowds enjoying themselves innocently?"

We know what deep political passions, artfully and scientifically nursed, and let loose and directed with consummate skill, characterized the popular demonstrations in nearly all the Italian cities in the summer of 1846 and afterward. These passions, created and fostered for the most sacred of all earthly purposes—that of securing national liberty and self-government—were a force unhappily set in motion and directed against the religion and the institutions which had been, in Italy, the parent and the nurseries of Christian civilization. The cause and interests of religion, by the long and scientific education given by

the Revolution to the people of the cities and towns especially, had been identified with what these were taught to regard as the enemy of liberty and fatherland, as the irreconcilable foe of all amelioration among the laboring masses.

It was so often said, repeated, taught, taught over again, repeated, and said, by every mouth and pen and organ that could reach the popular eye, the popular ear, the popular heart, that, more even than the foreign princes who owned so much of the soil of Italy and held her peoples in bondage, the Pope, the priesthood, the Church were the foes to be beaten down, crushed, and got rid of once and for ever, that many of the laboring masses in the cities began to believe it, and the middle classes, who wanted to climb over their betters into power, feigned to believe it, acted as if they did, and threw themselves furiously into the rising, swelling, rushing current of popular hatred, heading, guiding it, and lashing it into fury.

This the clubs of the secret societies had long been doing in Perugia, as well as elsewhere. They had hitherto done it in secret and dark places. The Amnesty of Pius IX. now gave the conspirators an opportunity to come to the surface and the open light of day. Thenceforward no earthly power could destroy them, though it might check them for a brief space.

Who will create and organize a religious, a Christian, a conservative opinion capable of counteracting these passions? Who will call into being, by teaching and example, the mighty moral forces able to confront these powers of evil, and save Christendom and society from the chaos of anarchy toward which it is hastening?

It was, therefore, no undivided, harmonious, one-minded, one-hearted community that the new Archbishop of Perugia was called to govern in spirituals; for in temporals the province was always administered by a prelate-delegate appointed by the Pope.

The Archbishop, from the first day, understood exactly his position, with its perils and its duties. He had grasped

all the elements of the European problem, all the tendencies of the age, all the probabilities and possibilities of the coming era, so far as human sagacity, a careful observation of facts, and study of principles could enable a man, brought early into contact with the leaders of men and of human opinion, to understand the present and divine the future.

He lost no time in doing his duty, in educating and preparing his flock to withstand the perils which beset their consciences, their homes, and their country. We shall find him instructing them diligently and solidly; creating churches and schools wherever most needed; promoting piety and education in every parish; raising the standard of education in the seminaries destined for clerical students; renovating the great schools of superior education; lifting his eloquent voice, in pastoral letters, to protest against the outrages and injustice done to religion and its chief, and warning, by writings as admirable for their sound doctrine and exquisite literary forms as they are for their opportuneness, the people of Italy and all Christendom against the errors which unsettle and corrupt men's minds in our age, and against the vices begotten of unbelief, the unbridled love of pleasure, and the loss of faith in the eternal world with its rewards and punishments.

It were hard to say which one may praise most in this laborious episcopate of thirty-two years in Perugia—the works accomplished by the Archbishop to foster faith, education, and piety among his people, or the prophetic writings by which he taught them Christian wisdom, and with them taught also the whole Christian world.

We have now to follow him in his labors.

PART THIRD.

JOACHIM PECCI'S GLORIOUS EPISCOPATE IN PERUGIA.

1846–1878.

CHAPTER X.

IN PERUGIA—PREPARING FOR THE BATTLE.—I. BY EDUCATION.

AS was to be expected, the Archbishop of Perugia's first care was education. When, in the middle of the sixteenth century, St. Charles Borromeo, younger even in years than Monsignor Pecci, took possession of the see of Milan, his knowledge of the needs of his flock and of the needs of all Italy made him devote himself to the task of organizing not only a perfect system of secular instruction, complete in all the departments of science then known, but a thorough system of religious instruction, beginning with the teaching of the catechism in every parish church, in every elementary school, and ending in the best endowed chairs of theology, canon law, philology, and hermeneutics.

He found already existing, as is attested by a monument placed in the cathedral of Milan, a society of Christian Doctrine, established earlier in the century by a zealous priest whose prophetic mind divined the coming dangers to faith and morals, and who devoted himself, and enlisted others with him in the cause, to the labor of thoroughly grounding the children of the people in the knowledge of the Gospel truth and morality. This was also the primary object to which St. Ignatius Loyola and his first associates gave themselves up after their arrival in Italy, when the Holy See permitted them to evangelize the populations of town and country. They endeavored to make revealed truth penetrate into the popular mind by the most efficient methods ever devised by the mind of man.

Not content with preaching—in language which charmed

the most educated by its pregnant simplicity and entered the intelligence of the most unlearned as the light penetrates a sound eye—in the cathedrals and principal churches, they afterward went about the streets ringing a hand-bell and summoning all the children to catechism. The children flocked to the churches at their call, and with them came their parents. There these men broke to the little ones of Christ's flock the bread of the divine word in such a way that not a particle fell to the ground. Thus did Francis Xavier in Rome and elsewhere; thus did he in the capital of Portugal on his way to the East Indies; thus did he everywhere, and almost every day, during his marvellous missionary labors in the East. Bell in hand, he would pass through the streets of the pagan cities and summon the little children to follow him and listen to the word of God. And, as if the bell were some magic instrument which compelled their wills to follow the great modern apostle, they trooped after him to be enlightened and to be baptized, they and their parents with them. Read his method of catechising, and see if anything can be more admirable, more effective in captivating the intelligence and the heart, when wielded by a man or a woman whose soul is earnest in the work of God.

This St. Charles Borromeo saw carried out in Rome by the brethren of Xavier, and this he carried out himself in the vast diocese of Milan. This his cousin and successor, Archbishop Frederick Borromeo, embodied in his wonderful Confraternities of Christian Doctrine, which soon extended to all Italy.

This is what Italy most needed in 1846 and the terrible years which followed. This is what she most needs to-day, January 1, 1887.

Archbishop Pecci was too enlightened, too sagacious, too practical not to have perceived, ere taking charge of the diocese of Perugia, that such was also the need of the Italian populations—a need made all the more imperative by the propaganda of irreligious, immoral, and revolutionary teachings and principles which found means, through

the secret agencies of the "clubs," to disseminate their prints among all who could read, to inoculate with their venom the minds and hearts of those who could not. No amount of vigilance on the part of the authorities availed to check the spread of this pestilential apostleship of irreligion and revolt.

The sacred words of country, nationality, independence, and Italian unity were the spell-words used by these ubiquitous and sleepless agents of what was upheld as the cause of the people to catch the ear, move the heart, and enlist the sympathy of the popular masses, especially in the cities.

The growing mischief and the mighty influence of all these admirably organized agencies could only be counteracted by another apostleship—one combining the earnestness, the spirit of self-sacrifice, the devotion to God and God's people which distinguished the first preachers of the Gospel in Imperial Rome and Italy, with the knowledge of the present needs and dangers of the country, and the scientific skill to meet and vanquish in intellectual conflict all the enemies of revelation, who were also the enemies of the faith professed by the Italian people.

Nothing could withstand, baffle, and beat back the wide-spread and well-disciplined forces of Unbelief—who, unfortunately, won their successes in the name of patriotism and Italy—but a clergy fully alive to the dangers and responsibilities of the situation, and fully equipped with the best weapons for the contest; who had, marshalled behind them, partaking of the ardor, the convictions, the knowledge, and the skill of their leaders, the popular masses in city and country.

The people of Italy, it was already evident in 1846, would be lost to religion, and won over, by force, by persuasion, by seduction, by sympathy, to the cause of the Revolution holding aloft the banner of nationality, if the clergy did not hasten to make the people understand that religion never had stood and never could stand in the way of Italy's true freedom or national interests.

At any rate, the people had to be thoroughly grounded in religious knowledge and in the faithful practice of Christian morality, if they were to be saved from all the manifold influences of evil to which they were exposed even then, and which succeeding political events were so to intensify and complicate as to baffle the previsions of all human forethought.

Monsignor Pecci's first care in Perugia was to make every possible provision for the education of his clergy in the first place, then for that of the upper classes; knowing, as he did, that education, like all mighty influences for good or evil, spreads from above downward, from the leading classes to the masses of the people. Indeed, from his first taking possession of his episcopal see his keen, practised eye took in the condition of education among all ranks of his people. And if we mention before all else his labors in behalf of his ecclesiastical and university schools, it is to deal with the subject in logical order much more than in the order of time.

We here quote from our manuscript:

"No praise can do justice to the earnest zeal which he displayed for the diffusion of Christian knowledge and for spreading religious instruction among the people. He promoted this great object by the work of missions, by spiritual exercises, by the teaching of catechism, by the solemn festivities of First Communion celebrations, by the establishment of Christian Doctrine Societies.

"The text of the Diocesan Catechism, which he recast and reproduced in a number of editions; the episcopal decrees and ordinances which he published for regulating in all the parishes of his charge the explanation of the Gospel and of the letter of the Catechism; and the collection of learned and practical pastoral letters which he annually addressed to his diocesans, especially for the Lenten season, all bear witness to the wonderful zeal which he felt for the spiritual welfare of his people, and to the intense desire he had to maintain in its integrity and purity their baptismal faith."

After the Piedmontese occupation of Umbria and "the dispersion of the Monastic Orders, he saw that there would be among the people a dearth of spiritual food on account of the loss of so many preachers. Wherefore, in 1875, he founded a Union of Preachers of the Word of God, whose object was to extend the benefits of religious instruction to the various classes and quarters of the city and diocese, together with missions, spiritual retreats, catechistical lessons, First Communions; for all which sacred ministrations he had in 1873 established admirable rules, in order to surround them with greater solemnity, to make them more fruitful and more edifying in the city parishes.

"Moreover, he decreed, after consulting with the parish priests and rectors, a fixed regulation for divine services throughout the city. There were to be stated hours for these and for sermons on feast-days, so that the people of every quarter could at every hour have the utmost facility for attending to their duties and profiting by the instructions given. In this same year of 1872, as well as by another rule promulgated in 1875, he strongly urged all parish priests and their assistants not to desist from teaching the Christian Doctrine to children, and to have Catechism classes in the afternoon for adults."

The Diocesan Seminary, as being the nursery of the local priesthood, naturally obtained an unusual amount of care. "He was wont to call it the apple of his eye." * It had been founded in 1571 by Cardinal Fulvio della Corgna, Bishop of Perugia, and had also been an object of special solicitude to Bishop Napoleone Comitali, one of Monsignor Pecci's immediate predecessors. The Seminary was close by the episcopal palace, and the new prelate conceived at once the design of enlarging the edifice by uniting it with the episcopal residence and giving up to the Seminary the wing which adjoined it. It was a generous conception. But Monsignor Pecci went further, for between 1846 and 1850 he spent six thousand Roman crowns of his own

* MS.

DOOR OF THE MUNICIPAL HALL,

CATHEDRAL SQUARE PERUGIA.

money—and he was not rich—in making all these changes and improvements.

"At the same time," the manuscript goes on to say, "his principal attention was bestowed on raising the standard of education in the establishment by creating new professorships and appointing to them the best men he could find. Nothing was spared by him that could help to make the zeal for study flourish in the schools, so that the Seminary of Perugia should enjoy the greatest possible fame in Umbria and the neighboring provinces."* The mind of the Archbishop-Bishop of Perugia had been from his early years too thoroughly disciplined, and his whole life, even at that time, was too well ordered, that he should not value discipline and perfect order in his great schools, and insist upon their observance by both professors and pupils.

His object in incorporating the Seminary buildings with his own residence was to have the institution and the great work it was doing under his own eye day and night. The pride of the gardener is to see every plant in his nursery thrive and grow, every flowering shrub covered with the loveliest blossoms of spring, every fruit-tree bearing the ripening promise of golden autumn. And the gardener's joy is to see tree and shrub and flower responding to his careful and loving husbandry.

It seemed to be Archbishop Pecci's dearest delight to be among these young plants of the sanctuary, or to watch the habits and growth of each, as if it were indeed the apple of his eye. If he had it at heart that the pupils, all through their classic, scientific, and theological courses, should derive as much benefit as possible from the lessons of their accomplished masters, he was equally anxious that these should omit no pains to make their teaching perfect. They were to be well prepared and punctual in their attendance. The Archbishop, although trusting to the superiors and directors in the discharge of their respective duties, and exacting a full and minute account of the pro-

* MS.

gress made in each department, would not throw upon any one the duty of securing, both in professors and scholars, a careful fulfilment of their allotted tasks. He could be expected in the schools at any moment, never giving notice of his coming, but entering quietly in the midst of a lecture or recitation, seating himself without exciting observation, and listening attentively to the proceedings of the class.

Both master and pupils were sure to profit by these unexpected visits. He knew how to convey to both, with equal tact and delicacy, whatever defects he had noticed, as well as to praise and encourage what was meritorious. It is a rare gift in a superior, that of bestowing aright the due meed of blame or praise.

One anecdote in this relation paints Monsignor Pecci's character and habits to the life. It is told by Professor Geromia Brunelli :

"Neither my scholars nor myself," he says, "are likely ever to forget a remarkable incident connected with Cardinal Pecci. . . . I do not know how it happened, but one day I failed to be in my place at the appointed hour in my school of Belles-Lettres. Hastening to repair the delay, with the trepidation of a man who knew that the most likely thing in the world was to meet the Cardinal in the corridor of the college, watchful over the silence and order to be kept there, what was my astonishment, when entering the school without any previous knowledge of the fact, to see the Cardinal seated in my chair and translating for the benefit of my rapt scholars a passage from Cicero's 'Pro Milone,' making them feel and admire, in his own elegant language and with his fine taste, the hidden beauties of the Roman orator's composition and diction!

"Confused at first, but taking courage presently, I sat down on the benches among the pupils, and begged the Cardinal to condescend to continue his lesson. But he left the chair, inviting me graciously to occupy it, and impressing on his young hearers the importance of gathering all the fruit they could from their studies. Perhaps in the

smile which lit up his countenance he conveyed to the professor a silent but pleasant reproof." *

Of course such a man would insist upon testing solidly the quality of the teaching in college and theological seminary, as well as the application of the students, by severe quarterly examinations. He never failed to be present at these, and to be himself one of the examiners. At the end of each scholar-year he made it a rule to have Academies, to which the most cultivated citizens were invited, and in which the students had to read or declaim compositions of their own as specimens of the culture they had received during the year.

All this was after the model of the strong and careful culture which he had himself received at the hands of the Jesuits. From their method, too, he borrowed the admirable practice of having the students in Philosophy and Divinity sustain yearly, and particularly at the end of each of the philosophical and theological curriculums, a great public act embracing all the matters taught. Such a distinction is one that must ever be highly prized and much sought for; the prospect of it is a great stimulus to the noblest intellectual ambition.

Archbishop Pecci gave the utmost solemnity and éclat to these scholastic celebrations and assemblages. The neighboring bishops, Roman prelates famed for their learning, the foremost theologians and scientists in Umbria, all that was distinguished for rank or culture, were invited, and deemed it an honor to encourage by their presence these feasts of the intellect.

It was while he was thus perfecting everything connected with lay and clerical education in his diocese and throughout Umbria that he began to call public attention to the scientific method of that greatest of Italian scholars, St. Thomas Aquinas, who is in truth the greatest luminary of the Catholic Church.

His careful philosophical and theological training in the

* Prolusione letta dal Brunelli per l'anno scolastico 1878–79, e pubblicata nella "Leonis XIII. Pont. Max. Carmina," Udine, 1883.

Collegio Romano, where, as the Jesuits are enjoined by their founder, the works and method of St. Thomas are made the basis of the entire curriculum of Philosophy and Divinity, had filled Monsignor Pecci with a great admiration for him who is known in the Church as the "Angelic Doctor."

In truth, it is impossible to find any intellectual method better fitted, in imparting or acquiring a scientific knowledge of the entire system of Revealed Truth, to place before the mind, side by side, both the errors which are opposed to the various doctrines of Revelation and these doctrines themselves stated in all their native simplicity and supported by every argument which can help to elucidate and convince. In St. Thomas's great "Summa Theologiæ," and in his wonderful philosophical "Summa contra Gentiles," every objection ever devised against Revelation as a whole, its separate parts, or the solid array of evidence which natural reason brings to its support, is stated clearly, fairly. Before each proposition embodying a particular theological truth, as before some outwork about to be carried by storm, these objections, gathered from pagan and Christian times, are arrayed in regular order. Each one is heard, discussed, disposed of before the particular doctrine itself is formulated, analyzed, and demonstrated.

In the schools this method imposes on the professor a large and liberal view of the dogma under discussion; it supposes that he has gone round and round the truth, and surveyed it in all its bearings, and that he can guide his hearers in a like survey of the majestic edifice as a whole and in its minutest details. It imposes on the student—who has to attack and defend, by turns, the propositions of Christian theology or philosophy, as the case may be—a like thorough study of both sides in every question. This method of investigation and discussion in use in the great Catholic university schools is necessarily productive of large-mindedness, for it compels the deepest and widest study of all departments of human knowledge. And it begets, at the same time, that liberal and tolerant temper

arising from a scientific knowledge of Revealed Truth, from an enlightened and firm conviction of its divine origin and of its unspeakable benefits to mankind, but arising as well from a clear perception of the limits, on every subject, of the truth demonstrated, and a calm tolerance of the doubts and objections created by seeming contradictions and by the vast region of speculation and probability lying outside what is certain or defined as of faith.

These were the large and sure methods which Monsignor Pecci labored, and not without success, to introduce, familiarize, and develop in the great clerical schools. To encourage all who had at heart the progress of a Christian philosophy based on these methods, he drew up in 1858 a constitution and rules for an Academy of St. Thomas Aquinas which was to extend its benefits to the whole of Umbria. The events which convulsed all Italy in 1859, and the Piedmontese invasion of 1860, prevented Cardinal Pecci from carrying out his design. This could only be done in 1872, when the Academy was instituted and limited in its membership to the sole diocese of Perugia. The constitution and rules were modified to meet the altered circumstances of the times and country. It was described by the founder as "a union of priests, having for its purpose the study of the works of the Angelic Doctor." The precedent was a noble one, and was promptly imitated in Spain and Italy. It was also copied in other countries of Christendom when Cardinal Pecci, become Leo XIII., made the philosophical method of St. Thomas the guide of all Catholic teachers.

The Sixth Centenary of St. Thomas, occurring, as it did, in 1874, gave a fresh impulse to the Perugian Academy, which that year issued the first volume of its "Scientific Transactions." This publication and those which have since followed gave consoling evidence of the high culture which the great prelate's efforts and example had introduced among his clergy.*

* These "Transactions" were published by Santucci, of Perugia. We can form some estimate of the scientific and practical value of the labors

Thus labored he to raise high the level of the truest *science* in the souls of those who were soon to become the teachers of his flock, the bright lights of the Church of Perugia. But he was far more anxious and labored far more strenuously to raise higher still in these same chosen souls the level of *sanctity*. For they were to be guides of the people in all goodness and purity; and their lives were to mirror forth to Italians in the dark and troublous times which were swiftly coming on the land the virtues without which Christianity could not live in the country where Peter and Paul had labored and died, the country of St. Gregory and St. Leo, of Francis of Assisi and Thomas Aquinas, of Dante and Tasso, and of Christopher Columbus.

To return to the subject of education, his solicitude for the observance of strict discipline in all his schools was only a part of his endeavor to promote and secure the highest degree of excellence. He was very particular in supporting the authority of both directors and professors, knowing, as he did by experience, that without authority there can be no discipline, and without discipline no education.

But in his seminaries a severe discipline, to be what it ought to be—a willing, loving, conscientious compliance with rules—must proceed from higher motives than mere outward respect for superiors or a decent submission to a necessary order of things. The discipline of a seminary, a training-school for the priesthood, must be founded on the spirit of self-denial practised in the preparatory stage by men whose lives, to be worthy of their calling, must be one long self-sacrifice.

of the academicians by naming the foremost of the matters treated. There is an "Essay on *Anthropological Investigations* in accordance with the Principles of St. Thomas." This is dedicated to the Angelic Doctor on the recurrence of his Sixth Centenary, 1874 (vol. i.) In this first volume are the constitution and rules of the Academy itself. In 1878 the second volume was published. This contains "Discussions of the Academy of St. Thomas Aquinas of Perugia."

Cardinal Pecci's purpose was to demonstrate that all the discoveries and investigations of the ripest and most careful modern science could and should be examined and judged in the light of the sound Christian philosophy of Thomas Aquinas.

It was one of the most admirable features in the life of the Cardinal Archbishop of Perugia that he made it both a pleasure and a duty to mingle with his seminarians in their daily and weekly devotions, especially in the solemn exercises of their annual spiritual retreat,* which have such wonderful efficacy in purifying men's souls, in lifting them to God and setting them well forward on the road to all self-denial.

"He knew well what a delicate and difficult thing it is to give the souls of the young a right direction—of the young especially who aspire to the service of the sanctuary. To make sure of this he took every pains to have them from their earliest years solidly grounded in piety, in that humility which accepts the rules of discipline willingly, and in that practice of recollectedness which springs from both. He was extremely jealous of having the disciplinary rules in both college school and theological seminary strictly observed. This it was that often brought him into the corridors, into the recreation-halls, and into the chapel.

"He placed at the head of the Seminary well-known and prudent men, men of approved virtue, from whom he wished to receive daily reports. He frequently admitted the seminarians to his presence, and always showed them great affection in order to win their confidence and give them good counsel.

"On the other hand, he knew how to temper this kindness with a just severity toward such as showed themselves indocile and fractious. But he was careful not to use toward them anything like harsh words or bitter reproofs,

* A "Spiritual Retreat" is a recess of eight or ten days, given, generally under the direction of a priest of superior virtue and learning, to the meditation of the Eternal Truths—the Destiny of Man, Heaven, Hell, Sin, Judgment—the meditation of the Mysteries of Christ's Life, and all the duties of the Christian man, the priest, and the apostle. The little book of 'Spiritual Exercises" composed by St. Ignatius Loyola was the text used by his companions in the sixteenth century to work the wonderful change they effected in Europe as well as in the East Indies and America. Since their time the custom of these yearly Spiritual Retreats or Revivals has become general in all Catholic lands.

which only irritate the ill-disposed and drive them to extremities. He reserved to himself the treatment of the most stubborn cases. . . .

"It was his habit twice or thrice a week to go to a room specially reserved for him, during the study-hours, and to send for such of the young men as the rector considered to be disobedient or disedifying. There, all alone with each culprit, the Cardinal, with words which united real affection with fatherly severity, told him that he felt himself obliged to tell him that he must correct himself. To render this admonition more effective he usually gave to each of these thus sent for a sheet written by himself and containing, side by side, the faults and defects which it was indispensable to get rid of, as well as the most efficacious means of overcoming them. He insisted that this sheet should remain on the student's table, so as to be continually under his eyes as a reminder.

"This method produced the most excellent results; the most headlong, undisciplined, and passionate were known to change totally for the better. The Cardinal recommended above all things the spirit of obedience, of docility, and the resolute will to subdue self-love and pride, the twin-sources of moral disorder.

"Then, to plant these practical virtues still deeper in the souls of his seminarians, he wrote and published a little book on 'Humility,' which he dedicated to them, and in which he sets forth the means of acquiring this most necessary of all virtues in the priest, the one which should be his distinctive characteristic." *

Was all this careful husbandry, with its unceasing labor of love during thirty-two years, rewarded by abundant and worthy fruit? Yes. Cardinal Pecci "had the sweet consolation of forming in his Seminary not a few churchmen worthy of such culture, and who at this day fill high positions and offices of great trust, whether as pastors of souls or as professors, and who are justly regarded as the honor

* MS. This work was published in Perugia in 1871, and republished in Lucca in 1882.

of the Church of Perugia. Among many which might here be mentioned it will be sufficient to name Monsignor Rotelli, formerly Bishop of Montefiascone and now Delegate Apostolic in Constantinople, and Monsignor Boccali, the Pope's special auditor or judge; besides the two brothers the Professors Satolli, Professor Monsignor Ballerini, Professor Brunelli, the Archpriest Boschi, the Archdeacon Salvatorelli, and the two Canons Carnicchi.

"We could say much about the watchful solicitude with which he ever attended to the interests of the Seminary, and of the great expense he incurred in improving it materially and in financial management, especially after the losses and the disasters occasioned by the converting of the patrimonial property of the establishment into government funds. At first he alone had to support the schools and pay the board of poor scholars, to keep the house in provisions in seasons of distress, to meet all the expenses of repairs and improvements, to provide all kinds of school furniture; so that it can truly be said that his forethought and generosity alone saved the establishment, after the conversion just mentioned, from the greatest disasters, not to say certain ruin.

"In fine, people were forced to admire the practical good sense and judgment displayed by him in 1872 when the government issued their Programmes of Studies. He had the tact to draw up a plan and rules of direction for the Seminary, embracing all the new subject-matters to be taught and the discipline enjoined, in such a manner as not to imperil the solidity and seriousness of the old curriculum, which had given so many distinguished men to the Church and to lay professions. At the same time he was careful that his seminarians should get full instruction on all the subjects required by government examiners of candidates for academical degrees." *

* MS. With the approbation of the Cardinal Bishop, they printed in 1872 the "Normal Programme of Studies in the Episcopal Seminary of Perugia." This was signed by the prefect of studies, Canon Luigi Rotelli, D.D.; it was that drawn up by the Cardinal.

In speaking of education we have only mentioned in detail what concerned his seminarians and his priests. He was, from the beginning of his episcopate, no less zealous for lay instruction. Pius IX., who appreciated his learning as well as his zeal and fitness to promote it, appointed him Apostolic Visitor of the University of Perugia. With his wonted intelligence and zeal, that restless energy which pauses not till it has overcome every obstacle in the path of a great design, and which Americans call "push," the new Archbishop Bishop went about doing for the university what he was doing for his own seminary—he remodelled and reorganized it, called to its faculties the best talent he could obtain, reformed, elevated, completed the whole programme of professional and scientific studies, and endeavored in every way to make of this ancient seat of learning what it had been in mediæval times when it rivalled Bologna and Pavia. He rendered similar services to the Collegio Pio della Sapienza, of which he was also appointed Visitor, and to the College of Todi, which he soon placed on such a footing that the best families of Umbria and the Marches sent their sons there to be educated.

Female education was no less indebted to his zeal and enlightened liberality. While enlarging and improving his Seminary and reorganizing the University of Perugia he was also carrying out another design for the better education not only of the daughters of the noble and burgess classes, but of those of the laboring masses as well. The Conservatorio Pio, which became under Monsignor Pecci a great high-school for female education, had its first origin in 1816, when, at the petition of the then Bishop of Perugia and the municipal authorities, Pius VII. appropriated to the establishment of an elementary free school for girls, as well as an academy for the daughters of the better classes, the patrimony of two monasteries suppressed by the former French government in Italy. The institution was placed by the Pope under the care of a board of four directors.

The free day-school for little girls was opened in 1819;

the want of necessary means prevented the establishment of the superior school till 1846, when Monsignor Pecci was appointed Archbishop of Perugia. He, with his wonted determination, resolved that the original design should be carried out. Writing to King Victor Emmanuel in November, 1861, when the government had laid its hand on the beautiful and flourishing institution, Cardinal Pecci relates how it had its second birth:

"Poverty, the want of a proper site, and other obstacles had for a long time frustrated the desires of the public, when the Holy See sent me to Perugia. The whole city knows how, within the space of a few months, we succeeded in making a beginning, having obtained perfect unity of purpose and brushed aside all delays. We saw in a short time a vast and remarkable edifice built up from the foundations in the most lovely and happy site, and of a style and beauty of form that can compare well with any similar provincial establishment. Assisted by the unanimous and unwearied co-operation of the four directors, and by the encouragement given by the reigning Pontiff (who took it under his special protection), I had the satisfaction, in 1857, to see the wishes of the public realized, and to give to the country this new school, so long desired and so useful. Some Sisters of the Sacred Heart were called to take charge of the interior discipline and the instruction of the pupils." The Cardinal placed the house under the patronage of St. Ann, doubtless in remembrance of his mother. The Ladies of the Sacred Heart are obliged by their rules to have a poor school attached to their establishments whenever that is practicable. Their wishes were fulfilled here, for the Cardinal had opened a large and spacious day-school for little girls of the laboring classes, so that their devoted mistresses could satisfy all the yearnings of their hearts in rearing to all goodness and useful knowledge the children of every class in the city.

But the equally devoted Pastor would have every child of his flock receive the boon of a truly Christian education. The daughters of the poor in every land are exposed to

peculiar dangers; and Cardinal Pecci knew well that in the Italy of his day every one of the little girls who went forth daily, in town and country, from the poor man's hovel, needed special care and special grace to become in due time a true Christian woman, the mother of true Christian men. Such he would have all these poor little ones of his flock. For their education and reception he founded the Conservatorio Graziani, a protectory school worthy of any city. He next founded a Magdalen Asylum, a no less noble charity. Both of these houses he placed under the Belgian Sisters of Providence, whom he sent for to Champion, in the province of Namur. Other protectory schools already in existence received a new impulse and arose to new life under the touch of his pastoral zeal. He had the gift of making every establishment he took in hand a financial as well as an educational success.

The same all-embracing charity which protected the innocent and lifted up the fallen soon provided the Antinori Foundling Asylum, which he placed under the care of the Sisterhood of the Stigmata of St. Francis, as well as the Donnini Hospice for incurable and chronic diseases.

He did not forget night-schools for children who had to work all day, especially for young artisans. He would have these receive all the instruction necessary to become really superior in their respective crafts.

We have already mentioned the pleasure gardens of St. Philip Neri, under the care of the Oratorians, who had also the co-operation of the young clergy. There, on Sundays and holydays, boys and youths found delightful recreation, facilities for attending divine worship, Christian instruction, safe and agreeable companionship, and protection from the many snares laid in the world outside for unsuspecting youth.

So that no sex or age or class, or pressing need of mind, of heart, of soul or body, was left uncared for, unprovided for by this good shepherd of Christ's flock.

No, not even the industrial and commercial wants of the struggling, laborious, and thrifty classes. Cardinal

Pecci founded, revived, improved, or developed the *Monti di Pietà*, the poor man's blessed resource in the Catholic Italy that was, where for the money loaned to those who wished to rise from poverty to independence, or to increase their thrift, no interest, or nothing approaching to modern interest for money, was ever asked.

It was he who inspired the Perugians to found their savings-bank, furnishing himself a good part of the capital.

One of the chief duties of a bishop is to visit regularly, at brief intervals, every portion of his diocese, examining personally everything that pertains to the interests of religion, the instruction of the flock, the condition of public worship, the state of public morality, and the prosperity of parochial institutions of every kind. The bishop goes as the chief pastor, to see to it that his subordinates perform their duty, to listen to the complaints of the people, to correct abuses, reprove indiscipline, and uproot all scandals. It is an arduous task, but one most necessary to be undertaken and performed in the right spirit.

Monsignor Pecci was too anxious to ascertain for himself what was to be done for the good of souls, and the advancement of religion in every corner of his diocese, not to set about visiting it soon after taking possession of his see. And he renewed these visits with the most scrupulous punctuality every fourth year during his long stay in Perugia. Nor was his visitation a hasty, perfunctory, and superficial one. It was the work of a man who believed, and acted on the belief, that he had to answer on his own soul for the soul of every single human creature confided to his care.

On thus visiting in succession each parish a bishop ascertains whether the word of God is duly explained to the people from the pulpit, or whether their children are carefully instructed in the Christian doctrine. It is certain that Monsignor Pecci took every precaution to have these indispensable duties of the pastorate performed by his priests.

We have omitted to mention one of his own favorite and beneficent reforms.

He had in his diocese an orphanage for boys which sadly needed improvement. He at once resolved, while making it an asylum for these waifs of his flock, to make of it an industrial school as well as a loved home for these little ones. He had seen, during his stay in Belgium, the Brothers of Mercy at work and effecting some such wonders as the Irish Christian Brothers at the orphanage of Glasnevin, near Dublin, and at the great industrial school of Artane. A colony of the Brothers of Mercy was, therefore, called from Belgium and placed in charge of the orphanage of Perugia, which soon became a beehive filled with happy and healthful toilers.

The same wise and provident methods were adopted for these boys which worked so admirably in the case of the orphan girls of the Graziani Protectorate; it was the Cardinal's aim to make of these orphans of both sexes, when they had to leave their temporary homes, children so well reared and grounded in Christian principle that they should remain ever after true to God, and children so industriously trained that they were prepared to be self-supporting and most useful members of society.

For both the one institution and the other, when they sent forth their charges to begin life in earnest, other pious organizations were ready to give a helping hand and find the children safe and lucrative employment.

We have seen how zealous he was to build up in men's souls the spiritual temples of the Most High God; he was no less zealous and liberal in building, repairing, beautifying the material house of God.

Of course, in a city where the traditions of high art are so constantly cherished as in the capital of Umbria, the cathedral church, the creation of the mediæval city in the days when liberty and religion walked hand-in-hand, was the object of the Archbishop's loving care. The Perugians had been so proud of the beautiful structure, their *Duomo*, their house of God! The misfortunes of more than half a cen-

TOMB OF PIUS IX. IN THE CHURCH OF SAN LORENZO, OUTSIDE THE WALLS OF ROME.

tury had left their mark on both interior and exterior; the wanton vandalism of impiety and the forced neglect of an impoverished people left not a little to be done. When Archbishop Pecci had attended to the most pressing needs of his diocese, he ordered, in 1849, the laying of a new marble pavement in the Duomo; and later, when he felt sure that he had conscientiously provided for the other wants of his people, he began to restore now one part of the cathedral, and now another, spending on these repairs some twenty thousand crowns. One of his last cares in this respect, before leaving Perugia for ever, was to have the chapel of Sant' Onofrio adorned with frescoes.

In an age, too, when conspicuous writers both in France and Germany labored to destroy in the Christian mind all belief in the supernatural by making of Christ Himself a mere man, Monsignor Pecci encouraged among his people the most fervent devotion to her whom they and their fathers before them had reverenced as the *Mother of God*. He built, at the very gates of Perugia, the church of Our Lady of Mercy,* a favorite resort of pilgrims in these times of doubt and dread. He began with what was most needful, by building churches where there were none, and supplying them with zealous priests. In doing the work of God he always thought and said that the workman should trust in a great measure to God for the means. His trust never failed to be rewarded. During his administration no less than thirty-six church edifices were built from the foundations, and six already in course of construction were completed. Those enlarged, repaired, and beautified are in far greater number. "The example of the Archbishop's

* Note in the MS. "To him it is due that we see near Perugia the sanctuary of *Ponte della Pietra* in honor of Our Lady of Mercy. Her picture had long hung in a poor niche near a torrent, and had moved the popular veneration by several extraordinary favors bestowed on poor people in their need through the intercession of Christ's Blessed Mother. The pious generosity of the faithful induced the bishop to begin the present beautiful temple, which became the centre of a new parish." This recalls the piety shown by Joachim Pecci at Carpineto toward another sanctuary of the Madonna.

generosity," says our manuscript guide, "stimulated the faithful to imitate him in the measure of their own ability. Thus for the church of San Martino in Campo more than twelve thousand crowns were spent; for the great church of Castiglione del Lago more than twenty-five thousand;* and so on for many others which it were too long to mention here, but which will be mentioned by the chroniclers of that fortunate period during which Perugia had for pas tor and father Joachim Pecci."

Elsewhere we have mentioned with what perfect order, piety, and splendor divine worship was celebrated there, so that strangers who came to admire in Perugia the remains of the mediæval architecture and the masterpieces of painting which the school of Umbria had accumulated there, remained to witness the "beauty of holiness" in the service of the altar. Cardinal Pecci took especial pains to regulate and cultivate the sacred music which Pergolese had made so entrancing, as well as the sublime Gregorian chant, so well adapted to Catholic worship and congregational singing. He loved all the arts, and, born in the sanctuary as they were, he made them minister to the grandeur and glory of the God of the Temple.

What he did for his cathedral he also did for all the churches of his diocese. He insisted that everything in the celebration of the divine office should be worthy of God, in harmony with the reality of Catholic belief, and such as to instruct, strengthen, and edify his people.

Intensely devoted as he was to all that could advance the interests of his people, temporal as well as spiritual, he wished that every institution of beneficence, like every educational establishment, should yield to the utmost the advantages for which they had been founded. Not the least of his many great qualities was his clear and practical judg-

* When the reader, crossing the Vale of Chiana from below Cortona to Chiusi, comes upon the borders of Lake Thrasymene, he will see, in autumn, from amid the brown foliage of the groves of oak, the snow-white cupola and classic outlines of the Duomo of Castiglione projected, like a fairy vision, on the intensely blue waters of the lake. This is the beautiful church mentioned above

ment in all business matters. Where the most experienced sometimes were puzzled to find their way out of financial difficulties, his instinct enabled him to perceive at once a solution.

This was very apparent on many important occasions. "He was well aware that the great hospital of Santa Maria della Misericordia owed its birth to the pastoral zeal of the Bulgarian Bishop Montemelini, who had given it canonical existence by his decree of 1305, and built it with the co-operation of pious citizens of Perugia, lay as well as clerical. Cardinal Pecci thought it his duty to offer this institution his help, reaffirming thereby the right of the bishop to interfere in the good government of an establishment of public charity of such importance. In this way, and by employing the most discreet prudence, he revived the visiting authority of the bishop with regard to several confraternities which believed themselves exempt from all ordinary episcopal superintendence. This exemption was declared in every way unfounded by a decree of the Sacred Congregation of the Council on August 26, 1854. He thereupon wisely established the 'Tutelary Congregation of Holy Places,' composed of the ablest and most experienced clergymen and laymen, who rendered him the greatest assistance in governing and protecting the interests of all pious foundations and establishments. He issued rules for keeping their accounts, and a general law regulating all pious associations and confraternities in his diocese. This reform did so much good that the bishops of even remote parts of Italy hastened to imitate it in their respective dioceses." *

Thus labored he while the field he cultivated was still under his control. But the enemy was nigh and watchful; and the harvest so lovingly and hopefully prepared was destined to be trodden under foot and ravaged by the flame of hostile fires.

Assuredly, in placing Joachim Pecci in the see of Perugia, Gregory XVI. felt sure that he was not hiding this great light beneath a bushel.

* MS.

CHAPTER XI.

PREPARING FOR THE BATTLE—II. TRAINING HIS CLERGY: LEADING THEM IN THE PATHS OF SANCTITY.

CAREFUL as Archbishop Pecci was of the training of his seminarians—the candidates for the priesthood—he was, if possible, more so for the advancement of his priests in all knowledge and holiness. This was the double armor which alone could protect them and render them invincible in the long and relentless warfare begun against the Church, religion, and society. While, therefore, following with unwearied watchfulness the progress in clerical life and learning of every one of his seminarians, both in the college school and in the philosophical and theological department, he omitted no pains to ascertain how it stood with every one of his priests both as to intellectual acquirements and as to moral conduct and edification of life.

We must not weary the reader by repeating it, but it is none the less true that Monsignor Pecci felt, on taking charge of his diocese, like a general sent to defend a central position in a country threatened with invasion, with a formidable hostile force massed on the frontiers, and secret allies within the land ready to co-operate with the foe. It behooved him, therefore, to look well to his own means of resistance, to inspect the forces at his command, and to examine their state of efficiency.

It may be said here that his long episcopate of upwards of thirty-one years in Perugia was one continuous effort to lift his priests up to the sublime height of intellectual and spiritual perfection demanded by their calling, and more particularly required by the crisis through which are passing, at the present time, all the institutions of Christianity.

Let us listen to one who had the privilege of being both an eye-witness of these episcopal labors and a sharer in the Archbishop of Perugia's admirable system of education, as regarded both seminarians and priests engaged in the ministry.

"Every year he never failed to have several courses of spiritual exercises given to his priests, so that every three years all the members of his clergy, rectors, confessors, and simple priests, could in their turn enjoy the benefit of this holy repose. He restored by reiterated ordinances the practice of holding monthly conferences for the solution of questions or 'cases' of moral theology. He presided in person over those held in the city of Perugia. Elsewhere in the diocese these conferences were presided over by the local dignitaries. . . . In 1851 he published an ordinance with wise regulations concerning all clerical students living outside of the Seminary. He selected one of his oldest and best priests to be their immediate superior and to watch over their conduct. In 1856 he published the Diocesan Catechism, to which he added instructions replete with practical wisdom and exhortations to parish priests on the teaching of Christian Doctrine. In 1857 he had printed a precious 'Manual of Practical Rules,' addressed to the parochial clergy, as a guide in all external discipline and the exercise of their ministry.

"For the greater facility of catechising little children on all holydays, and to keep them away from all dangerous amusements, he established, in 1858, under the direction of the Oratorians, and with the help of the younger clergy, catechism classes.

"In 1859 he inaugurated the Scientific Academy of St. Thomas Aquinas, in order chiefly to impel the clergy to cultivate the higher studies and the scholastic philosophy and theology.

"To prevent abuses and profanations in the functions of the public worship on the occasion of the political revolution with its changes, he issued in 1861 an injunction to his clergy recalling the obligation of following to the

letter the prescriptions of the liturgy for all extraordinary ceremonies and the internal regulation of their churches.

"In 1863 he sanctioned the establishment of the Conferences of St. Vincent of Paul for all his priests, and approved the rules of the same. In 1866 a circular addressed to them laid down the line of conduct they had to follow in the midst of the sad circumstances of their country, so as not to depart from the dictates of evangelical prudence and priestly moderation.

"As soon as the law on military conscription was published, in 1869, he employed all his zeal and industry in purchasing the liberty of the poorer clerical students drafted, establishing a commission for that object, and appealing, not without success, to the charity of his people for the same purpose.

"The confiscation by the state of all Church property and revenues having reduced a multitude of priests to great poverty, the Cardinal, in 1873, founded the Society of St. Joachim, as a mutual relief association for the benefit of indigent and infirm priests.

"In 1875, feeling keenly the great gaps created in the ranks of the active priesthood by the dispersion of the regular clergy, he founded the Pious Union of Preachers for the better diffusion of Christian instruction among the city population and the country parishes. Missions, pious exercises, catechistical explanations, First Communions—for all of which he had made special rules in 1873—were once more urged by him as the great means of breaking to the people the word of God, and a greater degree of solemnity was given to them everywhere in order to make them more attractive and more fruitful.

"Already in 1872 he had, in accord with the city rectors and parish priests, established for all the churches of Perugia a fixed time-table regulating the hours for Mass and all other divine offices, for preaching, catechism, etc., so that on every Sunday and holyday the people of the neighboring districts should have all facility for fulfilling their religious duties and satisfying their piety. In 1872,

as well as by his ordinance of 1875, he urged upon all parish priests and chaplains the necessity of being unwearied in the labor of catechising the little children in the forenoon of Sundays and holydays, and the adults in the afternoon.

"When, in 1877, the government enacted the law of *obligatory instruction*, one of the articles of which, with well-calculated purpose, forbade the teaching of catechism in the schools, Cardinal Pecci made a fervent appeal to his clergy, pointing out to them the way in which they should act in order to supplement this fundamental defect—that is, by a more general and unceasing use of all means and opportunities to impart religious instruction, and a prudent co-operation to that effect with the teachers of elementary schools. He laid down for that purpose wise practical rules, all bearing the impress of the most enlightened pastoral zeal.

"We ought not here to pass over in silence his watchful solicitude with regard to the external conduct of his clergy. In his pastoral visitations he was always extremely respectful and courteous toward those hard-working priests. Still, he would not hesitate to reprove them with fatherly frankness and affection if he found them faulty or slothful; he would cheer and praise them when he saw they were zealous and exemplary. As to the parish priests recently appointed, in order that they should not get discouraged in the work of their mission, rendered such a difficult one by the political changes, he summed up in their behalf, in a special pastoral letter, the most salutary advice and precious reminders furnished by his long experience. These he reduced to three points, priestly spirit, an exemplary life, and priestly knowledge, under which heads he gathered together the obligations and prerogatives of a good pastor.

"Lastly, a word must be said of the beautiful order and discipline which he caused to prevail in the celebrations in his cathedral church. He was always on the best of terms with the chapter. Hence in performing his regular pas-

CATHEDRAL SQUARE, PERUGIA,

SHOWING THE GREAT FOUNTAIN, THE MUNICIPAL HALL ON THE LEFT AND THE CATHEDRAL ON THE RIGHT, WHERE LEO XIII. WAS BISHOP FOR THIRTY-TWO YEARS.

toral visitations, and on extraordinary occasions, he found the canons most ready and generous in providing all that was needful for the well-ordering of the cathedral clergy, for the exact regulating of the Psalmody, and all that could contribute to the splendor of divine worship and to the repairs and decoration of the great temple itself.

"No wonder, therefore, that both Umbrians and foreigners, on assisting there at divine service, were wont to express their admiration not only at the rare architecture and precious materials of the edifice, but at the concourse of worshippers and the solemn order of the sacred functions."

This is a bird's-eye view of the Archbishop's labors. Before dwelling more at length on some points indicated in the above summary, the reader will be glad to pause and consider how the private life of so great a teacher corresponded with what he exacted of others.

He was simple in his habits, indefatigably laborious in the employment of his time, as eager and as keen as any young student for the acquisition of new stores of knowledge, blameless and most exemplary in his private life, and ever accessible to priests and to people, to high and lowly who required his ministry. Firm, calm, and unmoved as an antique statue in presence of the persecutors of his clergy and the perverters of his flock when they threatened him or attempted to browbeat or to overawe him, his words could be words of living flame when kindled by the wrong done to others.

The Piedmontese authorities had soon found out that Cardinal Pecci was not one that they could intimidate or circumvent, or draw into the doing of a single deed or the utterance of a single word which could be construed by the most unscrupulous of them into anything that seemed like concession or compromise or compliance. In their contests with him they were always baffled; for he was one who studied to be in the right, and who made sure that his adversaries were in the wrong. They learned, at their cost, the wisdom of letting him alone.

His learning, joined to a conscience of extreme sensitiveness, never allowed him to yield to any of the snares laid for him by men who sought to buy acts of toleration or kindness to the suffering clergy and people of Perugia by some slight advance to the ruling powers or some act of deference which might bear the seeming of acknowledging their rightful sway. They were the *mightful*, not the *rightful*, masters in Umbria. He did not by word or act of his sanction their presence or their pretensions. But he did not provoke them. His dignified courtesy, even when his words conveyed a refusal and a rebuke, inspired respect or calmed irritation.

Such as we have described him, such he wished his priests to be—men of God, His worthy ministers; to be looked up to by all, to be looked down on by none.

In 1866, after six years of Piedmontese misrule and of trials the bitterness of which no words can describe, Cardinal Pecci found it necessary to relieve his own heart by laying down for his faithful priests such common rules of conduct as might guide them safely through the difficulties and perils that were thickening around them.

1866 for Italy and for the Church was a memorable year. It was that in which the French garrison was withdrawn from Rome, and the Pope was left to his own resources to create an army to maintain order within the provinces still left to him. But we all know at present that the famous September Convention between Napoleon III. and Victor Emmanuel covered only a skilfully devised plan, on the part of the latter at least, to enable him to possess himself of Rome at the first opportunity. It was for his ministers and allies to create it.

On June 29 also they celebrated in Rome the eighteenth centenary of the martyrdom there of SS. Peter and Paul. It was a glorious solemnity; but the bishops who came to the Eternal City from every shore, and the laity who flocked thither after their bishops, were, during the celebration, like children in the house of a parent suffering the keenest affliction. Their joy was tempered by

unspeakable sadness; their rejoicing was mingled with tears.

Mazzini and Garibaldi had both issued their manifestoes, and both clamored for the possession of Rome and the extirpation of priests and Papacy. So there was in the portions of the Peninsula already subject to the Piedmontese rule a renewal of the worst outrages against religion, of the worst oppression against the priesthood, even though some of the exiled bishops were allowed to return. In the former States of the Church the position of the clergy became daily more and more intolerable, the moral pressure put upon them to side with the Revolution being like the torture inflicted formerly on prisoners subjected to the "question": human endurance was tested to its utmost limits.

This was more particularly the case in the Umbrian provinces, on account of their proximity to Rome and the close bond which had so long united the people to the Holy See.

It was in these circumstances that Cardinal Pecci addressed himself to his dear fellow laborers. Dear they were indeed to their hard-working and devoted chief, who had taken such unceasing pains in forming by word and example the young among them, and in stimulating and encouraging the holy ambition of their elders.

"No matter how much difficulties and dangers multiply in our path from day to day," he says, "a true and fervent priest must not on that account lose his way, nor fail to perform his duties, nor pause from the fulfilment of his spiritual mission for the welfare and salvation of the human family and the maintenance of that holy religion of which he is the herald and minister. For it is in labors and trials that priestly virtue waxes strong and gets purified; the blessed and all-restoring action of his divine ministry shines forth more resplendently in times of great need and amid social revolutions and transformations."

The terrible changes to which Italy is subjected happen, the Cardinal says, by the permission of Him who is the

Eternal Pontiff and the Supreme Ruler of the universe. It is from Him that the priest must seek for light and aid amid the darkness and the throes of the earthquake. In that light it behooves the minister of God to meditate on his own imperfections and to cherish a spirit of humility and compunction.

He then holds up to his priests, as a summary of all the virtues which present circumstances demand that they should practise in a more perfect manner, the admonition of St. Paul to Titus: "In all things show thyself an example of good works, in doctrine, in integrity, in gravity, the sound word that cannot be blamed."* "An exemplary and laborious life," the Cardinal goes on to say, "a life animated by the spirit of charity and guided by the dictates of evangelical prudence; a life of sacrifice and fatigue, spent in doing good to others, consumed in the midst of the world for no earthly views or transitory reward; and that frank, noble, and powerful language, *the sound word that cannot be blamed*, which confounds human contradiction, appeases the old hatred of the world, and wins even the respect and esteem of our adversaries themselves. At all times it is the sacred duty of the man who dedicates his life to the sanctuary to make himself the living and visible mirror of good example; but this is sovereignly necessary when social commotions place God's minister on rough and slippery ground where he may meet at every step snares and pitfalls."

And so the wise guide of the Perugian and Umbrian clergy continues to hold up the lamp before his followers in the priesthood. They must be *learned*. In our day "it is strictly the charge of the priest to defend doctrine assailed, morality perverted, justice ignored. He must stand like a wall of brass in the path of inundating error and heresy spreading like a pestilence."

His luminous words point out to the preachers of God's word what are the things on which their *doctrine* can be, in our day, bestowed to the best advantage: the teaching and training of the young, in which "their solicitude

* Titus ii. 7, 8.

should be industrious and indefatigable"; the careful and regular preparation of their Gospel lessons for the people, "and the scrupulous development of the maxims of sound morality." As to religion itself, the preacher must insist on a luminous exposition of her divine prerogatives, her extraordinary and lasting services to mankind, in every condition of society and under every aspect, especially in what pertains to true civilization and real progress.

So on the other heads of his instruction the same fatherly and experienced hand marks out the line of conduct to be followed by the priest. Beautiful are his words on the "moral integrity" which should ever adorn the priestly character. "The moral conduct of the priest is the mirror into which the people look to find a model for their own demeanor. . . . Every shadow, every stain is remarked by the vulgar eye; and the mere shadow is enough to make the people lose their esteem of priestly worth. . . . It is impossible that a priest who lays himself open to such reproaches or suspicions, who has the name of being self indulgent, interested, and of irregular life, should give forth that fragrance of a pure life, 'that sweet odor of Christ,' which witnesses to our worth and to our doctrine, as well in the estimation of those who are saved as in that of those who perish."

"Behold," he says in concluding, "the path which, according to my judgment, should be followed by the clergy in our age. This path will lead them to the sure attainment of the two great means which the Divine Master declares to be indispensable in our holy ministry—*holiness* and *knowledge*. Let every priest be by his example a pure and brilliant light, let him be by his teaching the salt of the earth, and no difficulties can prevent his fulfilling his ministry of reparation." *

Now let us see how, when the conflict came, the Archbishop of Perugia could wisely direct his clergy and protect their dearest interests.

It is a page of history but little known outside of Italy and deserving of everlasting remembrance.

* "Scelta," pp. 109–116.

CHAPTER XII.

HOW CARDINAL PECCI LED HIS BROTHER-BISHOPS TO THE BATTLE.—III. DEFENDING AND DIRECTING THE CLERGY IN THE BATTLE.

ON September the 24th, 1869, Cardinal Pecci addressed to his diocesans a touching pastoral letter on the "Redeeming poor Clerical Students from the Military Conscription." It was a delicate, almost a dangerous, subject to write upon. But there was an imperative need of filling up, in the ranks of the Umbrian clergy, the great gaps made by the suppression and banishment * of the priests belonging to the monastic orders, as well as the yearly voids left by the conscription law and the sad falling off in the number of seminarians and candidates for Holy Orders. In a circular to the clergy of October 22 following the Cardinal designates with graphic touch the working of that law as "the pitiless axe laid at the roots of the Church's nursery." † It was striking the tree of the priesthood in its very roots, and with the priesthood annihilating the Church in Italy. This is precisely what such Italian statesmen as Prime Minister Depretis now openly confess to be the purpose of their legislation and policy.

* In a note to the Protest on the Royal *Exequatur*, mentioned on p. 171, it is said: "Omitting the mention of many other instances of banishment and concentration, . . . [we take that] of the *instantaneous* expulsion and deportation to Sardinia of the Capuchin Fathers of Todi, of the Reformed Franciscans of Massa, of the Observantines and Reformed of Orvieto, which took place in last May [1863], without any judicial process, and under military escort, as well as the general upsetting and exiling of all the Mendicant communities of Umbria which has just been accomplished ("Scelta," p. 369).

† *La scure inesorabile che è messa alle radici del vivaio della chiesa* (ibidem, p. 519).

From 1859 to 1869 statistical figures show, as the Cardinal states in the beginning of his pastoral, that the number of deaths among his clergy exceeded by *thirty* the number of ordinations to the priesthood.

"It is easy to see from this moment forward," he says, "that the burden of military service must inevitably fall on all young men who have devoted themselves to the clerical career. We are deeply saddened by this; we are tortured by the thought that so many parishes will ask us for pastors, while we shall have none to give them; that so many pious populations will ask for the food of Christian instruction and the comfort of the sacraments, and that no one will be found to minister to them; and that, such a state of things continuing, there is nothing to prevent religion from dying out in these country-places for the very lack of hands to cultivate it."

Then, with a simple and earnest eloquence in which one feels the loving pastor's heart in every phrase, Cardinal Pecci goes on to say how an appeal should be made to the people of the diocese in order to create a *fund* for purchasing the freedom of poor young clerics whose talents and virtues hold out the promise of their being worthy and efficient priests.

"This work," he says, "is eminently religious and charitable. . . . Even considered in its social aspect it has a value and an importance that are unquestionable. For there can be no doubt but that the lack of priests would seriously injure the religious and moral culture of the people, on which depend order, tranquillity, and the well-being of the entire community. We expect, therefore, no one among sincere Catholics, no matter how straitened and burdened financially, will refuse to do what he can and what piety and religion suggest. Above all, we trust to the zeal and solicitude of our clergy. . . ."

This to his diocesans. Then he lays down the statutes for the commission which he establishes for such a noble object.

A month after the pastoral letter he addressed a circu-

lar to his parish priests, urging on them the greatest zeal and generosity in forwarding the labor of the commission.

"I know the straits to which the clergy have been reduced," he writes, "but I also know the spirit of sacrifice and charity which animates them. Christian charity does not know and should not know what difficulty is, in a work especially such as the present, which aims at *keeping off the pitiless axe with which they strike at the roots of our young trees in the nursery of the Church.* . . .

"If we see lay societies of mutual help making such strenuous efforts to succeed in their purpose, how can we help making equal efforts to rescue so many young men who were being educated and trained for the priesthood, and who are dragged away to the ranks of the army and the exercises of a military camp? If the good work we have taken in hand should not succeed, then we may be sure that the education of the priesthood and the seminaries will be given up altogether." *

The commission did succeed, thanks not only to the excellence of the charity which it advocated, but thanks as well to the hearty zeal with which Cardinal Pecci pleaded the cause of these young students—a zeal which his words and example communicated to both people and clergy.

Thus appealed he in 1869. But there were other needs among the clergy which touched his fatherly heart no less deeply. Foremost among these was the utter destitution to which so many ecclesiastics had been reduced since 1860 by the sequestration of all Church property and revenues, and the conversion of the little left to the clergy into state bonds. The whole system of this legislative plunder was devised, calculated, wrought out scientifically either to extinguish the clergy altogether by deterring young men from joining the ranks of a hopelessly degraded and impoverished priesthood, or by making of all priests thus dependent on the wretched pittance irregularly and grudgingly dealt out by the state treasury the abject slaves of

* "Scelta," pp. 516–520.

an inhuman and anti-Christian power. The miserable dole obtained from the government of Victor Emmanuel—and the same applies to King Umberto's administration—barely kept the recipients from starvation, if they would with it keep a roof above them and decent clerical raiment on their backs. When sickness and old age with its infirmities came to them no words can describe their destitution. A poor priest, in sickness and old age, is everywhere one deserving of tender commiseration. But in once beautiful, fertile, and bountiful Italy the Revolution has contrived to make the lot of the poor, sick, and aged priest one of indescribable hardship.

Cardinal Pecci exhorted and encouraged the clergy of his diocese to establish a private Relief Fund and a Sodality to administer it. The Sodality was composed of the members of the clergy. It was called the "*Pious Union of St. Joachim for Needy Ecclesiastics.*" Every member paid into the fund an annual fee of five lire (one dollar, or four shillings English money). These regular contributions, together with the donations of benefactors and the voluntary offerings of the faithful, brought timely and indispensable relief to many a lowly roof where poor priests, born in opulence, devoted from their youth to the holy ministry, after having lost their position and being stripped of their own lawful patrimony, were left to pine away unhelped, unpitied, unnoticed by the spoiler.

It is due to the reader who is interested in the public acts of the great personage whose life we are sketching to show, ere concluding this chapter, how nobly Cardinal Pecci could defend the interests of his persecuted clergy and inspire his brother bishops with his own courage and determination.

We have from the pen of the Archbishop of Perugia one of those outspoken and fearless protests addressed to King Victor Emmanuel, and signed by all the bishops of Umbria and the Marches. It is dated August 1, 1864, and is directed against the law which compelled the members of the clergy without distinction, and the clerical students in

the seminaries, to serve in the army or navy the regular term imposed on laymen.

It was a vain appeal. As well might they have pleaded to the famished tiger to let go its prey and forego the opportunity of satiating its rabid hunger, as ask Victor Emmanuel, or rather the man who ruled and used him, to forego the opportunity, now that he had the power, of degrading and extinguishing the Catholic clergy, and with them the Church itself. This was precisely what the Revolution aimed at, what the kingdom of Italy, its legislature and administration, were organized for. Surely they must do their own proper work.

None the less eloquent, courageous, and victorious is this noble remonstrance:

"SIRE: With souls deeply grieved we come once more to bring before your majesty our respectful but serious complaints about the evils which are heaped unceasingly on the churches given us to govern: we are willing to hope that our voice may yet be listened to and that justice may be done. During each of the last four years we have raised our voices with increasing frequency, and have given utterance to the grief of our holy religion, afflicted and oppressed in so many ways—by the setting aside ecclesiastical immunities; by depriving her ministers of the necessary means of subsistence; by preventing all free intercourse between the Head of the Church, the pastors, and the people; by withdrawing from all dependence on the bishops both schools and institutions of piety which these same bishops had themselves founded, or which had been placed under their care and government by the pious founders; by profaning, or even destroying, the sacred temples; by expelling from their homes the Religious Orders, and by so many other acts which it would be too long and too sad to enumerate.

"The fact that no heed whatever was paid to our complaints would have induced us to remain silent, contenting ourselves henceforward with lamenting and praying. But a new wrong which is about to be committed against the

Church compels us to have recourse to your majesty and to unite our voice to that of our flocks.

"Very limited as is at the present moment the number of young clerical students who may, at the request of their bishops, be exempted from military conscription, nevertheless by a new law it is proposed to annul all these exemptions—a measure which would go very near to extinguish altogether the priestly ministry. They allege, to excuse this law, the singular pretext that all citizens are equally obliged to support the burdens of the state, no matter how these may happen to be felt. But without desiring to recall to mind here how little this reason availed to save the clergy in other cases where they were made the subject of injurious and odious exceptions, we must press upon your consideration that the choice of her ministers was not imposed upon the Church by any human law, but that it is a sacred right which comes to her from her Divine Founder. Wherefore, instead of suppressing such right, it should in no wise be either restricted or diminished. . . .

". . . If the holy ministry could be abolished the Church would be destroyed; and this was exactly what Julian the Apostate vainly attempted to accomplish by commanding that all the subjects of the Empire, without any distinction whatever, should be compelled to bear arms. . . . This tyrannical law was soon repealed by Valentinian, who, like the great Constantine, recognized the right of the Church to choose freely her own ministers. . . .

". . . Statesmen are solicitous that a single family should not become extinct in the state; will there, then, be no care taken that the hierarchy of the Church shall be maintained, supremely and vitally important as its existence is to the entire Christian family? . . ."

". . . Whether it come from the pursuit of temporal interests, or from bad education, or from the little respect paid in our day to the priestly character, the greater number of candidates for the ministry come, in our times, from

poor families; and they have only the means to persevere in and follow out their vocation given them by their bishops to return to the seminary. And these means are so restricted that we often see, with a real pain to our fatherly heart, young men very dear to us taken away from the seminary in the very midst of their course. . . . We are only allowed to purchase the exemption of one student for every twenty thousand inhabitants; and so these young men are forced into a profession entirely opposed to their character and wishes. *In the grief of our souls we could not persuade ourselves that, with all we hear about individual liberty, such liberty should not be allowed in the most serious affair with which man has to deal in this life—the choice of his own profession, and the full liberty to consecrate himself to God.*"

The Cardinal pushes aside the vulgar objections drawn from "a too great abundance of priests, far above the spiritual needs of the people." That reason does not hold at present. "Where, not many years ago, there were many assistant priests, now the rector is left alone to face the manifold duties of his office. Besides, vocations are injuriously influenced by the spirit of the age, by irreligious maxims, the corruption of morals, the anti-Christian education given to youth. . . . Then there is the taking away from the clergy of their means of honorable subsistence, the attraction toward lucrative secular avocations, the outrageous persecution of the priesthood by falsehoods, calumnies, ridicule, sarcasm, insults offered in the house of God itself, by lawsuits, fines, imprisonment, all inflicted even on persons occupying the highest stations in the Church.

"For all these reasons, if at all times it was an act of virtue and self-denial to consecrate one's self to the service of the altar and to embrace the clerical profession, it is a thousand times more so in our day. . . .

"Sire, *the supreme good of a nation is its morality*, and this *only comes from religion and from the salutary influence of its ministers.* What would an army have to defend in a people without faith, without morals, in a people sunk

in corruption? If you take away Christian instruction, the preaching of the Gospel, the frequentation of the sacraments, the worship and fear of God, can the fear of armed men keep the multitude faithful to their duties? And in the army itself will not morality be the result of that created in the nation by the influence of religion?

"We beseech you, sire, to consider well to what depths of corruption a community would descend if, on the one hand, all the restraints of good morals were relaxed, and, on the other, all the avenues to evil were thrown wide open! It is a sad avowal that we are compelled to make, and that from the evidence of facts. A libertine press no longer spares any holy person or holy thing; the theatrical amusements are full of impiety and obscenity; infamous resorts are opened to enable the sinner to sin safely; blasphemers assail with impunity God, the Virgin Mother, the Saints—nothing restrains the sacrilegious tongue; the sacred images are insulted; crosses are torn down; churches, even such as are consecrated, are turned into market-houses or are pulled down; the ministers of God are persecuted even in the church itself, even in the very functions of their ministry which regard the conscience. And now, as if all this were little or nothing, is the sacred ministry itself to be abolished? Our mind is confounded and our heart is torn with grief when we think that, besides all the calamities that we here indicate rapidly, the priesthood itself shall fail, and with it all remedy, all comfort.

"What will become of the Christian people when they are deprived of the necessary teachers of childhood, of the men who comfort the widow and the orphan, of those who soften the pains and labors of the present life by the thought and hope of the life to come, who wipe away the tears of the afflicted, who direct the doubting and hesitating by words of good counsel, and cheer the last hours of the dying?

"And if our own people lack priests for their need, where shall we find those generous ministers of God who, breaking the dearest ties of the human soul here below,

go forth among savage peoples to preach the Gospel, and to plant there the seeds of civilization with the truths of Christian faith?

"We are not exaggerating, sire: such would be the results of this unblessed law, of which it would be impossible to predicate whether it is more hurtful to the Church or to the state itself.

"After this, it is not surprising that no civilized nation in Europe, even the most warlike and in the time when they most needed soldiers, ever thought of enacting such laws. And will it be Italy, Catholic Italy, which will give the world so unhappy an example? . . .

"For pity's sake put, once for all, a stop to all these laws which succeed each other, tread upon each other, and are heaped up one on the other, all injuring the Church—an injury which invariably redounds as well to the injury of the state." *

* "Scelta degli Atti," pp. 373–80, Aug. 1, 1864.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE BENEFACTOR OF PERUGIA—SOWING AND PLANTING BEFORE THE STORM AND THE EARTHQUAKE.—A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF THE FIELD.

EVEN in the political and in the material orders Archbishop Pecci's enlightened and active charity found means and opportunities of benefiting Perugia and her citizens, as well as his entire diocese. In the very beginning of his episcopal administration—in the autumn of 1846—the same unquiet spirit which was already playing the tyrant in Rome stirred up a riot in Perugia. The excited crowds were attempting to break open the prisons and to liberate, together with all persons detained there for political offences, all the criminals of the country. Already they had taken up arms to resist the Pontifical troops, and the city was threatened with bloodshed and arson, when the Archbishop appeared upon the scene, interposed his pacific authority between the combatants, and put an end to the conflict.

Worse calamities threatened Umbria and its capital in 1849 after the taking of Rome by the French troops.

When the Austrians under Prince Von Lichtenstein advanced to repel these bands and to protect the Pontifical provinces from their raids, Monsignor Pecci, who knew the temper of his people well and their rooted dislike to these foreigners, deemed it vital to the peace of Perugia to prevent the city from being occupied by them. He therefore went to meet the Austrian general, and his wise counsels once more prevailed and saved his people from new calamities.

In 1854—made remarkable in Perugia by the celebration in February of Monsignor Pecci's elevation to the

Cardinalate—the whole of Central Italy suffered severely from dearth, amounting almost to a famine. To this were added earthquakes, filling the people with terror, as if the divine anger were about to let loose all its plagues against an ungrateful and guilty country.

Cardinal Pecci's fatherly forethought had already suggested the establishment of *Monti Frumentari*, or "Deposits of Grain," in every country parish, which would, in seasons of scarcity, render the poor country-folk the same services which the *Monti di Pietà*, or Popular Loan Banks, so long known and so heartily appreciated in Italy, had ever rendered to the laboring classes.

When, in the beginning of 1854, the scarcity began to be most distressing, and the bread, which is the staple of food for the masses of the Italian population, was either at famine prices or could not be obtained at all, the Cardinal showed both his unbounded charity and his wonderful executive skill.

He gave the example to the rich and to Religious Communities by opening in the episcopal residence itself a free kitchen for the poor, with daily doles of unprepared food. The son of Countess Anna Pecci was mindful of the examples of the mother on whose tombstone it is inscribed that she was "the feeder of the needy." * Nourishing, substantial soups and broths were every morning dealt out to the needy as long as the distress lasted. It seemed to cost the good Archbishop no effort to deprive himself of all but the strict necessaries to himself and his household when Christ's poor were suffering—so few were his own personal wants, so frugal and self-denying the life which, in truth, resembled that of an Eastern ascetic.

But he also made his clergy and all the wealthy members of his flock his zealous co-operators at this season. The revolutionary societies always found in the periodical returns of scarcity a ready argument against the Pontifical government: the scarcity and the consequent popular distress, they said (and they were believed), were caused by the

* *Altrix pauperum.*

authorities, who bought up and hoarded the grain and speculated upon it, unmindful of the starving people.

Cardinal Pecci thought that the best answer to this was to take counsel with the provincial government and the municipal magistrates in providing food for the really needy, in getting profitable labor, sufficient wages, and cheap provisions for all who were able to work.

On January 7, 1854, he published a short and eloquent pastoral letter, appealing to his people to exert themselves in the reigning distress as true Christians, and organizing a "Commission of Charity" under his own personal direction, the membership of which embraced clergy and laity, extending its branches all over the diocese, and effectually meeting all the needs of the population.

The motives suggested in his urgent appeal to his diocesans, and the active measures which he prescribed in the rules of this Commission of Charity, are alike admirable, showing how little the Cardinal wished to encourage mendicancy or idleness, and how anxious he was to stimulate all able-bodied persons to work by finding remunerative labor for them in their distress, and preventing little traders from speculating on it.

"To give to the poor," he says, "from out our superabundance is a duty imposed by the Divine Master on all Christians, without exception of times or persons. But to help them with something more than what is superfluous, by limiting our desires and what we make use of to live upon, when it is required by their extraordinary necessities that we should do so; to help them so because they bear the image of our Heavenly Father and their condition touches our brotherly hearts as if it were our own; to aim, in fact, at enabling them to bless God's fatherly providence in their distress, because it is His hand which is reached out to them in ours, . . . this is what shows in its proper light the greatness and helpfulness of Christian beneficence."

On February 25, 1854, immediately after the festivities on the occasion of his promotion, he urged the active prosecution of this noble charity on his parochial clergy by a

QUIRINAL PALACE. OLD PALACE OF THE POPES.

circular letter, in which he warmly pleaded the cause of the distressed, and laid down the most practical rules for making the Commission of Charity a success everywhere. He again presses them to establish the *Monti Frumentari* in their respective localities.*

"Our zeal and charity," he writes, "which should be the soul of our pastoral mission, can neither be inoperative nor indifferent in presence of the manifold miseries which now afflict our flock, and which come this year from the failure of the harvests and the scarcity of provisions. If our Lord, after having been so long irritated, and having so long waited patiently and in vain that we should amend our lives and correct our evil conduct, has at length lifted the scourge over our heads, . . . our people should not therefore be left without the comfort and help of religion. . . .

"Explain to your people what are the real causes of the present distress. . . . Take away from the minds of the fearful or the unwary the exaggerated and deceptive illusions which the evil-minded propagate, that their sufferings come from the selfish schemes of speculators or the negligence of the government." †

During the troublous times of 1859 and 1860 Cardinal Pecci had abundant opportunity for "giving other proofs of his pastoral and patriotic charity toward his flock. He employed the warmest and most fatherly exhortations to dissuade the leaders of the insurrection from the acts which led to the fatal conflict of June 20, 1859, which was afterward painted as 'the Massacre of Perugia'; but the gentle voice of the Archbishop, unhappily, was not listened to, and was overborne by the secret impulsion given to the insurgents by the prime movers in the rising. Saddened by his ineffectual attempts to prevent the bloody scenes which followed, he bestowed all his kindest efforts on assuaging the bitter suffering which followed. He succeeded in obtaining pardon for the guilty subjects of the Pope, as well as compensation to all those whose property had been injured." ‡

* "Scelta," p. 506. † Ibid. p. 508.

‡ MS. It was a misfortune that in putting down the insurrection in

At length came the invasion of 1860.

We prefer to give what followed in the words of our manuscript authority:

"The Swiss garrison, attacked unexpectedly by the Piedmontese in the early morning, after having several times endeavored to repel the assailants, were overborne by numbers and took refuge in the Pauline Fort. There they entered into negotiations for a suspension of arms. While these were going on, and under the pretext that bands of Pontifical troops had found a retreat there, the episcopal residence, that of the canons, and the seminary were taken possession of by the military, who broke open gates and doors with their axes. Meanwhile the bulk of the [Piedmontese] army, with a formidable artillery, which was even posted in the porch of the cathedral, was preparing to bombard and assault the fort, which [by replying to this fire] would have filled the city with ruin and death.

"Thereupon the Cardinal-Archbishop, with the gonfaloniere [mayor], asked to see the general-in-chief, Fanti, who was the Piedmontese Minister of War, with the intention of beseeching him not to carry out his design. His pastoral solicitude only met with a rude repulse, for the bombardment and the assault began with great vigor at the expiration of the brief truce. Still, the Cardinal's interposition had no little influence in preventing the assailants from taking offensive measures against the citizens; it prevented also the effusion of blood, and helped to obtain more favorable conditions for the besieged.

"Deeply pained as Cardinal Pecci had been by the dreadful scenes of the 14th of September, he had another cause of anguish on the morrow in the unhappy fate of Don Baldassare Santi, one of the city rectors. This ex-

Perugia they did not employ the French contingent which then garrisoned Rome, instead of the Swiss troops in the Pontifical service. It was a part of Napoleon's policy to make it appear that the Pope employed his foreign mercenaries to massacre his Italian subjects; whereas if the French arms had been employed no one would ever have heard of the "Massacre of Perugia."

cellent man was falsely accused of having borne arms in repulsing the Piedmontese, and had been condemned to death by a court-martial during the night. The Cardinal heard of the sentence early in the morning of the 15th, and lost not an instant in seeking the general in command, De Sonnaz, and asking for a more careful and formal investigation of the charge, for a revision of the acts of the court-martial, and a suspension of the hasty death-sentence. The accused had in his favor a well-known reputation for virtue and other presumptions of innocence.

"But even in this second act of intervention the Cardinal was grieved to see his mediation rejected and all the efforts of his fatherly charity fail in their purpose.

"From that day dated for him the beginning of a long series of bitter trials and vexations arising from the establishment of a new dictatorial power ruling all Umbria, and from the sudden transformation and overturning of all ecclesiastical institutions." *

So the battle with the Revolution had begun in earnest.

But before describing in other chapters the chief incidents of this momentous struggle we may continue to take a rapid survey of what this good shepherd did for his flock.

No sooner was all Umbria in possession of the Piedmontese than Perugia was filled by swarms of political Italian exiles who had found a refuge in Piedmont. They had long lived in poverty and were hungry for the spoils of the Pontifical government and its adherents. These men were all supported at the public expense—that is, the expense of the conquered provinces and peoples. Of course those among them who were natives of these provinces had more than one sort of accounts to settle with their fellow-countrymen. The numbers of these famished place-hunters were further increased by the members of the former volunteer bands of various descriptions who had fought under Garibaldi and his lieutenants, had followed the Piedmontese army of invasion, and had been "living on the country."

* MS.

"One may imagine how the coming together in Perugia of all these elements contributed to put an end to good order, to ruin public morality, and, above all, to destroy all respect for religion and the priesthood. All of a sudden they proclaimed all the subversive laws enacted in Piedmont, and with them was issued, on October 31, 1860, a commissarial decree imposing on all Umbria the institution of civil marriage, with penalties which affected also parish priests, who were at the same time compelled to surrender the sacramental registers.

"Then it happened that, while abundant favors were bestowed on bad and renegade priests, who had also come back from banishment, the good priests, on the contrary, and such as had ever been faithful to their duty, were continually threatened and placed under surveillance; they were made a butt for slander, for malignant denunciations; they were indicted, arrested, interned, imprisoned, and banished the country.

"Not even the Cardinal-Archbishop of Perugia was saved from this species of persecution. In 1862 he was sued in the courts of justice for having opposed the established institutions, because he had officially admonished some of his priests who had subscribed an address to the notorious Padre Passaglia. But he not only came triumphantly out of this suit, but with a vigorous and judicious zeal he defended the interests of religion, and gave a wise direction to the conduct of his clergy amid the perilous circumstances of the times.

"A long series of episcopal acts and remonstrances which passed between the Cardinal and the functionaries of the new government from 1860 to 1878 bear an illustrious testimony to the truth of what has just been said. Many of these acts are now in print, and several of them bear the signatures of all the bishops of Umbria.*

* In the collection entitled "L'Episcopato e la Rivoluzione in Italia, Atti Collettivi dei Vescovi Italiani," Mondovi, 1867, two vols., are printed the following acts of the Umbrian hierarchy:

1864. Against the "Conscription of Ecclesiastics"; against "the In-

"Besides this he displayed the most efficient zeal in pleading before the new men in power the innocence of his parish priests, wrongfully persecuted and imprisoned, as well as to save from measures of violence and instantaneous expulsion religious communities, among which were Dominicans, Barnabites, Camaldolese Hermits, Missionaries, Oratorians. He acted in the same way to save cloistered communities of nuns from expulsion and concentration (in one house), to prevent the closing and profanation of churches and the opening of heterodox temples.

"On all these occasions the tone of his correspondence with the civil authorities was uniformly dignified and moderate, while being also full of vigor and convincing, such as to compel the respect of these officials, and to prevent measures of greater harshness and destructiveness from being enacted against his diocese.

"Such was also the character of the many sensible and practical instructions addressed to his clergy in the most difficult conjunctures, especially on the confiscation of the parochial records, on civil marriage, on the abolition of tithes, on the suppression of the ecclesiastical courts, on the national feast, as well as on the enclosure of nuns, on the compilation of inventories, and on the order of public worship in the churches after the dispersion of the regulars." *

We have allowed one who was intimately acquainted with all the circumstances he relates, and who himself took

terference of the Government in Ecclesiastical Seminaries"; against the "Decree subjecting the Nomination of Spiritual Administrators and Parochial Vicars to the royal *placet*."

1865. Against the projected law abolishing Religious Orders and sequestrating ecclesiastical property.

In the "Scelta di Atti Episcopali del Card. Gioacchino Pecci" are found *nine* Collective Acts signed by him and other bishops, and *nine* official remonstrances addressed to the Royal Commissioner for Umbria, to King Victor Emmanuel, to the President of the Council of Ministers, to the Prefect of Umbria, all directed to the defence of the religious interests threatened by the Piedmontese reforms (?).

Note of the MS.

*MS.

a part in the events and labors enumerated, to present the above cursory narrative. It is like a voice, an authorized voice, calm and conscientious, from Perugia, sketching out for us the outlines of a busy life. On some of the acts which he merely points to we shall have to dwell at greater length on account of their intrinsic importance and lasting interest.

But, although surveying thus rapidly the events which followed each other in Perugia and Umbria from 1846 to the invasion of the Pontifical dominions by Piedmont and the firm establishment of the Revolutionary sway in Central and Southern Italy, we have only glanced at a portion of what Cardinal Pecci undertook and accomplished for his people.

CHAPTER XIV.

IN THE BATTLE.—I. HE DEFENDS THE TEMPORAL SOVEREIGNTY OF THE HOLY SEE.

THE episcopate of Archbishop Pecci in Perugia, coinciding as it did with the long reign of Pius IX., fell assuredly upon evil days. The greatest calamities which befell Italy from 1846 to 1878 were not, perhaps, the assaults delivered in such quick succession against the Temporal Power of the Papacy, and battering it down in the end, as the anti-Christian and anti social principles and practices propagated in Italy by the triumphant Revolution. Monsignor Pecci was too well acquainted with the hostile intentions of some of the great European Powers, with the indifference of others, and the helplessness or selfishness of the so-called Catholic governments, not to foresee, from the day Louis Philippe was dethroned and Pius IX. besieged in the Quirinal, that the Papacy could expect no effective support for the preservation of its sacred and time-honored rights from what was, in 1848, only the decayed and tottering framework of the Christendom built up by the Middle Ages.

Monsignor Pecci was not blind to the policy which dynastic ambition or the overmastering revolutionary conspirators, marshalled under Cavour, dictated to the Savoy princes. Still less blind was he to the anti-Christian character of the now secret, now open agencies which the Piedmontese leaders employed to compass their ends. Political and social Italy was, like the wooden house, eaten through and through by the terrible termites of Mazzini and Garibaldi, and ready to collapse, one part after the other, without any serious resistance.

The Archbishop of Perugia, foreseeing the storm and calculating correctly its destructive effects, omitted no pre-

caution, no effort, no labor to preserve the minds and hearts of his people against the evil influences of the spirit which ruled that storm. It may be instructive, at this stage of our narrative, to show how prophetic was the mind which conceived and produced the various pastoral letters published by him as Archbishop of Perugia. They forcibly remind one of the trumpet-toned instructions delivered, during a cyclone at sea, by the watchful captain of a vessel to crew and passengers. Every note of warning and command tells of the progress of the tempest, the fury of the elemental war, and the courage or dismay of the ship's company.

One of the means employed by the revolutionary societies, both in France and in Italy, to attract the curious and unwary to their secret meetings, was magnetism, or "spiritualism," with its exciting revelations. In Great Britain and the United States the main attraction of these spiritualistic or mesmeristic gatherings was curiosity. Politics had nothing to do with them. Yet we know what mischief all this charlatanism and imposture did to religion and morality.

In France and Italy, where faith undermined was replaced by superstition and a morbid craving for preternatural knowledge, there was in these meetings not only the moral danger to the conscience, but the revolutionary passions and the hatred of the existing religious belief, which were fostered sedulously by the spirit of the place. Cardinal Pecci, in 1857, issued a pastoral instruction on "The Abuses of Magnetism." He avoided touching on the political aspects of the question, as his title indicates. He was also too well read in all that pertains to natural science to deny the existence of natural magnetic forces, of which observation has only revealed very limited effects. But religion and morality must condemn the use made of these mysterious agencies by unprincipled, irreligious, and interested persons.

Then, while in 1859–60 Cavour, following up the effect produced on the unheroic spirit of the French emperor

by the Orsini bombs, got him to cross the Alps, fight the Austrians, hold up for a moment to the sceptic Neo-Guelphs the mirage-vision of an Italy confederated under the Papacy, the Frenchman, half-crazed by his own personal dangers at Magenta and the fearful havoc of Solferino, withdrew beyond the Alps, after allowing his unwarlike namesake and cousin to invade and dismember the Papal dominions and create insurrections in the adjoining States.

Just as Cavour and Napoleon III. were planning their Italian campaign, and while Garibaldi was summoned to Turin to co-operate against the Austrians, Cardinal Pecci wrote his pastoral "On the Temporal Dominion of the Popes." One would almost think, on reading over this pastoral letter now at the beginning of 1887, that he who wrote it must have been inspired by Him to whom there is neither past nor future, but one ever-present knowledge of all human events; so accurately are described as mere possibilities then, the realities of which Pius IX. and his successor had to endure—the tyranny at the hands of the Piedmontese usurpation and the domination of the Italian Radicals. Our readers will find even in the brief extracts we here submit a clear and luminous explanation of the present "Roman Question," of the free exercise of the spiritual jurisdiction of the Holy See as a thing, under present circumstances, inseparable from the Pope's absolute independence in temporals of any sovereign power whatever.

The document is dated February 12, 1860. It was written, consequently, before Garibaldi's expedition to Sicily and the Piedmontese invasion of the Marches and Umbria. After reciting the ancient errors, dating from the *third* century of our era down to the fifteenth, which denied the right of the Church or of ecclesiastical persons to possess property or exercise temporal power of any kind, Cardinal Pecci, in view of the anti-Catholic and revolutionary propaganda then so active in Italy, declares it his bounden duty to instruct his people "on the temporal dominion of the Holy See."

"To discharge before God the strict obligation I have as a bishop to watch over the dangers which threaten the souls of his flock, and not to have one day to reproach my conscience with the terrible *Woe is me, because I have held my peace*, I address myself to you, O my beloved people, with all the warmth of my heart, all the zeal of my soul, begging you, amid the present dreadful upsetting of all notions, the present fearful and fateful circumstances, to hear the voice of your pastor with your wonted docility, inspired as it is solely by that charity which compels him to prefer the salvation of your souls to all human considerations.

"It is all the more needful that I should do so that, on the one hand, people are more earnest in their endeavors to persuade you that this 'temporal dominion' has nothing whatever to do with the real interests of Catholicism; and that, on the other, there are very many persons who, either on account of their simplicity of character, or their lack of knowledge, or their weakness of intellect, do not even suspect the existence of the wicked purpose which is concealed from their eyes with such a criminal skilfulness. 'There is no question here of religion,' they say; 'we want religion to be respected. But the Pope must be satisfied with the spiritual government of souls; he has no need of a temporal sovereignty. Temporal power turns away the mind to worldly cares; it is injurious to the Church, opposed to the Gospel, and unlawful'—with many other silly assertions of this kind, of which it is hard to say whether they are more insulting than hypocritical."

Such is the opening of this address. The Catholic world has long known the admirable publications of Bishop Dupanloup on the Roman question and the temporalities of the Holy See. The French language and the perfect literary forms of modern French controversial composition, which the great Orleans prelate used to such good purpose, have familiarized us all with his polemical writings. But Cardinal Pecci's pastorals, written in his native Italian, were but little known outside of the Peninsula. This was

much to be regretted. For they are scarcely less racy and vigorous in style than those of the French apologist of the Papacy, and they are more solid in their doctrine.

"Let us omit to dwell," the Cardinal continues, "on the new ground on which it is proposed to strip every proprietor of all that he does not strictly need for his sustenance. What a farce it would be to say to him that by so doing the despoilers were relieving him of the trouble of taking care of his superfluous goods! Let us say nothing of the august right, consecrated by eleven centuries of possession, of the most ancient and venerated of European monarchies: if such rights are not sufficient to insure respect, then there is no kingdom, no empire in Europe which may not be destroyed.

"Let us say nothing of the open robbery of these possessions which the piety of the faithful and of sovereigns bestowed on the Roman Pontiff and on the Catholic body; let us pass by in silence the victory of the Revolution over the most sacred and venerable authority which was the corner-stone of European society, as well as the sad state of abasement to which it is proposed to reduce the Common Father of the faithful, the Supreme Pontiff of the Catholic Church.

"Let us pass over in silence the nefarious work of destroying that temporal principality which has been at all times the august school of the sciences and fine arts, the well-spring of civilization and wisdom for all nations, the glory of Italy by that moral primacy which it secures to her, and which is all the more noble as spirit is superior to matter; this bulwark which protected Europe from the waves of Eastern barbarism; this power which, by restoring the ruins of ancient greatness, founded the Christian Rome; this throne before which the most powerful monarchs have bent low their heads in reverent obeisance, to which from all the courts of Europe, and from Japan at the extremity of the East, have come solemn embassies proffering homage and respect.

"Let us, I say, omit all that, and all else that might

be said of a design which contemplates the committing of an accumulation of crimes; let us limit ourselves to the consideration of the close connection which the spoliation of the Papal temporal power has with the interests of Catholic doctrine, with the mischievous results sure to follow for the Catholic religion."

There are no captious statements, no suppression of the truth, no exaggeration of the rights and claims of the Papacy.

"It is false," the Cardinal says with a manly indignation, "that any Catholic holds the temporal dominion to be a dogma of his faith; such an assertion can only have come from the ignorance or the wickedness of the enemies of the Church. But it is most true, and must be evident to any intelligent mind, that there is a very close connection between this temporal power and the spiritual primacy, whether we consider the latter in the very conception of its nature or in its necessary exercise."

Then follows a clear and rapid exposition of the Catholic doctrine on the divine institution of the Supreme Pastorate in the Church, and of the end for which this supreme teaching and governing power in spirituals was made a concrete, living, and immortal organism on earth.

This "divine principle of holiness and truth," incarnate in a manner in the Roman Pontiff, cannot be the subject of any human power. For it is this living, ruling principle which "maintains in their unity and integrity the Church and religion. Besides, can it be intelligible that the living interpreter of the divine law and will should be placed under the jurisdiction of the civil authority, which itself derives all its own strength and authority from the same divine will and law? . . ."

"The Church is the Kingdom of Christ; . . . can the head of this kingdom, without unreason, become the subject of a mere earthly potentate? . . ." The Church has for its function to direct humanity toward its supernatural destiny, its last end; the civil power is only charged with providing and securing the immediate purpose of the pre-

sent life—peace, security, order, plenty. Is it in accordance with the dictates of reason that what is final should be made subordinate to what is intermediary—that the end should be made to accord with the means, not the means with the end? "It is a truth attested by faith, by reason, by our own experience, that the happiness of the present life, over which preside the kings of the earth, . . . is only a means for procuring the life eternal. . . . For procuring the sure attainment of this life eternal watches evermore this High-Priest, who hath received from Christ the mission of guiding humanity toward the everlasting felicity. . . . See, then, what upsetting of ideas it would be to make of this High-Priest of the Catholic Church, the Roman Pontiff, the subject of any earthly power."

There is a most admirable sketch of the development of the temporal power of the Papacy. Christ wished to make the world understand that the foundation and propagation of His Church was not the work of any human power. Hence in the early ages "the Popes had not the independence of sovereignty, but that of martyrdom only. . . . During the first centuries they were *in fact* the subjects of lay sovereigns; but we cannot conceive a single instant during which this state of subjection was imposed on them *by right*. The supreme spiritual power of the Pontificate bore within itself from its very birth the germ of its temporal power. With the spontaneous development of the former, the latter also continued to develop itself in space and time, in accordance with the external conditions amid which it grew. . . .

"We see in history how the ample donations, the vast possessions, and the acts of civil jurisdiction exercised by the Roman Pontiffs are things which are traced back so far as to bring us to the first centuries of our era. In no other way can we explain the extraordinary phenomenon of a power which came to be placed in their hands without their knowing it, against their will even, as the celebrated Count de Maistre expresses and proves it.* Where-

* De Maistre, "Du Pape," l. i. c. vi.: "Il n'y a pas en Europe de

fore those who would have the Pope stripped of his civil principality would like to see the Church brought back to her infant condition, to the first stage of her existence. And this they would have done without considering that, in their conception, the ordinary condition corresponding to the nature of Christianity is that first initial stage which developed into that grandeur fore-ordained by Providence, who from out the Catacombs and the prisons led the Popes through the bloody path of martyrdom to the throne of the persecuting Cæsars."

Passing from a right conception of the spiritual primacy of the Popes to its free and full exercise, Cardinal Pecci shows that this at present is not possible without the possession of a temporal sovereignty rendering the Pontiff independent of the influence of any one superior.

"The Pope has to guard intact in its integrity the deposit of the Faith; he must preserve revealed truth from error and corruption among the faithful peoples. . . . He must be free to communicate without impediment with bishops, sovereigns, subjects, in order that his word, the organ and expression of the divine will, may have a free course all over the earth, and be there canonically announced.

"Now, imagine the Holy Father become the subject of a government, and deprived for a time of the liberty to exercise his apostolic ministry. Whenever his *non licet* or any decision of his sounded harsh to the ears of whoever was sovereign over him, or was opposed to that sovereign's views, or to what they call 'the reason of state,' forthwith should we hear of threats, of decrees, of imprisonment, of exile, in order to strangle the voice of truth at its birth.

souveraineté plus justifiable, s'il est permis de s'exprimer ainsi, que celle des Souverains Pontifes. Elle est comme la loi divine, *justificata in semetipsa.* Mais ce qu'il y a de véritablement étonnant, c'est de voir les Papes devenir souverains sans s'en apercevoir, et même, à parler exactement, malgré eux."

See also in this connection Count Murphy's "Chair of Peter," 2d ed., pp. 158 and following.

"Need we recall Liberius, sent into banishment by the Emperor Constantius for refusing to sanction the sentence against St. Athanasius? or John I., imprisoned by Theodosius for not favoring the Arians? or Silverius, exiled by the Empress Theodora because he would not receive to communion the heretical Anthimus? or Martin I., torn away from the Basilica of the Saviour in Rome, and sent to die among the barbarians of Pontus by the Emperor Constans, a Monothelite? or, in fact, all the Pontiffs of the first centuries, who had no other way to fulfil their ministry than the courage to endure martyrdom?" Then come the recent instances of Pius VI. and Pius VII.

"But, in truth, there is no need of prisons or decrees of banishment to bind the hands of Popes who have become the subjects of another power. Everybody knows how easily a government can, even by indirect means, close up every avenue to publicity, cut off all means of communication, put all sorts of obstacles in the way of truth, and give falsehood a free field. In such a situation how is the Pope to superintend the affairs without number of all the churches, to promote the extension of God's kingdom, to regulate worship and discipline, to publish bulls and encyclicals, to convene councils, to grant or to refuse canonical institution to bishops, to have at his command the congregations and courts which are necessary for the management of so many weighty affairs, to keep off schism, to prevent the spread of public heresies, to decide religious disputes, to speak freely to rulers and peoples, to send nuncios and ambassadors, to conclude concordats, to employ censures, to regulate, in fact, the consciences of two hundred millions of Catholics scattered all over the earth, to preserve inviolate dogmas and morals, to receive appeals from all parts of the Christian world, to judge the causes thus submitted, to enforce the execution of the sentences pronounced—to fulfil, in one word, all his duties, and to maintain all the sacred rights of his primacy?

"Here, then, is what they are aiming at by taking from the Pope his temporal power: they mean to render it impossible for him to exercise his spiritual power."

The demonstration is a complete one. But there is another side to the question. If the Pope, as the supreme teacher and ruler of the Church in spirituals, has both his rights to maintain and his duties to fulfil with respect to the Christian world, Christians, in part, have also their indefeasible rights with regard to the free exercise of the Papal Primacy.

"From the Sovereign Pontiff proceed decisions which directly concern what is deepest and most sacred in our consciences, our faith, our hope of eternal felicity. Every Catholic has a right, in matters of such an exalted nature, which transcend all the things of earth and of the present life, which nearly touch the interests of his own immortal soul, that the sentence of the judge who is to guide him toward eternal life shall come freely from his lips—so freely that no one may hint at the possibility of such a decision having been obtained through the dictation of another, or forced from the giver by sheer violence.

"Every Catholic, therefore, demands that the Pope shall be placed in such a well-known condition of freedom that not only he shall be independent, but that it shall be clear to the eyes of all that he is so. Now, how can the Catholics of all nations believe that the decisions of their parent and guide are thus free when he is the subject of an Italian, a German, a French, or a Spanish sovereign?"

To complete this triumphant demonstration Cardinal Pecci quotes from the acknowledged leaders and organs of the long conspiracy against Christianity and the temporal power of the Papacy in the last and the present centuries. Mazzini, writing to the London *Globe* in August, 1850, says: "The abolition of the temporal power manifestly carries along with it the emancipation of the human mind from the spiritual power." This, the Cardinal remarks, Mazzini frequently repeats in his "Pensiero e Azione." Frederick II.* wrote to Voltaire: "All the potentates of Europe,

* "Correspondence of Frederick II.," vol. xii. p. 99.

being unwilling to recognize the Vicar of Christ in a man subject to another sovereign, will each create himself a patriarch in their own dominions. . . . Thereby every one of them will by degrees fall away from the unity of the Church, and end by having in his kingdom a religion of his own, just as he has a language of his own."

To clear away the last vestige of doubt on this point the Cardinal quotes the official declaration of the Central Lodge of Carbonarism in Italy: "'Our final purpose is that of Voltaire and the French Revolution—the total annihilation of Catholicism and of the Christian idea itself.' This is the result aimed at by the anti-Christian schools opened in various Italian cities; this is what is meant by the hostility fostered against the clergy; this is what is intended by freeing (as they say) from all *theocratic tyranny** the legislation, public instruction, marriage—the entire social body, in a word. This is the real significance of the resurrection of the country, of progress, and of liberty, as they understand them: to abolish Catholic worship, to suppress the religion of Christ, to stamp out from all hearts the Christian faith, and to plunge us once more in the darkness of heathenism.

"The conspirators' plan is no longer a thing to be doubted of, except by such as wish to remain wilfully blind. But in what way is it to be carried out? In this—and note it well, if you would not fall into the snares of these evil men: by giving loud assurances, protestations, and solemn oaths that in no wise whatever do they intend to touch or to injure religion."

The conclusion is a most eloquent appeal to the ancestral faith and the ancestral devotion of the Perugians to the Holy See and its Pontiffs:

"There is no middle course. Either we have to stand faithful to Christ, to His Church, to that Church's visible Head, and against the enemies of our religion, or to take part with these against God and His Church.

* Montanelli, "L'Impero il Papato," etc., Florence, 1859.

"It is no longer a matter of policy; it is a matter of conscience. We cannot continue to hesitate between Christ and Belial."

On October 26, 1861, the Piedmontese Minister of Worship, Signor Miglietti, issued a circular letter to the bishops and clergy, the object of which was either to frighten or to bribe them to renounce their allegiance to Pius IX., to give up the cause of the temporal power, and to declare for the Kingdom of Italy.

II. FIDELITY TO PIUS IX.

It was simply a provocative to political treason as well as to religious schism.

Cardinal Pecci and his brother-bishops were not to be caught by such flimsy artifices, nor to be overawed by any penalty the triumphant Revolution could inflict. Their answer was a joint letter, drawn up by the Cardinal, signed by himself and his colleagues, and sent to the Holy Father. It was a document which would send a thrill of religious pride throughout the length and breadth of Italy.

This was one of the first acts of noble and resolute resistance which the Cardinal and his colleagues opposed to the progress and power of impiety and revolutionism.

"Most Holy Father," they said, "in the fierce and protracted storm which at this time agitates the Church so fearfully, and which causes so much anxiety to the great heart of your Holiness, we, who are the copartners of your solicitude and the sharers of all your pain, have had to bewail, as we do still bewail, the unceasing efforts made to cause the ruin of our populations, to separate them from your fatherly rule, and to divide them still more from the centre of Catholic faith. To carry out this purpose no sort of seduction or deceit has been left untried. After promoting or openly favoring irreligion and libertinism by the unrestricted diffusion of pestilential books, of erroneous doctrines and heterodox teachings, they are now plying the

clergy with provocatives and enticements aiming to detach them from their lofty duties and from the obedience due to their prelates, so as then to use them as instruments for their own guilty designs.

"And as all these attempts met with an insurmountable obstacle in the firm and unanimous zeal of the episcopal body, they have now again made these the object of new assaults, undiscouraged by the partial endeavors made to break down the constancy of many of our venerated brethren in the revolutionized provinces of Italy. Defamations, insults, threats, confiscation, imprisonment, banishment having failed, they have had recourse to the disloyal pens of prevaricating priests to plead, in their turn, the cause of the present Revolution. And seeing how little heed was paid to the apologetic declamations of these men, which died away and were lost like the last sounds of a brass bell, it has been lately deemed proper that an official act (of the minister) should be directed toward weakening the fidelity of the bishops. It aims to detach them from you and from the cause of the Supreme Pontificate, and, setting forth old accusations, it seeks to pledge them to acts of approbation and adhesion toward all that has been accomplished against the inviolable laws of justice and religion, and against the rights of the Holy See.

"They pretend, in fact, that the clergy should recognize both in right and in fact the boasted restoration of a nationality as understood by the revolutionists, and which is the result of conspiracy, deception, injustice, and sacrilege. They demand that the clergy, like every other social class and institution, should be subject, in the discharge of their mission, to the dictation of the state—just as if the priesthood was the offspring of the political power, and that from it and not from God was derived the mission to preach the truth and teach the nations.

"They take it as a crime that the clergy should show such patient resignation in enduring such storms of misfortune, so many humiliations and oppressions of every kind, taking it for granted that they ought to be the panegyrists

THE TIBER:

ST. PETER'S IN THE DISTANCE; CASTLE AND BRIDGE OF ST. ANGELO.

and co-operators of a policy which their conscience reproves, which the law of God condemns.

"The clergy are promised, in order to bribe and attract them, pledges and assurances of being left at peace in the exercise of their religious ministrations—as if the sad succession of hostile measures and usurpations consummated up to the present moment did not sufficiently unmask the hideous illusions and disloyalty of such promises. . . .

"They are offered, as the basis of reconciliation, to accept the condemned and fatal system of the separation of Church and state, which, being equivalent to divorcing the state from the Church, would force Catholic society to free itself from all religious influence. . . .

"The tendency of this last intrigue is patent enough. It is calculated that the clergy of Italy, violating their own duties, and separating themselves from their lawful pastors, and from you principally, Most Holy Father, who are their Supreme Chief and Ruler, should abase themselves to legitimize and sanction the acts accomplished by the Revolution, and thereby become the advocate and accomplice of the total spoliation and destruction of the sacred sovereignty of the Church, which they are now planning so noisily.

"We, perceiving with deep grief what refined artifice the conspirators have had recourse to during these last months in order to mature their design, have felt the necessity of examining and fortifying our relations of subjection and union with Your Holiness and with the Apostolic Chair. And therefore it is that, while others among our venerable brothers in the episcopal office, either by acts or by their writings, manifest openly their rejection and abhorrence of this governmental act, we, on the other hand, have rather followed the impulse of filial affection by lifting toward you our eyes and voice in this new calamity, to signify anew most solemnly our perfect adhesion to your teachings and to the glorious resistance which you, although saddened and opposed in so many ways by unworthy children, have made so courageously for the triumph

of religion, of justice, and of the sacred rights of the Holy See.

"This declaration of our sentiments and purpose, by which we glory to be always with you and for you, being thus made public, shall be an eloquent argument, giving a peremptory answer to every flattering advance, solicitation, and threat. Faithful to the obligations which we took on ourselves with our episcopal trust, faithful as well to the oath taken on the day of our consecration, we protest that in you, the successor of St. Peter, the Vicar of Christ, the visible Head of His Church, we venerate with unchangeable respect the centre of unity of the faith, the depositary and the infallible teacher of all revealed truth which pertains to the spiritual destinies and the eternal salvation of mankind. From this divine teaching authority Christian society derives its light and its form. And when the overbearing might of the world, in order to supplant it, presumes to enter the sanctuary and to impose on men a fictitious and deceptive morality, it is time that it should hear us repeat: 'We must obey God rather than men.'

"In you [we also revere] the supreme regulator of the discipline of the Church, on whom alone the episcopal body and the inferior clergy have to depend in all that regards the exercise of their mission and the relations of the Church with civil society. We therefore sovereignly deplore both the pretension of our modern politicians, who endeavor to subject to their bondage all ecclesiastical offices, and the blindness of those priests who, forgetful of their august calling, allowed themselves to be won over by blandishments, and, dazzled by the false promises of the world, have strayed away from the sheepfold of Christ.

"And with regard to the sacred sovereignty and the temporal dominions, against which so many conspiracies and expeditions are planned, we accept no other sentiments and declarations than those of the Church herself, attested even in our day by the unanimous suffrage of the Catholic episcopate, and proclaimed by ourselves in our pastoral letters to our diocesans and in many addresses

on the same subject laid before the pontifical throne. While, in the sense of the definitions of the œcumenical councils, we acknowledge the inviolability of sacred endowments and ecclesiastical possessions, we also consider this sacred sovereignty to be a special ordinance of divine Providence which no human power may lawfully assail—an ordinance directed toward protecting the independence of the Church, toward securing to her visible Head the fulness of the liberty necessary for the proper exercise of the supreme authority bestowed on him by God over the whole Catholic world. . . .

"In the profession of such principles and convictions, and in fidelity to the Apostolic See and to your august person, we desire to be, with the divine help, ever firm in the face of whatever may befall us, of dangers and contradictions to which we may be exposed; nay, more, the greater these may be, the more do we feel the duty of standing at your side, Most Holy Father, and to find in your invincible constancy, in your serenity of soul amid all the tribulations which press upon you, inspiration and increasing comfort in the fulfilment of our pastoral office."

When Pius IX. will have passed away, and Piedmontese rule will restrict, even within the Vatican, the liberty and jurisdiction of his successor, how sweet it will be to that successor to receive such encouragements from his brother-bishops all over the world as are contained in the brave and noble sentiments we have just been reading!

CHAPTER XV.

THE BATTLE WITH IRRELIGION RAGES FIERCELY—CARDINAL PECCI HEADS THE EPISCOPAL BODY IN DEFENDING (I.) THE LIBERTY OF THE CHURCH.

DURING the first fourteen years of Cardinal Pecci's episcopal labors in Perugia he had been most zealous, as we have seen, in preparing both priests and people among his flock for the trials which he feared, if he did not foresee, were inevitable in the near future.

On November the 21st, 1860, the archbishops and bishops of the Marches sent to the Piedmontese governor or commissary-general a remonstrance, from which we take the following passages:

"Our hearts," they say, "cruelly wounded and torn, are filled with grief and desolation by the thought of the spiritual ruin which threatens our children, our flocks, purchased by the blood of the Lamb without spot. Nevertheless, after all the contradictions, the trials, the obstacles we have had to encounter, not one spark of charity, of zeal, of pastoral and fatherly solicitude has been quenched in our souls—we solemnly affirm it, with our anointed hands on our hearts; and, with the help of God's grace, these sentiments shall never depart from us through fault of ours.

"We scarcely believe our own eyes or the testimony of our own ears when we see or hear of the excesses, the abominations, the disorders witnessed in the chief cities of our respective dioceses, to the shame and horror of the beholders, to the great detriment of religion, of decency, of public morality, since the ordinances against which we protest deprive us of all power to protect religion and morality or to repress the prevailing crimes and licentiousness.

"The public sale, at nominal prices, of mutilated trans-

lations of the Bible, of pamphlets of every description saturated with pestilential errors or infamous obscenities, is permitted in the cities which, a few months ago, had never heard of these scandalous productions. . . . The impunity with which the most horrible blasphemies are uttered in public, and the worse utterance of expressions and sentiments that breathe a hellish wickedness; the exposition, the sale in public, and the diffusion of statuettes, pictures, and engravings which brutally outrage piety, purity, the commonest decency; the representation in our city theatres of pieces and scenes in which are turned into ridicule the Church, Christ's immaculate Spouse, the Vicar of Christ, the ministers of religion, and everything which piety and faith hold to be most dear; in fine, the fearful licentiousness of public manners, the odious devices resorted to for perverting the innocent and the young, the evident wish and aim to make immorality, obscenity, uncleanness triumph among all classes—such are, your Excellency, the rapid and faint outlines of the scandalous state of things created in the Marches by the legislation and discipline so precipitately imposed on them by the Sardinian government.

"We appeal to your Excellency, . . . could we remain silent and indifferent spectators of this immense calamity without violating our most sacred duty?"

Such was the courageous and indignant voice which arose from the episcopal body in the Marches. It soon had a worthy echo on the other side of the Apennines. There the bishops of Umbria found an eloquent mouthpiece and intrepid interpreter in the Cardinal Archbishop of Perugia. Undismayed by the outrages and sufferings which his old schoolmate and friend, the saintly Cardinal de Angelis, Archbishop of Fermo, was made to undergo for his resistance to Piedmontese rule, Cardinal Pecci concentrated all the energy of his character, style, and convictions into the impressive document from which we are about to quote. It sounds like the solemn act of men who know that by publishing to the world this grand pro-

test they are drawing on themselves the worst penalties which unlawful and unrestrained might can inflict.

Let the reader judge whether or not Cardinal Pecci was defending the Christian religion, assailed in its very essence:

"*In the year of salvation one thousand eight hundred and sixty, in the month of December:*

"We, the undersigned, to whom, albeit unworthy, the Eternal Priest and Pastor Christ Jesus, through His Vicar on earth, the Roman Pontiff, has committed the care and government of the churches over which we are set, in consequence of the proclamation, which has just been made in these provinces of Umbria in the name of the Sardinian government, of certain decrees which bear on religious interests and ecclesiastical discipline, find ourselves impelled by our pastoral office to make freely and solemnly the following declaration of our sentiments:

"It is a grievous error against Catholic doctrine to pretend that the Church is the subject of any earthly power and bound by the same economy and relations which regulate civil society. The Church is not a human institution, nor is it a portion of the political edifice, although it is destined to promote the welfare of the men among whom it lives. It affirms that from God come directly its own being, its constitution, and the necessary faculties for attaining its own sublime destiny, which is one different (from that of the state) and altogether of a supernatural order. Divinely ordered, with a hierarchy of its own, it is by its nature independent of the state.

"This native independence, this condition, so vital to the Church, of being able to extend the blessings of its heavenly mission, is a thing which has ever been respected in the midst of the illustrious populations of Umbria whom God placed under our episcopal care. Beneath the overshadowing protection of the Pontifical government, which we shall ever acknowledge as the work of Providence, created for the indispensable and free exercise of the power of the

Church, it had not to dread the obstacles and fetters imposed on it elsewhere by a secular policy either suspicious or unbelieving.

"Wherefore most painful to our hearts and most baneful to the spiritual interests of our flocks is every innovation which, under the name and glitter of modern civilization, without any dependence on the Supreme Pastor, people pretend to introduce among us by these recent decrees, which gravely wound the liberty of the Church, which make no account of ancient, most sacred, and ever-revered interests, which set aside and annul inviolable prerogatives and institutions.

"Whosoever considers the spirit of these decrees must perceive at the first glance that here in our country also it is resolved to make the Church the slave of the state, and to subject and co-ordinate her divine mission to the low views of a worldly policy. . . .

"We observe, besides, with a sad surprise, that these innovations are proclaimed in the name of a government which holds by its fundamental law 'the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion as the sole religion of the state,' and which, when it ordered its armies to occupy these provinces, declared its purpose to be '*to restore in Italy the principles of the moral order.*'

"A Catholic government contradicts itself every time that it lays its hand on the sanctuary and invades the sacred province of the priesthood; every time it changes by its own arbitrary act the external conditions of the Church, and so straitens the latter as to reduce it to a state of bondage. Nor can the purpose of reforming the discipline of the Church give a color of legitimacy to such an unrighteous undertaking.

"Determined not to give up the guardianship of the sacred rights entrusted to our keeping, we lift our voices, and in presence of God and of men we protest loudly against all and every the innovations and ordinances which wound the rights and liberties of the Church, as embodied in the recent decrees. In especial, moreover, . . .

"We protest against such as regard the *persons* belonging to the Church, by the suppression of ecclesiastical tribunals. . . .

"We protest against such as are adverse to the *institutions* of the Church by subjecting to the censure of the state every ecclesiastical provision and disposition; by withdrawing from the direction and care of the bishops the pious foundations, even when deriving their origin from the Church itself or entrusted to the Church by the will of the donors; by prohibiting all care and interference of the bishops with the establishments of education and instruction, compelling the rectors of parishes to do without sacramental registers and the books necessary to their pastoral ministry. . . .

"We must deplore the vexations committed against priests, accompanied by reprimands, threats, arrest, imprisonment, and banishment. We deplore the violation of the cloister, the taking possession of sacred asylums, the sequestration and suppression of religious communities. We must deplore the occasions given so frequently to the clergy to engender dissension and scandal, and the seductions held out to them to tempt them away from the due subjection to their superiors. We must deplore the licentiousness of the theatre and the press, and the continual snares laid to surprise pious souls, to undermine faith by circulating infamous pamphlets and heterodox writings, and by the declamations of fanatical preachers of impiety. . . .

"And we make these declarations in order not to betray the most sacred rights, which we are bound to protect by the solemn oaths we have taken, and by the strict duties prescribed by our office and our conscience, inasmuch as our silence would take the scandalous color of connivance or of criminal weakness; and because at the sound of our voice, at the publicity given to this remonstrance, the faithful will take heart, for they deplore bitterly in their secret souls the wrongs and the ruin caused to their mother.

"Christian charity bids us never to despair of the repentance and amendment of our neighbor, and to oppose

the armor of prayer to those who attack us. We do pray for them, and offer up our petitions that their repentance may help to render more glorious the certain triumph of the Church, to which faith teaches us the divine protection can never fail, and that even the gates of hell shall never prevail against her."

Signed by the Cardinal Archbishop-Bishop of Perugia, the Archbishop of Spoleto, the Bishops of Terni, Foligno, Città di Castello, Assisi, Nocera, Città della Pieve, Gabbio, Todi, Amelia, Narni, and Rieti.*

The war against God, against Christian society, against the dearest, truest interests of humanity and country, had been inaugurated by the Italian Revolution. This was the *coup d'essai* by which the anti-Christian and anti-social combined forces were trying their power, first, against the Papacy and Catholicism in the very seat of their authority, before they tried their hand, as they are now doing in Belgium and in France and in Switzerland; Germany and Great Britain are to follow.

II. THE NOBLE DEFENCE OF DOMESTIC SOCIETY.

Cardinal Pecci stands forth at the head of his brethren, organizing and leading the resisting forces, whose only arms are truth and justice. It is a sublime struggle; it cannot be a doubtful one.

One of the most baneful innovations introduced by the Piedmontese invaders into a country where for so many centuries no religion had prevailed save the Catholic religion alone, regarded marriage, which was entirely *laicized*, being made a civil transaction subject to the sole laws of the state, and independent in every way of any religious consecration or formality. Indeed, among a population

* "Scelta di Atti Episcopali del Cardinale Gioacchino Pecci, Arcivescovo Vescovo di Perugia, ora Leone XIII., Sommo Pontefice," Roma, 1879, pp. 301–305.

PANORAMIC VIEW OF ROME FROM THE ROOF OF ST. PETER'S.

which had been exclusively Catholic for fifteen hundred years, the subversion of all Church discipline and regulations was so sudden and so thorough that, with a stroke of the pen, the pastors of souls were forbidden to keep parish registers, and the records of births, marriages, and deaths were transferred to the municipal officers. The whole sacramental system of the Church, the entire order of priestly duty in its most sacred ministrations, were set aside as abruptly and as peremptorily as if the change were taking place in one of the Feejee Islands, where the inhabitants had been fetichists and cannibals in the last generations, and their present conquerors imposed anew the old ancestral customs.

The archbishops and bishops of Umbria had thereupon issued a declaration drawn up by Cardinal Pecci, and which remains one of the noblest and most eloquent monuments of episcopal independence and courage of that dark period. But the Cardinal did not rest satisfied with this joint action of himself and brethren. He addressed himself directly to the king.

"Sire," he writes, "the extraordinary anomaly of *civil marriage* imposed on the populations of Umbria by a decree of the Sardinian commissary, the Marquis Pepoli, dated October 31, 1860, was not then fully understood and appreciated in its entire reach and consequences. The Umbrian hierarchy, after witnessing for more than a year a lamentable succession of sacrilegious usurpations and shameful acts, could have drawn from these alone a sufficient reason for mourning and trembling for the fate of their people. . . . They did not delay to raise their voice in deploring it, and in the joint protest sent to the government in December, 1860, they denounced the innovation as one of the most baneful among the many carried out to the detriment of religion and the sacred rights of the Church.

"Enlightened, moreover, by the guilty results of this deplorable change, the bishops, after an experience of several months, have published lately a doctrinal 'Decla-

ration,' in which the innovation is submitted to examination, its irreligious character is laid bare, and the capital points of its discordance with Catholic doctrine are placed in evidence.

"Your Majesty will permit me to place in your hands a copy of this 'Declaration.' For it is exceedingly important that you should know and see in its full light an act of such serious consequence, done by the caprice of an extraordinary official, who came hither, after the military occupation of these provinces, to make laws in your royal name. It is an act which still works out its effects, corrupting consciences and the public morality; it now requires a remedy, which can only come from the power from which it emanates.

"Your Majesty must bear with me if I, who, though the last in merit among my venerable colleagues, am bound by stricter ties to the Catholic cause and the Holy Roman Church, the universal teacher and guardian of the divine rights, do now endeavor to place briefly beneath your eyes the inconsistency and deformity of this anomaly, considered in its civil and religious bearings. . . .

". . . As to its religious aspect, which is the most important, your Majesty needs only, in order to weigh well the gravity of this act, to remember what you witnessed yourself in 1851 and 1852 while the projected law of civil marriage was discussed in the Piedmontese Chambers. . . .

"If your Majesty will only now take the trouble to read calmly the few pages of our 'Declaration,' you will feel certain that this projected law, which it is pretended is a boon to Umbria, is of this (anti Christian) character. . . This is shown by the fundamental conception of the law itself, which is based on the theory of the separability of the contract from the sacrament. By dissociating marriage from every religious element it is given features of a merely human character. And by overlooking the divine institution and economy which regulate marriage in its very essence, the law takes upon itself exclusively to arrange what is most intimate in the matter, as if it regu-

lated only an ordinary transaction of civil origin and competence.

"This anti-Christian character is shown by the *source* itself from which the law derives. For it must either come from pagan *naturalism*, which knew nothing of the fact that God had raised the matrimonial contract to the dignity of a sacrament; or from the heretical corruptions of Protestantism, which, having troubled the very springs of revealed truth, rejected the sanctity of the matrimonial union as belonging to Christian dogma; or, again, from the systematic unbelief of our modern Socialists, who aim at overturning from the foundations the entire social and religious orders.

"This character is also shown by the *motives* on which the law is based, which are not only futile and insufficient, when there is question of justifying an act of this moment, but reveal a purpose sadly out of accord with Catholic doctrine.

"They pretend to assert thereby the fulness of the state jurisdiction, and, under the cloak of 'civilization' and 'progress,' to set about transforming God's own work: they command men's consciences to accommodate themselves to a factitious tie which Christian doctrine declares to be illicit and most criminal apart from the sacrament.

"With treacherous phrases about *liberty of conscience* and *separation of the state from the Church*, it takes advantage to weaken the bonds of religion, to accredit indifferentism, and to please the heretic and the unbeliever by a fashion of marriage suited to their minds.

"Under the specious and lying color of *abuses* and restraints it censures the venerated rules of Christian jurisprudence, the wise discipline of the Church, confirmed by the decrees of councils and by the uninterrupted practice of so many ages.

"Therefore it was that Pius IX., writing to your Majesty on this projected law, concluded his letter with these memorable words:

"'*We wrote to your Majesty that the law is not Catholic;*

and if the law is not Catholic, the clergy are obliged to tell the people so, even at the risk of incurring the threatened penalties. Your Majesty, we also speak to you in the name of Christ Jesus, whose Vicar we are, how unworthy soever; and we say to you in His Name, Do not sanction this law, which is pregnant with a thousand disorders. . . . We give ourselves up willingly to the hope of seeing you support the rights of the Church, protect her ministers, and free her people from the peril of being subjected to certain laws which bear on their face the decay of religion and of the morality of nations. . . ."

"As to the *consequences* of this law, . . . cases of legal concubinage frequently come to our notice, to our grief and the ruin of souls. And it is supremely painful to reflect that the more easily such things happen, the more difficult is it to repair the evil, on account of the condition of state bondage and interdiction to which the priestly ministry is condemned in our day. For it is the law itself which frequently causes and authorizes such things. . . .

"Have we not seen the abuse and prevarication of legal might carried to the point of compelling the parish priests, under threat of fine and imprisonment, to bestow their sacred offices in giving the sacramental consecration to the marriage immediately after the civil ceremony, without taking any account whatever of the forms and discipline of the Church?

"Have we not seen the officials use a studious or inconsiderate precipitancy in admitting parties to the civil ceremony, and then, having discovered thereafter impediments which nullified the contract, have they not displayed a careless connivance in tolerating that the incestuous couples, so ill-united even with respect to the civil act, should continue together in their unlawful intercourse?

"Have we not also seen attempts made to subject the administration of the sacraments and the direction of men's consciences to the official censure and the dictation of the state?

"These are dreadful facts, of which I speak of my own certain knowledge!

"Assuredly a law of this kind, and bearing such pernicious fruits, is not a Catholic law. The natural dictates of moral honesty are offended by it; and, in the long run, it must end in degrading Christian society and cause that 'religious and moral decadence' which our enlightened Pontiff deplored in predicting it to your Majesty. . . .

"If this law, therefore, which is so manifestly anti-Catholic, comes to be promulgated in your royal name, and by a governor sent by royal ordinance to rule these Pontifical provinces, the Catholic hierarchy has an evident right to expect that your Majesty will apply a remedy to the grievance, and to press you to repair it.

". . . There is only question here to insist on the observance of the rule that a delegate is inferior to the power which delegates him, and that all acts are void of juridical validity which the delegator had neither the right nor the intention to perform or to commission his subordinate to do.

"Let your Majesty do this act of justice to the Catholic religion, the only true religion, the only one acknowledged as such, and the only one professed in all Italy. Have Christian marriage restored speedily to its religious liberty and its superhuman grandeur. Let the annoying exceptions cease which are so grievous a burden to the conscience of our people, and suppress that heterodox innovation which, by desecrating an august sacrament, vitiates in their principle the domestic and social relations, and is a great danger to the purity of faith and morals." *

To this eloquent appeal we do not fear to add the conclusion of the united Remonstrance of the archbishops and bishops of Umbria, also the work of the same well-inspired hand. Statesmen and churchmen in America, warned by the fatal facilities of our divorce laws, will do well to read and ponder these pregnant considerations:

"After these considerations our conscience cannot rest satisfied, nor can the zeal which we are bound to cherish

* "Scelta," etc., pp. 470–78, Sept. 27, 1861.

for the Catholic cause and for the well-being of Christianity in our midst, if we did not make our words, with evangelical freedom, reach the ears of those who have bestowed their labors in this reform, or who are to give it their care and support. It is still but a project. God grant that the truth, shining forth in its full light, may penetrate and convince every mind before such reform is sanctioned!

"We say, therefore:

"A civil reform regarding marriage which takes on itself, as does the present project, to regulate the validity of matrimony in a manner quite independent of and differing from the dictates of religion, necessarily involves a violation of Catholic dogma, an oppression of the Catholic conscience.

"The sanctity [*l'onestà*] and force of the conjugal tie, in the estimation of Christians, are based on the law of nature and that of the Gospel, not on the formulas of the civil law. This is a truth of the divine, the absolute order, from which the Church can never depart; and the conscience of a Catholic people can never be convinced of the contrary. It is not a matter of discipline, about which transactions might be made, or a question of form, about which one may lawfully disagree.

"Under the pretext of claiming its own rights (*rivendicazione*) the state in our day is compelled to repudiate this dogmatic principle, to turn its back on its own traditions, and to violate the consciences of its subjects.

"Can a reform of this character ever be reconciled with the profession of the Catholic faith, of which the whole nation is so proud? Can a wise policy ever consent to accept an institution so hostile to the dominant religion and to the prevailing belief—an institution which, discussed formerly in the Piedmontese Chambers, had there so unhappy an issue, and which elsewhere turned out to be a source of miserable troubles, contentions, and corruption?

"The state has its own duties with regard to marriage, but these only concern the external bearings of marriage connecting it with the civil society. The Church does not

pretend to an exclusive fulness of jurisdiction, confining her claim to what God has committed to her as her indefeasible right in her nature as the minister of His religion and the ruler of man in his relations with the Godhead—that is, *the validity of the marriage tie*, which belongs to the spiritual and divine order.

". . . Does the state wish to co-operate in preserving from the abuses of individual licentiousness the purity or legitimacy of marriage? There is a way of doing so without invading others' rights. Let it combine with the Church that precious and sadly needed harmony of action which arranges and secures so admirably the social and religious interests of a nation; let it show itself to be an ally, not an arbitrary master; let it accept and sanction the sacred laws of the Church, impose their observance on its subjects, even in externals, and it will thus infallibly attain its true purpose. . . .

"But let the state beware, and we beg it to beware, of putting thorns and fetters on the Catholic conscience, and of putting itself as a teacher in the place of the Church, the divine and only guide from whom Catholics obtain the rules of morality and justice." *

The Archbishop of Perugia could not, in the perils which daily and hourly grew around the Christian homes of Umbria, rest satisfied with demonstrating to the civil authorities the enormity of the evil they were committing; he made his voice heard in every one of these homes, instructing them on these dangers and their own Christian duties.

III. CARDINAL PECCI ENLIGHTENING CHRISTIAN HOMES AND FORMING CHRISTIAN HEARTS.

In 1864 Cardinal Pecci, who had been the soul and the mouthpiece of the episcopate of Central Italy during the calamitous years which followed 1860, issued in the form

*June, 1861. "Sul *Progetto di Matrimonio Civile*, esaminato nell' interesse religioso. *Dichiarazione, Scelta*, pp. 308–342.

of his usual Lenten pastoral a most remarkable, pregnant, instructive, and eloquent work, worthy of a great and zealous bishop. It bears for title "On the Current Errors against Religion and Christian Life."

The works of mind, and more especially so those which treat of the dearest religious interests of mankind, are like the rare and most precious gems which have their value in every civilized clime and win the admiration of all true men. From this production of the Cardinal Archbishop of Perugia we detach a few passages, which our readers will prize as they would the most beautiful pearls of Coromandel taken from a full casket and held up to them to examine. Here is the preamble:

"The priceless treasure of a frank profession of Catholic faith is a thing too much to be envied and hidden away out of sight, in our days, that we should not guard it jealously against the traps and plots which are laid to steal it from us. . . . To a people like you, who had the fortune to be born Catholics, and who have ever had it at heart to remain so, the free and loving voice of your pastor must surely be grateful when it is raised to warn you of the dangers which your religion runs, and to point out to you the ready means to avert them.

"There is no need that we should spend many words to prove to you the existence and the magnitude of these dangers, and the unceasing labors bestowed to implant even among you unbelief and heresy. The designs and proceedings of the propagators of irreligion are quite well known to you. They profit by the present conditions of our country to make war on the Catholic faith; they endeavor to pervert radically its principles, and to upset all the practices of Christian life. . . .

"See how these men would have you throw off from your minds all the dictates of faith, all bonds of subjection to God. They go about writing and proclaiming aloud:

"'Man is free in his own conscience; he can embrace any religion he likes. Natural religion, that which reason dictates to each of us, is all that we want; we do not

need either revelation or mysteries. Religion is a purely internal act; it should exist in the heart and confine itself to the sphere of our spirit. It is quite enough for a man to behave himself like one who is honest and honored among his fellow-men; as to religion, he can square his actions on his belief. Religion does not enter into the sphere of external conduct or into the social order; the interests of our spiritual being should be entirely separate from those of our corporeal being.'

"These theories are widely taught even among us, and, let us confess it, they not infrequently meet with favor and welcome. Thank God if the number be small indeed who renounce, to embrace them, their Catholic profession! Nevertheless there are numbers of the hesitating and the deceived who, thinking these theories to be comfortable and plausible, caress them in practice, give them their assent, and, without perceiving it, live according to them. Hence . . . a mortal indifferentism in matters of religion, a blind neglect and contempt of all that concerns the soul and regards the life to come. . . ."

Taking up in succession each of these capital errors, the Cardinal refutes them in a masterly way:

"To all who speak to you of '*liberty of conscience*' say that without God there is no liberty. He made man free and gifted with reason, but in so doing He imposed on His creature obligations and dictated laws for him, in order to prevent that native liberty and reason from leading him astray. Among these obligations, among these laws, stand first those that pertain to religion—namely, the worship and obedience which are due to God as the Supreme Author and Repairer of human nature. He has Himself determined and made known to us in what manner we are thus to honor and serve Him. Nor is it left to the free will of man to refuse it, or to fashion for himself a form of worship and service such as he pleases to render. That worship, that religion alone is true, is good, which God Himself has manifestly willed us to practice. After that it would be not only impious but monstrous to main-

tain every form of worship is acceptable and indifferent, that the human conscience is free to adopt whichever form it pleases and to fashion out a religion to suit itself.

"What! are they then things indifferent, dependent on our choice and good pleasure, these matters which we call truth and error, the divine glory, and God's dishonor?

"What! can it then be a matter of indifference to man to know God or to ignore Him, to revere Him or to worship His creatures, to serve Him, as He bids us, or to refuse Him service? . . ."

Every one of the *effata* of irreligion or scepticism is then made the heading of each successive section of this noble treatise, and utterly confuted. For instance:

"*The religion of the heart is enough for man.*—Remark, I pray you, that this false axiom which cloaks the shame of the unbeliever, serves also to the cowardly Catholic as a pretext for sacrificing the duties of his religion to the idol of human respect. God deserves and demands that man's whole being shall confess, worship and serve Him, the Creator. This cannot be accomplished by the heart alone, and by mere interior acts which remain concealed in the depths of the human soul. . . .

"The new law of the Gospel, while teaching us to worship God in a manner more perfect and more worthy of Him, 'in spirit and in truth,' also establishes and commands special external observances—sacrifice, the sacraments, prayer—not only as means of personal sanctification, but as a solemn expression of religious worship.

"Besides, honor is due to God, not merely as He is the Creator of individual man, but as He is also the Author and Ruler of the human race as a whole. For if man in his individual capacity derives from Him as from the First Cause, is sustained by His providence and directed by Him toward his proper destiny, even so is every human society.

"So deeply rooted in the universal sentiment and conviction of mankind is the obligation of an outward and public manifestation of such worship, and the persuasion

as well that no society can subsist without religion, that no people, how barbarous or degraded soever, has existed who did not confess this debt to the Godhead by erecting temples, instituting feasts, offering sacrifices, and decreeing honors."

In the same lucid and convincing way does he dispose of the next axiom, that "It is religion enough to behave well and to do good to others." And so on to the end of this chain of capital errors.

"We have until now," he continues, "discoursed to you of the principal errors which are propagated against our holy religion. . . . Now we feel ourselves impelled to place beneath your eyes the principal points on which is remarked in our day the decay of Christian morality. . . ."

"Blasphemy" comes in the first place. It is treated with brief and masterly eloquence. Then the "Profanation of the Sunday and Feasts of Obligation," "Public Immorality," "Bad Books," and "Defective Education."

This last section deserves more than a passing mention:

"We should have too much to say on this subject, on which depend the direction and welfare of the present and of the coming generation. We need not lose time in proving the obligation and the importance for parents to educate their children well; the voice of nature, the precepts of religion, and the sense of all mankind agree in affirming and inculcating this duty.

"Still, to confess the truth, who is it that does not perceive and deplore the neglect and falling-off in the discharge of this duty which are evident in many Catholic families at this time, and that does not thence draw sad auguries for our future? Unwise and lazy parents do not know how to estimate the nobleness of the mission entrusted to them. They generally measure according to the calculations of a low and selfish interest the blessing of having children; they do not at all think of the great debt which they contract toward God, from the first day they become parents, to increase in their offspring and to con-

tinue the number of His true adorers; of that which they contract toward themselves to prepare and transmit an honored inheritance of good example and virtues; of the debt contracted toward society to rear for it members laborious, moral, and edifying.

"It is true that in our day another maxim is current bearing on this same subject—namely, '*To the state belongs the training of youth.*' Does this maxim avail to excuse the lamentable negligence of parents in our time?

"The duty of education, inculcated by natural reason, is so essential to the parental character and authority that they cannot decline its performance. The state authority, by its place in the order of things, is not called upon to discharge this great parental duty, but to help the natural educators in their work, and to watch and protect the interior discipline and good direction of the family.

"What are, in reality, the relations in which man is placed from his birth, as one of the beings in the order of creation? He comes into the world as God's creature, who has brought him into existence; he is the child of those who have given him temporal life; he is ordained first toward religion and then toward his family; his first duties are subjection and service to God, and dependence on his parents. The family is neither the creation nor the emanation of civil society (or the state); the power of parents is not a concession of human law. The relations and duties which obtain between parents and children are anterior and superior to all human aggregation.

"Man is indeed born sociable; but belonging, before all, to the domestic and religious society, he only comes into the society of the state through the family and already prepared by the teaching of religion and under the guidance of parental authority. Therefore is it that as in the matter of education only an auxiliary part can be attributed to the state authority, so is it evident that the charge of educating remains as a burden they cannot decline on the conscience of the parents, who for that work are the

representatives of God the Creator, and are invested with His authority.

"If in our days all parents understood their duties in this light, and if, conceiving an adequate notion of the work they are commissioned to do, they instructed their children in time on the elevated duties and relations which every human being has to fulfil both in the domestic and the religious society, assuredly the state would be much the better for it. For no one can doubt that children who are submissive to parental authority and devoted to their family, that men who have the fear of God and who are obedient to their religion, cannot fail to be also honored citizens and serviceable to their fellow-men."

Then comes up the question of colorless or undenominational education, which so many parents are satisfied with. Cardinal Pecci's luminous explanation leaves here no room for hesitation:

"You must distinguish between '*education*' and '*instruction*,' between the moral training and moulding of the heart and the simple cultivating of the intellect. Instruction, as such, ordinarily consists in filling the minds of the young with a furniture of knowledge that can help them, according to their years, to turn to a useful account their intellectual and bodily powers.

"The moral training, on the contrary, should be a foundation for the development and the application of the great principles of morality and religion as bearing on men's conduct within the family and in the social sphere.

"Scientific instruction will give you learned and clever young men and women; religious education will give you, on the contrary, honest and virtuous citizens. Instruction, separated from education properly so called, serves rather to fill young hearts with vanity than to discipline them aright. It is quite otherwise with a right education; such a training, under the guidance of religion, which is the regulator of the heart of man and the inspirer of pure and generous affections, knows how to implant and to cultivate

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virtue in the most illiterate souls without the aid of much scientific polishing or instruction.

" . . . Then, again, and to speak the truth, do parents pay attention to the nature, the solidity of the instruction given to their children? Do they see to it that it is sound, useful, well ordered, and fit to prepare and help an education such as is fit for Christian children and members of a Catholic community; that those who give such instruction have the necessary gifts of religious conviction, of virtue, of learning, such as may win them the respect and obedience of their pupils; that, above all, the study of religion, so essential to the education and the virtuous life of young people, should hold the foremost place among all other studies, should have a proper and adequate development, and be carried on under the direction of the Church, the depositary and teacher of religious doctrines?

"You see, therefore, that in this respect alone there cannot be (in a neutral school) a sufficient guarantee for a right and complete education, nor any relief for parents of the great burden on their conscience."

Coming to the current sayings in our day, "that both instruction and education should be *in harmony with the age and free from prejudices*," the Cardinal increases in vigorous remonstrance:

"Have you ever understood the real significance of these words, which are too often heard from the lips of some unwary parent, as well as from those of self-esteemed educators? No one denies that all the arts advance with time, and on all methods of human education a new light is cast by experience and a new increase obtained. Nor would the modernizing processes we hear people talk of meet with any opposition when they only affect the form, when they are really beneficial, and do not affect injuriously either Christian principles or Christian duties.

"These men, however, have in view a far different conception and purpose. Instruction and education, *void of prejudices*, in the language of the day, mean simply that they should be such as to befit promiscuously families of

all shades of religious faith, worshipping at the altars of every creed, whether the creeds be those of Protestantism or that of the Hebrew. It is an education devoid of all the external practices and duties of the Christian faith, and calculated to familiarize young people with 'freedom of conscience' and indifferentism. It is such as to accustom themselves to make such compromises as are incompatible with the immutability of Catholic dogma and Gospel morality each time that such compromises seem demanded by what people call 'social exigencies,' and civilization, and the superiority of the age, and such worldly considerations. It is, in fine, such as to make a man live a gay life in this world, as if here were for him the end of all and his own supreme destiny.

"And although this system of education does not openly exclude every religious element, such as it contains is so superficial and diluted that it is anything but fit to fill the souls of the young with a perfect knowledge, a true love, an exact practice, a hearty profession of the Catholic faith to which they belong.

"There is another great evil resulting from this, as they call it, impartial or unprejudiced education. Do you know what it is? It is to take no account of the powerful influence of the examples of the home-circle, and to afford the children of the household all facilities for finding themselves, from their early years, in the midst of the most powerful seductions of worldly society.

"No! it is not a *prejudice*, but an undeniable truth, continually demonstrated by the experience of every day, that the school of example has more power to form the minds of the young than mere oral teaching. Nay, frequently what causes the failure of an education well wrought out by the zealous pastor and the skilful schoolmaster are the evil examples given at home.

"It is no *prejudice*, but a most pressing duty and an earnest of true fatherly love, which guards the young against the dangers and snares with which the road of worldlings is sown—against licentious conversations, pesti-

lential books, obscene spectacles, evil companions, perfidious friendships, and dark associations. It is rather lamentable blindness and inexcusable folly on the part of parents to pretend to accustom their children for a while to the ways of the world, to make them know everything, open the way to the gratification of every passion, allowing their dear ones to be their own masters, exposing them to every temptation, in which their innocence receives wounds which no time can cure." *

* "Scelta."

CHAPTER XVI.

CARDINAL PECCI BATTLING FOR HIS CLERGY.—I. CONTENDING FOR THE SACRED RIGHTS AND LIBERTIES OF THE SECULAR PRIESTHOOD.

IT is not to be denied that among the very worst enemies of religion in Italy from 1846 to 1886 were some of her own ministers. Among these may have been men of unimpeachable moral conduct, who, carried away by the powerful current of ideas and sentiments running resistlessly in favor of Italian nationality, independence, and unity, and with wilful blindness deemed the established religion an obstacle and an enemy, and combated it with all their might. If such pure patriots could be counted in the ranks of the Revolutionists we certainly know them not.

Others there were, on the contrary, who, finding the obligations of their priestly vows an intolerable yoke, cast it off and sought liberty in the profession of creeds in which they did not believe. We know how bitter is the hatred of such men for the faith they have abjured, and to what extremes they will go to satisfy it.

Others again—and the names of many such have acquired a European and even an American notoriety—had been, while still within the pale of the Catholic Church and holding a position in her ministry, found guilty of various crimes, sometimes of public notoriety, of the most scandalous nature, and punished for the same. Punished again and again, and at last excommunicated, suspended, interdicted, these men found a refuge in Piedmont, or in England, or the United States, justifying the crimes which they did not and could not deny by accusing the Church which had cast them out. We need only recall to the reader the terrible indictment of Cardinal Newman drawn

up against this class of reprobates in the person of one of their cleverest and most notorious representatives.

The old, popular, inveterate prejudices against the Church of Rome, her pretended "errors and corruptions," the perpetual war-cry of the most fanatical and least enlightened sectarians against the Pope as "the Man of Sin," against the Papacy as "the Kingdom of Satan," were too wide-spread on both sides of the Atlantic forty years ago, and are too prevalent even at this day, not to find a ready echo in the pulpit, the press, and the interested portions of the religious community. We know how these men were received, petted, lionized, set up as glorious conquests of the Gospel truth over the corruptions of Popery, and listened to as eagerly by gaping church-audiences and packed lecture-halls as if every one of them was a Luther sent down expressly from heaven to help demolish utterly Papal Rome and to free Italy and the world from the incubus of that grand system of intellectual domination—the Papacy

So with the emissaries of the secret societies, and with the bands of Garibaldi, and with the fleet of Persano and the armies of Fanti and Cialdini, these men returned to Italy, to the Pontifical States. They had—and they knew it—many like themselves, deposed, degraded, despised, who had remained behind in city and country place, looking forward to the coming of the Revolution as to the dawn of that liberty in which evil should be good, wrong should be right, error should be truth, the corrupt heart should have its full satisfaction; in which the lawless should be the lawgivers and judges, and the disrobed priest should be free to pick up the mud in the gutters and cast it in the face of bishop, and cardinal, and Pope.

At length the dawn of this liberty came in Central Italy in 1859–60. In Piedmont it had come in 1848, when the famous Siccardi Laws, inspired by these unpriestly and unhallowed refugees, did away, as a first step toward the emancipation coveted, with the ecclesiastical courts which had tried the prevaricating ministers of the altar, found them

guilty, punished them, and branded them with a stigma of indelible infamy.

As they did in Piedmont in 1849, so did they in Umbria in 1860. And they were evidently in a great hurry to do it. They began by abolishing the ecclesiastical courts; by taking away from the Church the right to judge her own ministers, and for notorious prevarications committed in the fulfilment of their sacred functions, for the public transgression of laws which were the very bulwark of priestly virtue, the guarantee to the faithful priest of the reverence and unbounded confidence of the people to whom he ministered.

There were so many of these "returned patriot priests," as they called themselves, who wanted to see the Church stripped of every vestige of freedom, of authority, and bound hand and foot by the new political power! And then there were so many others—at least it was hoped so—in Umbria and elsewhere who were to be won over to the new order of things by being made independent of episcopal reprimand or control, by being rewarded for the favor they had shown to the now dominant ideas!

Then simultaneously with the arbitrary decree abolishing ecclesiastical courts came one taking away from churches and all ecclesiastical edifices their sacred character and all the immunities enjoyed from the birth of Christianity almost. Then again was fulminated, with the same hot haste, another edict taking away from the ecclesiastical authorities all control and jurisdiction over establishments of education of every grade. These edicts were published respectively on the 25th and 28th of September, 1860, consequently within less than two weeks after the first Piedmontese soldier had passed the frontiers of Umbria.

Cardinal Pecci, who had reason to remember the sanguinary scenes which followed the needless storming and bombardment of Perugia, as well as the brutal discourtesy shown to himself by the Piedmontese generals, was not to be deterred by any personal considerations from doing at once what he thought to be his duty. He remembered the

long imprisonment and exile with which were visited on the bishops of Piedmont acts such as that he was now about to perform. Yet he did not hesitate an instant.

On September 30 he wrote to the Royal Commissary, who, authorized or unauthorized, had taken on himself thus to overturn by a stroke of the pen the foundations of the religious order which had subsisted for so many ages.

"If your first decree," he says, "deprives the Church of the power to judge her own ministers, the second forbids her in a great measure to fulfil her mission of preaching truth and instructing the peoples. This is a mission which she has received, not from man, but from God—a mission which, extending to all the nations of earth, should much the more fully have its free exercise in a Catholic community through the instruction of youth.

"The decree admits that *religion is inseparable from a wise instruction and education.* But then it excludes in the most absolute manner the direction and superintendence of the religious authority from the institutions in which youth is instructed and educated, and substitutes for it privately those of the government.

"It is easy to measure the scope and consequences of this measure. By it you violate the constitutional right of the Church; you alter the solemn agreements which accompanied the erection of these institutions; you violate and set aside the last will and testament of the generous benefactors who founded them and endowed them on such formal conditions; you ignore the origin of these foundations and the property of the Church in those which, under her direct auspices and with her own substance and means, she called into existence.

"See yourself, sir, if I have not good reason to protest against all this, and, in my position of a bishop and a guardian of the sacred interests of the Church, I can help expressing my formal reprobation and the profound pain these measures have caused me."

No steps were then taken to arrest or imprison the courageous prelate. He felt, no doubt, that his remon-

strances would be vain; nevertheless he thought it his duty both to write and to act. He was not one to make a public parade of his opinions and sentiments on any occasion. He always acted for a purpose, and waited until Providence, to whose good pleasure he solely looked, furnished him the fitting opportunity. Even then he implored the divine help as fervently as if all depended on the lights vouchsafed to him from on high.

He was busy consulting his brother-prelates and consulted by them, counselling with his priests on the difficulties which were fast gathering around them, when, in the autumn, another fatal blow was dealt the clergy and Catholic people of Umbria by the suppression and dispersion of the Monastic Orders of men and women and the confiscation of their property, even of the dower which the members had brought with them into their respective communities. In Perugia, from its first occupation, the Piedmontese troops had taken possession of the convents and monasteries. One magnificent establishment in particular, the most ancient and the most beautiful of all, the Benedictine monastery and church of San Pietro Cassinese, was horribly ill used by these barbarians, who, under the cross of Savoy and in the army of a Catholic king, behaved like the Huns of Attila or Genseric's Vandals, and defaced the exquisite frescoes of the cloisters and refectory. Even Protestants who since then visited the place have expressed their reprobation of this gratuitous, purposeless, and wanton destruction.

But what was all that as compared with the wrong done to the communities themselves, who had made the house of God so glorious, and the walks and community-rooms in their monastic homes an image of the everlasting home?

These establishments were blessed by the people, for they belonged to the people, who found there at all times spiritual counsel and aid, and in seasons of distress and affliction help, and medicine, and food, and loving words, and kind looks—doors and hearts never closed to the voice of the needy.

But it was the secular clergy who were to be, in one way, the greatest sufferers. The regular priests, members of these Monastic Orders, were their ever-ready, efficient, and most generous helpmates in the ministry in every work that regarded the sanctification and salvation of souls. They had made the holy places of Umbria, and in these holy places had been born, and had grown, ripened, and borne such delicious fruit, all that is fairest and best in Italian art, literature, and science, without mentioning that sanctity of life which left its fragrance everywhere.

Cardinal Pecci, with a heavy heart, but with his soul all aflame with righteous indignation, again wrote to the Royal Commissary, who, backed by the anti-Catholic spirit which ruled in the Piedmontese Cabinet and Parliament, set at naught, in promulgating and executing his decree, the restrictions and limitations imposed by the king. They were merciful dispositions tempering the rigor of the law of suppression. But the men of the Revolution knew not what mercy or moderation was.

"The decree published by your Royal Commissariat," he writes, ". . . suppressing the monastic families together with many other institutions, and sequestrating their property, fills up to overflowing the cup of bitterness held to the lips of all the bishops of Umbria. This decree, starting from considerations as false as they are insulting to the clergy, evidently aims at wounding religion and social justice itself.

"It is a Catholic maxim that it appertains solely to the supreme authority of the Church to found and approve Religious Orders; nor, independently of that same authority, may any temporal power order even their partial dissolution or suppression. How can you juridically justify the spoliation and confiscation of properties already sacred both by their nature and destination, the right to possess which and the inviolability of which are guaranteed by all natural reason and positive social law?

"Then this spoliation is accomplished in the name of a Catholic government—of a government which, a few days

before * this decree, had been obliged to acknowledge and confess in an official act that *the ecclesiastical nature of property* does not in any way weaken the right of possession.

"You put in force for these provinces of Umbria, by an exceptional measure, the modern Sardinian legislation which called forth the censure and opposition of Catholic sentiment, and met with the loudest remonstrances throughout the Piedmontese kingdom—a legislation afterward formally condemned by the Supreme Head of our religion in his consistorial allocution of July 26, 1855. And, moreover, these laws come to be applied here with a harshness and a sweeping extension all the greater that the religious corporations suppressed are more numerous, and that the poor religious are nowhere allowed to remain in their cloisters.

"Wherefore, seeing all this, Mr. Commissary, I cannot refrain from complaining, and from condemning with pastoral liberty the decree itself in all its parts." †

The cruelty—not harshness merely, but wanton cruelty—with which these laws of suppression were enforced have elicited from non Catholic writers severe and just animadversion. Not all Protestant writers nor all Protestant educated men are willing to condemn as useless or as injurious to society these wonderful organizations of self-sacrificing and devoted men who were, in the middle ages, the greatest benefactors of European society. The cruelty with which they were driven out in Italy from the desolate and barren mountain solitudes which they had made their abode was all the more purposeless that the government had no use for the dwellings which they left behind.

These remote monastic houses amid the barren summits of the Apennines were the real providence of the country-folk far and near. This was peculiarly the case with one monastery in Umbria, the Camaldolese of Monte Corona. The Cardinal Archbishop of Perugia, in his indignation, again appealed to the king against the extreme rigor of

* Note of Count Cavour to the Swiss government on November 20, 1860.

† "Scelta," p. 464.

FRONT VIEW OF ST. PETER'S AND THE VATICAN.

his commissary in Umbria, who seemed to have but little regard for the royal wishes.

"The case," he says, "which now happens under my eyes touches the Hermit-Congregation of Camaldolese monks situated at Monte Corona. These virtuous recluses, to whom an illustrious ancestor of your Majesty, Charles Emmanuel, Duke of Savoy, at the solicitation of the venerable Father Alexander di Ceva, gave an honorable abode in his states about the close of 1601, are now made the object of ignoble and rancorous calumnies. . . . Dispersed within the space of eight days, they were compelled to tear themselves away from the famous sanctuary which they had themselves founded.

"Men of stainless life, of unbounded popularity among our country-folk, whom solitude, silence, and prayer perpetually separated from all worldly pursuits, they were accused of mixing themselves up with politics! Men whom the world never saw coming down from the lonely peak of their inaccessible mountain, except when the offices of brotherly charity compelled them (and whose convent was the refuge of the pilgrim, the infirm, and the needy)—these were held up as persons who imperilled the interests of the nation! . . .

"If, at least, they had been allowed the time and facility to justify themselves! But testimonies in their favor, and intercessions, though never so numerous, availed not to clear them. Nor were the members of the municipal councils allowed to give any expression to their opinion in their favor. They are already undergoing the hard lot to which inexorable fate condemns them in spite of the temperate restrictions of your royal decree. So that, in the era of Italian suppressions, they are condemned to endure the extremity of misfortune from which, under the foreign domination of the French, by an honorable exception, was saved the sacred Hermit-Monastery of Monte Corona, as our history testifies. . . .

"Thus, O Sire, every temperate precaution taken by your Majesty was frustrated, the very will of the sovereign

was defeated by the disloyalty with which the law was executed. And thus the fate of so many most worthy religious persons comes to be decided by the harsh and oppressive measures of your commissioners. For besides the fact that this oppression has not been so exercised in the other provinces, these measures are too manifestly in opposition to the rights of religion and the social order.

". . . In denouncing these incidents to your Majesty I cannot help allowing to overflow, in words of lamentation, the bitter grief which tortures the soul of a bishop at the sight of the repeated shameful outrages committed against the venerable rights of the Church, and at the pitiful condition to which the interests of religion are daily brought in our midst." *

All these eloquent and statesmanlike documents were only the echo outside the Italian Parliament in Turin of the admirable and exhaustive speeches delivered there by the illustrious Cesare Cantù—speeches which would have been listened to with respect and admiration of the speaker at Westminster and Washington, but which produced no effect on a revolutionary assembly bent on blotting out from Italy all trace of past legislation and institutions.

Just as little effect had Cardinal Pecci's letters or memoirs on the mind of the king. Nevertheless neither he nor his brethren in the episcopate ceased to protest and remonstrate. No less than nine of these eloquent remonstrances, made in his own name, were addressed to the Piedmontese authorities, and in nine others his name is found with those of his brother-bishops.

He lifted his voice in this solemn manner, however, only when forced to it by an imperious sense of duty. In submitting to the new domination he did not accept it or conceal his opinion of its unlawfulness. Ceasing to struggle against resistless might, he labored without ceasing to save the souls of his people, counselling the moderation which he practised himself, inducing all who obeyed him to practise

* Perugia, June 24, 1861, "Scelta dei Atti Episcopali," pp. 466–69.

more fervently than ever before the duties of prayer with all the Christian virtues, avoiding in word and deed all that could give offence to others or afford a pretext to the ill-disposed to annoy or to persecute.

Among the cruel anxieties of his position none was more painful than to see, in the suppression of Monastic Orders, the sequestration of their property, and the breaking up of so many homes of peaceful piety, poverty, prayer, and labor, the number of helpless men and women—many of them infirm and aged—cast upon the world without a roof above them or any adequate means of support. All of these, in choosing to enter religious life in their youth, had devoted their entire existence to the community of which they became members. Very many, if not most, of the communities of men were made up of persons who had brought a goodly share of their worldly substance to their new home. What they brought was their own; they had a perfect right to dispose of it, just as they had an unquestioned right to select their own way of living. This was the case especially with the contemplative orders. As to the communities of women, all brought their dower. Their parents gave to them, on selecting a life of celibacy and retirement, what they would have given them in worldly bridals. These transactions were sanctioned alike by the laws of the Church and the civil laws. It was natural justice as well as religion which presided over the establishment of the monastic home, over the contract formed with it by parents and children. Such homes and their property could no more belong to the state nor be subject to sequestration than the home and property and revenues of the prince, the peasant, or the mechanic. And then to come all of a sudden, and by the brutal right of superior force to turn these men and women, living in accordance with the most ancient and revered laws of the land, out on the street, penniless, homeless, and incapacitated from following any lucrative calling—it was a monstrous injustice, calling down reprobation on a government which ought to be Christian, but which was, in this as in all else, doing the work of Antichrist.

What could Cardinal Pecci do to alleviate such misery? The new masters of Italy seized his income as well as that of his clergy. He and they would get just as much or as little as it pleased the minister of Victor Emmanuel to give—that is, nothing at all to those esteemed unfriendly to the new order of things, and a pittance, sadly diminished and very irregularly paid, to all the others. But the good Cardinal could find resources even in his poverty, for he spent but little, very little indeed, on himself, frugal and austere as he had ever been. And now he would fain refuse himself even the necessaries of life to have something to give to that crowd of wanderers. But other troubles were soon superadded.

On March 5, 1863, King Victor Emmanuel published a royal edict requiring that all appointments to positions in the clergy and all acts relating to the same should be submitted to the civil authority, and should have no effect or practical validity till confirmed in the king's name by what is known as the royal *placet* or *exequatur*. In this decree the Holy See, to which it appertains to nominate and provide for all ecclesiastical dignities and benefices, is spoken of as "a foreign power."

The right here claimed and arrogated by the usurping Piedmontese government is unblushingly described as "one of the supreme rights of the civil power," whereas in all past European jurisprudence the right of royal *placet* or *exequatur* was only granted by the Holy See to certain sovereigns, for a certain time and within certain limits, as a reward for certain extraordinary services rendered to Christendom. In other kingdoms this right was used by the governments in spite of the Church, which never ceased to protest against it as a usurpation. In the former dukedom of Savoy and kingdom of Sardinia the concordats with the Holy See most explicitly affirmed the nature of such right as being a concession and favor of the ecclesiastical or spiritual power.

It was needless hypocrisy to seek to color usurpation and oppression by the fair name of justice or right. It was

worse than hypocrisy, a pitiful falsehood, to speak of the supreme power in the Church as being "a foreign power" in Italy, and, above all, in the very provinces which had, since the eighth and ninth centuries, acknowledged the Pope, even in the times of the Free Republics, as the suzerain power.

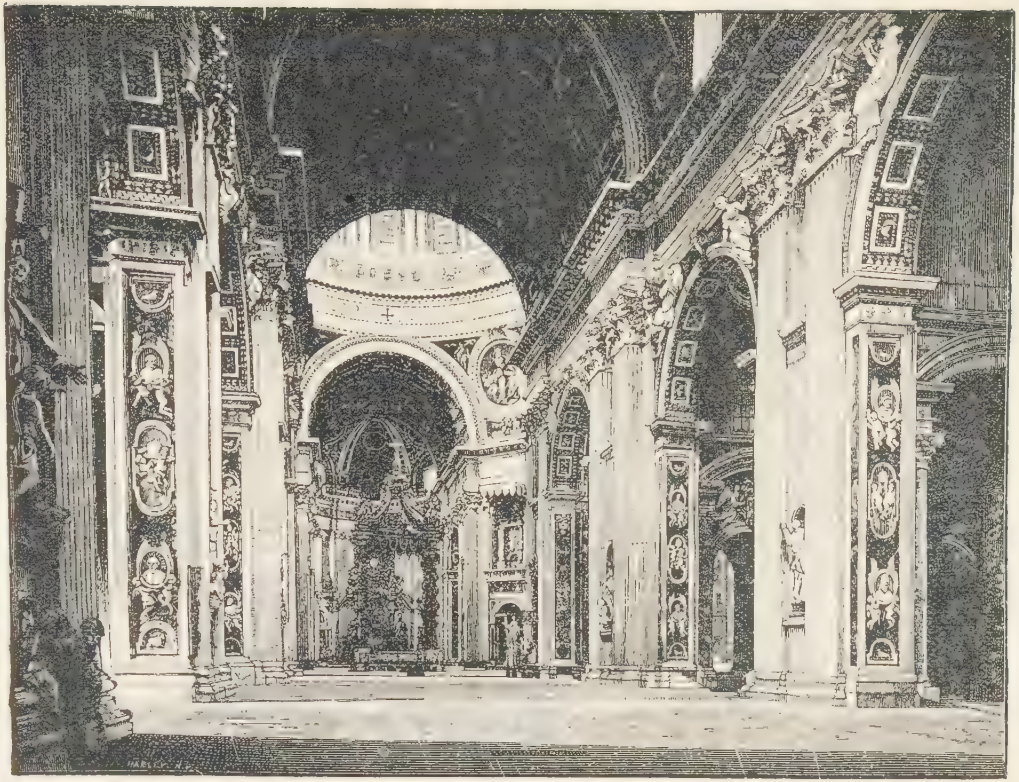
Again the bishops of Umbria had recourse to Cardinal Pecci as their counsellor and mouth-piece, and another magnificent remonstrance was drawn up by him and sent, with his own and his colleagues' signatures, to Victor Emmanuel on June 8, 1863.*

There does not exist a nobler monument of episcopal independence and noble Christian liberty in asserting the rights of God and of His Church as against the pretensions and usurpations of the secular power.

Such a pretension "can in nowise be made by a government which is and would .continue to be Catholic. Mayhap the divine commission given to Peter and his successors to feed the whole Christian flock, to loose and to bind upon earth, had annexed to it the condition that they should begin by obtaining the *placet*, or consent of the powers of this world? And the divine mission imposed on the Apostles to preach to all nations and to instruct them in the divine commandments was perchance subordinated to the good pleasure and the restrictions of the civil magistrates?

"Far from it. Peter and the Apostles, and so many other illustrious pastors following their example, struggled and endured martyrdom for no other reason than that they proclaimed the New Law of Christ, no matter how rigorously forbidden by the world, in spite of the prohibitions and persecutions of mere human politicians. The independence of the power divinely entrusted to the Visible Head of religion and to the other lawful pastors for the spiritual government of the Christian society has its

* "Scelta di Atti Episcopali," pp. 357 and following.



INTERIOR OF ST. PETER'S CHURCH.

origin from God; whosoever attacks or ignores it denies the work of God in founding and organizing His Church. To oppose impediments or put restraints such as those in question on the exercise of this power is just to place a human institution above the divine, and to make an earthly power the judge and reformer of a divine commission. . . .

" . . . Modern theorists will not or know not how to distinguish the two well-defined paths along which, by divine ordinance, both the civil and the ecclesiastical powers have to travel toward the end assigned to each respectively. The modern theory will have the much-desired harmony between Church and state considered as a right of inspection (on the part of the latter), whereas this harmony is only greatly recommended for the sake of the reciprocal advantage of the respective subjects of both societies. It thus transforms into a legal patronage and mastery the obligation which each power is under toward the other of assisting and protecting it, in order that each society may fully enjoy its due proportion of utility. Hence it is that, instead of affirming the originary independence and superiority of the spiritual power, people endeavored to make of the Church a ward and servant of temporal monarchies."

The ministerial circular promulgating the new law affirmed that the government only did what always had been done hitherto. This was a palpable falsehood.

" For these dioceses of Umbria," the remonstrance says, on the contrary, " a comparison with the past is too eloquent not to convince any one that the passage from a condition of perfect religious liberty to that of registration and bondage to the state is not only *a novelty*, but a novelty all too real and baneful.

" Is it not a novelty, a novelty in principle, to consider the authority which the Supreme Head of the Church exercises in the midst of the Catholic fold as a *foreign authority?*

" Is it not a novelty that lay officials should intrude

themselves as spies and judges of the spiritual relations between the faithful and their pastors, and of what it is either expedient to do or to permit for the protection and increase of religion?

"Is it not a novelty to give to a single functionary of the treasury the authority to inquire into all ecclesiastical pensions, to receive all opposing documents, to judge appeals, to incite people to refuse, and to confiscate the documents or petitions relating to the refusal?

"Is it not a novelty, in giving the *exequatur* to revenues for sacred functions, to seek at the same time to fulfil financial transactions, imposing on ecclesiastical bodies which have no legal existence the obligation *to convert their property into bonds on the state?*"*

And so the terrible arraignment went on, enumerating such acts of inconceivable oppression and meanness as would, if made known, have ruined any government in a country where people read the newspapers. But in Italy the masses are not a newspaper-reading people, and the government presumed on the fact to tyrannize with impunity.

"It was the old art of heterodox innovators," the Cardinal elsewhere says to the king, "to make people believe that the spiritual power might be always laying traps for the civil power. Their object was thereby to put an end to any beneficial mutual influence or understanding between the Church and the state, and thus to introduce the baneful theory that there should exist between them systematic distrust and aversion. . . ."

"In the official scales it is not always the conscientious judgment of the bishop, nor the results of the canonical concursus, nor the precedent merits and services, nor the exemplary priestly life which have the greatest weight in obtaining for a candidate the civil possession of the prebend conferred on him; but certain complacencies for the world, the sympathy of political parties, the merits, in

* Our readers will doubtless remember that thus was confiscated the property of the Propaganda.

fact, of modern patriotism, are the only things which too often are taken into account.

"It is painful to think of it, deplorable to have to say it! The collation of ecclesiastical livings, trammelled by the governmental *placet*, appeared to people to have been changed into a monopoly of political interests, and into a focus of hateful undertakings against the Supreme Pontificate and the Church. To prevent the installation in the charges obtained by them of hard-working and blameless priests who had received canonical investiture and the approbation of their bishops, men were found to pry into the secret thoughts of the candidates, to have recourse to a systematic distrust of them, to the theories current about suspected persons; they opened up the door to secret denunciations, to low party intrigues. At the same time all kinds of favors are showered on disobedient and worldly-minded priests;* such obtain charges, honors, pensions, assigned to them most frequently at the expense of the revenues of the Church, as a reward for having turned their backs upon her. There has been no lack of official encomiums and encouragements given to certain clerical factions who, led away by ambition, by self-interest or false liberty, endeavored to upset in the sanctuary itself all order and discipline, and to raise there the flag of emancipation and schism. Abundant subsidies were bestowed on suspended priests. . . . Generous presents were set apart for the benefit of unruly priests, at the expense of the Clerical Fund and against the spirit of its founders, while so many cenobites and nuns, stripped of their own lawful patrimony, had not wherewith to buy their daily bread."

One's amazement and indignation go on increasing as the courageous Cardinal enumerates the terrible grievances to which the Church and the clergy are subjected "in the name of liberty and patriotism."

* By a decree of the Royal Commissary of Umbria, November 30, 1860, ". . . a monthly pension of sixty Italian lire [twelve dollars] is granted to all priests of these provinces who, for their deeds in favor of liberty or patriotism, have been suspended *a divinis*." (Note added to the text.)

"The fact is," he continues, "that here the assent of the civil authority is necessary for the execution of every episcopal act, every ecclesiastical arrangement, which does not rigorously regard the interior conscience.

"Here you find proscribed all interference of the bishop with instruction and education, even such as are moral and religious, whether in schools or in boarding-houses, in hospitals and asylums; and that in spite of the formal requirements of the testaments of founders and of the conditions imposed by the foundation.

"Our hearts will not permit us to continue this painful enumeration," the prelates say in concluding. "When the Church is thus ill-treated in a Catholic country it is easy to conjecture what ruinous results follow for the religious interests of a people. We hope that our words may not be altogether without fruit, if your Majesty will only weigh the importance of the subject with which their remonstrance deals in the same balance in which you weigh your duties as a Catholic sovereign."

CHAPTER XVII.

A PAUSE IN THE CONFLICT: A FAMILY FEAST.—I. CELEBRATING THE ARCHBISHOP'S ELEVATION TO THE CARDINALATE.

IN describing the indefatigable labors of the Archbishop-Bishop of Perugia, although we gave him again and again the title of Cardinal, we could not pause to give to the reader the details of his elevation to the dignity of the Roman purple. In some published biographies of Leo XIII. it is positively affirmed that Gregory XVI. before his death had created Monsignor Pecci Cardinal, and that some sinister influence prevented Pius IX. from giving effect to the act of his predecessor. We think the authentic statement we here make will set all doubts on this point at rest.

"The honor of the sacred purple had already been decreed to him in the intention (*nella mente*) of Gregory XVI. from the moment that the latter recalled him from Belgium; and the proof is that the Pope before his death said to a revered member of the Sacred College who enjoyed his confidence—Cardinal Bianchi—that he was so much pleased by Monsignor Pecci's prompt acquiescence in accepting the bishopric of Perugia that he was thinking of promoting him in the next consistory.

"This cardinal, on seeing Monsignor Pecci afterwards in 1847, embraced him affectionately, and, making him sit down by his side, 'The Church has experienced a great loss,' he said, 'in the death of Gregory XVI. I am sorry for it for your sake also, Monsignor; for I can now assure you that were it not for that death you would be already a cardinal.'

"The long and difficult series of political changes which unfolded itself after the death of Pope Gregory was the

reason why his gracious purpose was not carried into effect and had to be delayed for several years. Pius IX., who was aware of the promises made on this point in the reign of his predecessor, and mindful of the services rendered by Monsignor Pecci to the Holy See in the charges which he had held, resolved to preconize him in the consistory of December 19, 1853, assigning to him the presbyteral title of St. Chrysogonus. During the festive ceremonies of the promotion, and in receiving the cardinal's hat, he had for companion the illustrious Cardinal Brunelli, just returned from the nunciature of Spain. The entire diplomatic corps, the Roman nobility, and many strangers of distinction visited, on this occasion, the new cardinals. Among the visitors was the present Prince Imperial of Germany, Frederick William, who offered them his most courteous congratulations. From Perugia also came select deputations of all orders of citizens to escort their Cardinal Archbishop on his return, and to lay at the feet of the Pope their respectful thanks for the honor done their city and diocese." *

In Perugia, meanwhile, they were making great preparations to celebrate, on his return, his elevation to the cardinalate. It was a family feast, at which holiest love presided—the grateful love of a whole people for a pastor and a parent, for a man of God who has been in their midst the visible image of the divine goodness and beneficence.

In the beginning of 1854 Cardinal Pecci's great family could be said to be a united one. During the dark years of 1848, 1849, and 1850 the Archbishop of Perugia had made superhuman efforts to prevent the outbreak of the evil revolutionary passions which had been fanned into so fierce a flame. Where he could not quench these unholy fires he exerted himself to save his people from their fury and to cure the mischief they had done. When the whirlwind and the flame had passed away for a time he be-

* MS.

sought the Pontifical government to restore to their families such of the insurgents as had been more sinned against than sinning, who had been led away by the artifices of the revolutionary propaganda.

So that the Cardinal had, even among those most bitterly opposed to the Pontifical authority and to the Church itself, not a few who regarded him with respect and who gratefully remembered his kindness.

Let us, therefore, rest mind and heart awhile by assisting at the family feast held by the ancient Etruscan city on her hill-top in honor of her benefactor. It is like being present at a real banquet of the soul, in a lull between two awful convulsions of all the elements of earth and air.

Sunday, February 26, was chosen for these solemnities. From early morning along all the winding roads which led up to Perugia from the surrounding valleys the Umbrian populations could be seen streaming upward in their picturesque costumes. A hard-working, industrious, intelligent, and virtuous people, they had responded heartily to the culture bestowed on them for the last seven years by one whose every thought and care were for their dearest interests. If the revolutionary and anti-Christian propaganda had done them no little harm, the good pastor's watchful and fatherly zeal had done them no little good. They loved him, and they were proud of him; and well might they.

The city is adorned everywhere—a quaint and wonderful old city throughout, with her walls, like those of Siena, scrambling up and down and around a group of enormous crags or hills, on which houses have got built, no one knows how, and the crooked, narrow streets find their way in spite of all the laws of gravitation and symmetry. It is—or rather must have been in the days of Perugino and Raphael—a most picturesque and beautiful city. Christian architecture, sculpture, and painting had made of that old Christian republic nestling on these lofty crags a thing of resplendent beauty; and the glory and the joy thereof

have not yet departed altogether, despite the anti-Christian hate of the present masters of Italy and the desolation and destruction of her holy places.

The old, lovely mediæval Free City was the creation of the labor-guilds, who, protected by the Popes and protecting these in their turn, made the prehistoric Etruscan stronghold a beehive and a temple to religion, to the arts, and to science, and made of the surrounding territory, wild and mountainous as it is, a very garden.

They are a proud race, these Perugians, and have they not a right to be so? And how they love their native soil! It is so full, for them, of most sacred and most thrilling memories! So on that Sabbath morning of February 26, 1854, they have streamed into the city through Perugia's ancient gates—men, women, children, the old and the young, all who could come to share in the common joyous celebration. They stop on their way to hear Mass in some one of the numerous churches. Perugia was still under Papal rule; the monastic communities had not been suppressed and expelled; and there was in every church and at every altar a succession of priests, who afforded the people an opportunity to gratify their devotion and fulfil the religious obligation of the day. The streets are gaily decorated. The Cathedral Square in particular, with its antique and picturesque palaces, is hung with tapestries and streamers. The disfigured front of the Duomo is concealed by the scarlet and gold drapery; and over the great central door is an inscription—a truth-telling inscription in honor of the man and the day.*

* One remarkable feature of the external decorations of the cathedral was the following inscription, placed above the principal entrance amid rich hangings of scarlet and gold. We give it, deeming that more than one of our readers may take a lesson from classic Italy in getting up either civic or religious celebrations:

"Sancta Perusinorum Ecclesia—JOACHIMO PECCI—Antistite suo perillustri ac spectatissimo—munere SS^mi^ Patris Pii Papæ IX.—in amplissimum Cardinalium S. R. Ecclesiæ Senatum—lætatur adscito—eumque nova hac splendentem gloria—vix dum gratulantium civium vota—bene auspicato fortunat reditu—dulci prosequitur amplexu—Deumque Optimum

The clergy had labored to make of the religious part of the festivities one worthy of their chief, of their city, and of themselves. In truth, the spectacle in the interior of the cathedral was one never to be forgotten. The decorations were all that Italian taste and skill could make them. The multitude of worshippers now fill every available space. All the authorities are present in full official costume, and the clergy crowd the sanctuary. The Cardinal himself fulfils to-day the functions of high-priest, and offers the Mystic Sacrifice which is the centre of Catholic worship.

After the Gospel, as is his wont when he pontificates, he delivers a homily to the immense audience. His voice, strong and resonant even at the present time, has its full and vibrating tones, every syllable penetrating to the remotest corners of the sacred edifice.*

The circumstances of the times and country needed prayer, and at the end of the Pontifical Mass the Blessed Sacrament was exposed, remaining so all day, this being the most solemn form of supplication in the Catholic Church; and all through afternoon and evening priests and people succeeded each other before the mercy-seat.

In the afternoon there was a session of the great Umbrian Academy of the *Filedoni* in honor of the Cardinal, and which he honored with his presence. Sixteen of the most accomplished and renowned writers in Umbria read exquisite compositions, all of which were afterwards col-

Maximum—solemni ritu pro diuturna purpurati pontificis incolumitate —Precatur—effusa omnium frequentia et lætitia—IV. Kalendas Martii MDCCCLIV."—"The Church of Perugia rejoices that her illustrious and most revered Bishop, JOACHIM PECCI, has been raised, by the favor of our Holy Father, Pius IX, to the dignity of Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church; and, while her citizens have just felicitated him on his happy return, she receives him with a loving embrace, and prays with solemn pomp for the long life of her Cardinal Bishop, together with the overflowing and joyous multitudes of people."

*The local journal which describes this family feast says that his discourse touched principally on the earthquake shocks which had occurred during the Cardinal's absence in Rome, and which had done great damage and caused widespread alarm. He exhorted his people to appease the divine anger, and bade them put their trust in the Infinite Mercy.

lected and printed. In the evening there were at the cathedral Pontifical Vespers, followed by the *Te Deum*. The music, both in the morning and in the evening services, was in keeping with the artistic renown of Perugia.

Most touching it was at the solemn procession to and from the cathedral, forenoon and afternoon, to witness the sincere veneration of the dense multitudes for their pastor. There was no mistaking this outpouring of the popular heart. More than anything else the eagerness of the children to approach the Cardinal and get his blessing or kiss his hand bespoke the love entertained towards him in the homes of the people. On the route of the procession, also, the city band of music discoursed its sweetest and its most triumphal strains. But sweetest music of all was the voice of the citizens of every class which was heard on all sides, and in no suppressed tones, praising and blessing the man whose whole life and strength were devoted to the good of his flock. The municipal authorities, besides generously paying the expenses of this feast, caused abundant alms to be distributed among the poor who had come to the celebration; and, what was more significant, they gave a marriage-dower to five poor and respectable young women to be selected by the Cardinal in the five wards of the city. In the evening Perugia was magnificently and spontaneously illuminated. During the evening also "the Cardinal had the satisfaction to see in his residence all the authorities, all the most distinguished persons of every rank and condition, enjoying the delightful entertainment to which he had invited them. . . . Any one who is acquainted with the character of our people, and who could have been in Perugia both at the time of the elevation of our Bishop to the dignity of Cardinal and at the celebration of last Sunday, must have seen how flattered the Perugians were by the favor conferred on the city in the person of our prelate." *

* *Osservatore dell' Umbria*, March 1, 1854.

II. PERUGIA CELEBRATES HER ARCHBISHOP'S SILVER JUBILEE, 1871.

It was in the midst of the gloom which settled on all true Catholic hearts in Italy, after the Piedmontese occupation of Rome, that the time came round to celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of Cardinal Pecci's appointment to the see of Perugia. His soul, oppressed as it was by the calamities of the Holy Father, by the manifold spoliations which the Church had almost daily to undergo in every diocese of Italy, and by the means openly taken to choke up and destroy all the springs of Christian life in the land, was but little inclined to joyous celebrations. The church of Perugia, which he had taken to his heart twenty-five years before, and which he had loved with a love so true and so devoted, was also subjected to the same Babylonian bondage. He had labored so hard, after the example of the Master, to make her a glorious church, crowned with the beauty of holiness, and rejoicing in children worthy to be truly called the children of God; and lo! his labors seemed doomed to come to naught. The enemy had come into the field where, with the good grain cast so abundantly into the furrows, the sweat and the tears of the father of the family had fallen, and he had ploughed up the growing corn and sown tares and the seeds of all lawlessness. It was a season for weeping, fasting, prayer, and humiliation before the Most High. How could he consent to rejoice or to listen to the glad voices of his people?

The people would not allow his year of jubilee to pass, nevertheless. They had determined to make him feel that, even though the enemy had come in amongst them in the night and done what havoc he could, the generations whose minds and hearts he, the man of God, had cultivated so lovingly, would bear him plentiful fruits of gladness in the season of need.

Clergy and citizens, therefore, assembled in spite of his reluctance, and resolved to celebrate the occasion with as much solemnity and even more profuse demonstrations

of love and gratitude than on the occasion—long ago, across the dark gulf of evil days—of his elevation to the cardinalate. The Cathedral of San Lorenzo again put on her most splendid vesture. Pens whom the Cardinal had trained to emulate his own exquisite culture of the Latin tongue composed commemorative inscriptions, for the portal and other parts of the beautiful edifice, which Cicero and Sallust would have admired.* Prelates and dignitaries from the neighboring dioceses, and from Rome itself, came to Perugia to testify their love and admiration for one who, next to Pius IX. himself, had been the champion of the oppressed Italian churches, the spokesman of the episcopacy, their model and guide in withstanding evil and upholding the sacred rights of the pastors and their flocks, without ever allowing the watchful invader to discover a word or an act which Christ Himself would not have avowed.

The Holy Father sent his congratulations Day by day some new merit revealed itself in the life and actions of the Cardinal-Bishop of Perugia which raised him higher in the esteem of the much-tried Pontiff. The festivities in Perugia were, therefore, a sort of national feast, in which all Umbria, Rome, and Italy joined.

Even the Piedmontese masters of Umbria thought it best not to thwart the popular will on that memorable 17th of January, 1871. The procession to the cathedral was even more magnificent than in 1854, when Perugia, still Papal, and the country population round about filled the beautiful Piazza and the adjoining streets. The inscription above the great central door spoke of "the Acts and Prayers of the Clergy of Perugia" on this solemn anniversary.† The omission of the word "people" or "citizens" was significant of the great change which had taken place, and of the prudence imposed on the ministers of religion. But far more significant of the temper of the times and of the trials religion was then undergoing is the fact that

* See Appendix D. † *Acta et vota—Cleri perusini.*

all day, from early dawn till evening, the Blessed Sacrament was exposed in the cathedral as on occasions when there is some great and urgent need of supplicating the divine mercy. All day priests and people succeeded each other before the mercy-seat.

At ten o'clock in the morning the Cardinal celebrated Pontifical Mass. At noon there was a meeting of clergy and citizens at the episcopal residence; a joint address of congratulation was read to the good pastor, and a joint testimonial of gratitude and veneration presented in the form of a bronze statue of Mary Immaculate, a work of the sculptor Cecchini, a Perugian, which had obtained the first premium in Rome the year before.

In the afternoon there were Pontifical Vespers, a sermon on the Christian Priesthood, *Te Deum*, and Benediction. The *vota* or prayers recorded for the Cardinal-Bishop are too remarkable to be omitted here:

"Mary, Mother of Grace,* who art the protectress, honor, and joy of the people of Perugia, do thou some day repay with a crown of glory Joachim, our Cardinal-Bishop, in return for the golden diadem which his filial hands formerly placed around thy virginal brow.

"Holy Lawrence, thou who art given a command over nature, be propitious, we pray thee, to Joachim, our Cardinal and pastor; grant him to the end of his life that strength with which thou didst appall thy executioners whilst consumed by the slow tortures of thy red-hot gridiron, in order that the men who are continually torturing the Church by their plots may admire him in spite of themselves."† How prophetic of the years following 1878!

*The Virgin Mary is called in the Litany "the Mother of Divine Grace" because she gave birth to the Redeemer, the Author and Fount of grace. A votive church near Perugia bore also the title of Our Lady of Grace. In it was a picture or statue of Our Lady which Cardinal Pecci had crowned on a former occasion.

†The Roman deacon, St. Lawrence, was treasurer of the church, or the depositary of the fund destined to the poor. He was roasted on a gridiron over a slow fire, to force him to give up the moneys which he had already distributed to the needy.

"Constantius and Herculanus, bishops and martyrs, since to you once fell the care of this church, bid our Cardinal-Bishop Joachim to govern the clergy and people of Perugia, under your guidance and protection, for many times five years more." *

III. MADE PROTECTOR OF THE FRANCISCAN TERTIARIES.

Pius IX. about this time, when the infirmities of old age, the sorrows heaped upon the Religious Orders and the secular clergy of Italy, and the perplexities of his situation in Rome rendered the counsels and presence of such men as Cardinal Pecci a need of the heart as well as a political necessity, urged on the latter the acceptance of the see of Frascati, one of the suburban sees of Rome. The change would have enabled the Cardinal to live in the Eternal City, and to be thus within call of the Sovereign Pontiff.

But Cardinal Pecci was bound by so many strong ties to the church of Perugia that he could not think of separation from it so long as the Pope allowed him the freedom of choice. Besides, during these troublous and perilous years the bishops of all Central Italy stood sadly in need of the friendly sympathy and timely advice of one so universally revered as the Bishop of Perugia.

The Holy See, as in all cases where an accurate knowledge of ecclesiastical law and usage, a great experience in dealing with vexed questions, and consummate prudence were necessary, commissioned Cardinal Pecci to settle the difficulties occurring. Together with these frequent and delicate negotiations, he had his share—no light share—in the heavy and manifold labors imposed on all the members of the Sacred College. They have to assist the Pope in governing the universal Church; the congregations or permanent committees into which they are di-

* These early martyrs were, under God, the parents of Christianity in Perugia. Herculanus was a disciple of St. Peter.

vided are charged with all the various and complex matters pertaining to so vast an administration.

Cardinal Pecci was a member of no less than six of these congregations, and the matters referred to him in this connection alone were more than sufficient to tax the time and abilities of no ordinary man. But his life of austere simplicity and well-regulated laboriousness enabled him, seemingly, to despatch with ease any amount of business.

Rising before the dawn, even in the longest summer days, he was early at the altar, and had paid his debt of worship and devotion when the ordinary occupations of the day claimed his attention. His frugality was that of a hermit; for, while doing nobly the offices of hospitality to invited guests or passing strangers, he allowed himself no indulgence. But these habits of personal austerity and almost monastic asceticism were the hidden secrets of his interior life, known only to the few admitted to his utmost intimacy. To all others whom he received and entertained with the dignity and courtesy of a prince, the rigor with which he treated himself could only be guessed from the atmosphere of sweet spirituality which surrounded the man.

That he inspired sincere affection and deep attachment mingled with veneration has been well proved by the numbers of those who still cherish his memory in Perugia, and who emulate both his stainless life and his scholarly qualities.

In 1875 Pius IX., aware of the life-long admiration of Cardinal Pecci for St. Francis of Assisi and the great family of men and women who for the last six hundred years follow in his footsteps, appointed him Protector of the Third Order of St. Francis—an organization established by the saint to enable all persons living in the world to combine and help each other in practising the cardinal virtues of the Gospel.

To help in any way toward restoring the Franciscan institutions to all their primitive vigor and splendor, to

make known all over the earth the heavenly spirit of the Saint of Assisi, the passionate lover of Christ crucified and the devoted follower of Christ's poverty, was to Cardinal Pecci a labor of love, one into which he could throw himself with all the ardor of youth.

He proceeded to Assisi as soon as he possibly could, and there, on November 26, in an assemblage of all the Franciscan Tertiaries, of the clergy regular and secular, and a great crowd of people, he took formal possession of his new charge. The address which he delivered on that occasion was only the prelude to more solemn and authoritative utterances in later years, as we shall see.

"When, a few days ago," he said, "His Holiness Pius IX. was pleased to appoint me Protector of the Confraternity of the Third Order of St. Francis, which sprang up so many centuries ago in this very city, my heart overflowed with joy. From my infancy I was devoted to this great saint, and have been ever an admirer of his heroic virtues; and I have always looked upon the Third Order founded by him as upon an institution springing from divine inspiration, one replete with Christian wisdom and fruitful in most blessed results for religion and the entire human race.

"To employ one's self in favoring and spreading such an order is to foster a work of the highest benefit to religion, to morality, and to civilization; it is to supply a salutary remedy for the enormous evils which afflict society, and to restore upon earth the reign of holy charity and every virtue. Oh! may God grant that amid all the disasters which sadden our souls, and the misery amid which we are compelled to live, we may see with our own eyes a mighty multitude hastening to take refuge under the protection of the poverty-loving Saint of Assisi! Then we should, without a doubt, see those men becoming, in the hand of God, so many instruments employed in re-establishing on earth the quiet we have lost and the peace for which men pray so ardently."

Although the most popular writers of our age in the English language, those most bitterly opposed to the Ca-

tholic Church, have bestowed praise on him whom Cardinal Pecci calls in his text the *Poverello d'Assisi*, no man has been held up to so much contempt by French Voltaireanism, by the Revolutionists, Radicals, and Socialists, who so clamorously profess their love for democratic simplicity, equality, and liberty. In the invasion of Italy and Spain by the revolutionary armies under the Bonapartes no monastic order, no religious establishments were the objects of such fanatical hatred or subjected to such horrible profanations and wanton destruction as the Franciscans, their churches and convents. And the men who to-day misgovern both countries under the banner of liberalism have inherited this same blind, inconsistent, and unreasoning fanaticism.

Since the Divine Author of Christianity was born in a cave by the roadside, brought up in the laborious obscurity of the carpenter's shop, and evangelized Judea and Galilee, without possessing a roof of his own, a bed to repose upon, or a second garment for his use, no man has appeared upon earth who more sincerely, ardently, effectively labored to make the poverty of the Gospel, its practical equality and brotherly love—all the divine charities which blossom and ripen upon the cross of Christ—to be loved truly and embraced heartily than Francis of Assisi.

His dream, his aim, the object of his entire life was to bring back the Christendom, the society of the thirteenth century to that democracy, that society of all mankind become children of God and living on earth, according to Christ's doctrine and example, in the practice of all brotherly virtues.

If this was a dream it was a sublime, a beautiful dream, one which should render the name of the dreamer dear to all lovers of humanity, all believers in the possibility of establishing here below a society in which order and freedom, equality and justice, charity and religion shall be no visions of the brain, no subjects of idle aspiration or bootless quest, but a mighty, ever-present *Reality!*

And how amiable, in every noble sense of the word, was that voluntary mendicant of Assisi, who called around him

PALACE OF THE VATICAN.

RESIDENCE OF THE POPE

men born, like himself, to wealth and station, but who aimed only at practising anew upon earth the absolute and perfect poverty practised by Christ and His Apostles and Disciples, their meekness, patience, and unbounded charity, in order that the Spirit which made their own poor cells so fragrant of paradise might penetrate into the palaces of the great, the homes of the wealthy, the cottages of the laboring poor, and be like the attraction of a divine magnetism drawing all men and women, *not, indeed, to become monks and nuns,* but to band themselves together for the purpose of despising the pride of earthly riches, the enjoyment of sinful luxury and pleasure, of seeking out the needy, the suffering, the heart-sore, and the captive, and of making of brotherly love the law of life for Christian society.

The men who wanted to be Christ-like in poverty, in self-denial and self-sacrificing devotion to their fellow-men, followed Francis in his manner of living. The women, under St. Clara, or Clare, the townswoman of Francis, emulated the poverty and virtues of Mary, the Mother of Christ, whom He on the cross gave to the fisherman, John, the son of Zebedee, to be cared for as a mother, homeless and shelterless as she was.

Men and women living in the world who desired, in the measure possible to them, to imitate Christ and His Mother, and to bring back among the late Christian society the brotherly love, the gentleness, the spirit of prayer, the tender care of the poor and sick, which the Acts of the Apostles describe as existing in the first Christian community in Jerusalem, became members of the *Third Order.* Within the saint's lifetime it counted more than half a million of persons of every condition of life, from kings and queens to peasants and shepherds. St. Louis, King of France, and his cousin, St. Ferdinand of Castile and Leon, with their mothers and their queens, with many a heroic noble and knight in their service, and many a noble matron and maiden in their courts, and crowds of their subjects, undertook to practise the evangelical morality and all

its divine virtues more faithfully under the protection of that lowly mendicant of Assisi.

We believe that in our day practice is more potent than preaching, example than mere profession. We believe, if ever the countries of ancient Christendom are brought back to Christ, it must be, not by the eloquence of a St. Paul, a St. Bernard, or a Bossuet, but by diviner examples of poverty, purity, self-denial, and self-sacrifice than even those beheld in the Apostolic age.

Men who cherish the memory of what is most divine in Christian civilization, and yearn to bring back to social life its loftiest ideals, will pray to see again on earth many imitators of Francis of Assisi, or living images of the Divine Master.

Men like Charles Dickens and Ruskin can understand and appreciate the beautiful legends which weave themselves around the supernatural life of a man so divine—how the blood gushing from his self-imposed austerities and falling on the thorny shrubs in winter, forthwith was transformed into flowers of supernal hue and fragrance; how, in the province of Vich, a barren tract to which the saint withdrew to meditate and pray became a land of flowers, while the fountain at which he cooled the ardor of the consuming fire within him became a fount of healing waters. No wonder that beneath those feet, which he yearned to stretch out to the nails that pierced his Master's, our earth, athirst for Christ-like holiness, meekness, and charity, should spontaneously put forth flowers unseen before.

We need such men now; we shall need them more in the evil days the world has to pass through till from out the extremity of ill shall come the salutary reaction.

CHAPTER XVIII.

1877.

THE LAST YEAR IN PERUGIA.—I. CARDINAL PECCI AT THE GOLDEN JUBILEE OF PIUS IX.

THE Catholic world is not likely to forget that the year 1877 was celebrated in both hemispheres as the Episcopal Jubilee of Pius IX. He had been consecrated bishop in Rome on June 3, 1827. His fiftieth anniversary, in spite of the occupation of the Eternal City by the Piedmontese, was celebrated there with a solemnity and an enthusiasm such as even Christian Rome had never witnessed.

Foreseeing the spontaneous and irresistible outburst of Catholic sentiment all over Italy on the coming anniversary, the revolutionary Parliament sitting in Rome brought in "The Clerical Abuses Bill," enacting the severest penalties against all persons, clergymen especially, of every grade, who under any circumstances, in public or in private, should give utterance to words censuring the acts of the government. A priest in the confessional or called to administer the last sacraments to the dying, by the mere refusal of absolution to the worst criminals, to the plunderers of the Church or the direct authors of the worst calamities under which she was suffering, would, on the complaint of the false penitent, be liable to fine, imprisonment, or banishment from Italy. It was one of the objects of this law, as its authors did not hesitate to avow in the legislature, that, although they could not punish the Pope himself without violating the Law of Guarantees, yet they could punish any inferior ecclesiastic who should dare to publish or print the Pope's utterances censuring the acts of the government.

The celebration of the Golden Jubilee all over Italy,

together with the manifestations and addresses which it would give rise to, naturally would afford the enemies of the Papacy the opportunity of reaping a rich harvest in fines and vindictiveness.

There was a disposition in government and parliamentary circles to oppose efficacious obstacles to the approaching celebration in Rome by closing the entrance of Italy to the numerous bands of pilgrims from foreign lands, and to forbid the railway companies from transporting Italian pilgrims and deputations to Rome. In that city itself the anti-clerical clubs only demanded that the government should look on without interfering while they took on themselves to prevent or to mar all displays in honor of the Pope's anniversary. But although in some places pilgrims and deputations were treated somewhat roughly, the movement was too general and too mighty to be stopped all of a sudden; besides, the influx of strangers was to bring to the railroad companies and to Rome itself too bountiful a harvest not to be acceptable in the great penury of gold from which Italy and the government were suffering.

So self-interest prevailed over political passion and anti-Christian intrigues, and the Golden Jubilee ran its course of unparalleled enthusiasm.

By a singular and unusual oversight no mention is made in the narrative in another work of the Author* of the part taken in the celebration by the hierarchy of the Papal States—the Æmilia, the Marches, and Umbria. And yet among the imposing pageants which succeeded each other in the Vatican in June, 1877, none exceeded in importance and effect that in which figured the cardinals, the archbishops and bishops belonging to the former States of the Church, having at their head the venerable figure of the Cardinal-Archbishop of Perugia.

He had been requested by his colleagues in the pastoral office to draw up and deliver in their name the address of felicitation. This, for him, was a labor of love.

*"Life of Pius IX.," New York, 1877.

On the morning of the 3d of June Pius IX. could have imagined that the bishops of all Italy surrounded him, for all who could come and were privileged to be there on the occasion accompanied the glorious gathering at whose head shone Cardinal Pecci. This assemblage was the chief and central one in the long series of the Jubilee demonstrations. One might have thought that the entire episcopate of Italy was there, and that its spokesman was the Archbishop-Bishop of Perugia, every one of whose public utterances for the twenty past years had sounded like a trumpet-note through the Peninsula, warning pastors and people to prepare for the impending battle with Revolution and anti-Christian corruption. So there, at the head of cardinals, archbishops, and bishops, stood the white-haired prelate who was to be called Leo XIII. and *Lumen in Cœlo* ere another June had come with its flowers, and who now poured out the warm tribute of his soul at the feet of Pius IX., *Crux de Cruce*, already in the last agony of his long crucifixion. Let us listen:

"MOST HOLY FATHER: Surely it is by an admirable design of God's providence that while under your Pontificate the worst enemies of the Catholic Church and of her Divine Head, Christ, were permitted to wage against both the most bitter war which the memory of man can recall in the past ages as well as in the present, we should, on the other hand, be given to behold a succession of happy events bringing into the most prominent light the ardent love of the Christian world for the Church and the most faithful obedience toward the Apostolic Chair.

"More than that, the more skilfully devised were the plans of our adversaries, the more successful did the assaults of the revolutionary sects prove—thanks to the connivance or the aid of the temporal powers—the more closely, on the other hand, did faith and charity draw souls together among the Catholic nations, the nearer did the bonds of union draw the flock to the shepherd, the children to their parent, the firmer appeared the faith of all in the Pontifical authority, the more constantly, O Most Holy

Father! shone forth the love of the whole world for your person.

"We cannot help feeling that events are directed toward a happy and prosperous issue when we see the faithful of every land pouring as pilgrim-crowds toward the Vatican, or laying their liberal offerings of Peter's Pence at your feet, uniting in solemn and public prayer or giving vent in some other way to the common joy, all striving in concert to celebrate the happy anniversary of that day on which, fifty years ago, God gave you to be consecrated a bishop.

"Therefore it is, Most Holy Father, that we, the pastors of your provinces, especially those of the Marches, Umbria, and Æmilia, and the flocks confided to us, can yield in fervor to none both in our dutiful obedience to you, in our reverence for the supreme power of Peter, and in our enthusiasm in celebrating this most happy day. You were born in the Marches, of the noble blood of Sinigaglia; happy Umbria first received you as a bishop, and first of all the church of Spoleto had the benefit of your labors and was graced by your virtues; and, last, Æmilia, glorified by your pastoral care and the splendor of your Roman purple, sent you to Rome to ascend the sublime chair of Peter.

"Hence, while in our own name we again and again renew to you to-day the solemn profession of our inviolable union with this same Apostolic Chair of Peter, and of our loving devotion to your person, we also declare, in the deepest joy of our hearts, that both our priests and our people share with us this same solemn profession and heartfelt sentiments. Manifold as are the frauds and the violence by which ungodly men unceasingly try to shake their constancy in the Christian religion, they nevertheless ever remain bound to you by unswerving obedience, and from their inmost soul accept the teachings which your infallible authority sanctions. They unite with us in beseeching humbly and fervently the Divine Prince of Pastors to pour down on you with unsparing hand the fulness of

His choicest gifts, comforting and directing you in the bitter trials which press upon you, saving and preserving you for the honor and increase of religion, for the defence and support of His Church. That you may have also some visible proof, though never so small, of the most dutiful love and reverence which we and they bear you, we pray you to accept, Most Holy Father, the little offering they freely make to relieve your own need, and which we beg you to estimate from the love of the givers, not from its material amount.

"It only remains, Most Holy Father, that you, who love us all, bestow on ourselves and on all the faithful people of our dioceses, who have so much to contend with in the present difficult times of revolution, the Apostolic Benediction, which shall bring them wisdom and strength. This we ask for all the more readily that we have good reason to hope that God, at your prayer, on this day of great joy to yourself and your children, will pour down forthwith on all of us the plentiful streams of heavenly blessing." *

Pius IX., touched not only by the sentiments expressed in this noble address, but the dignified and reverent bearing of the venerable speaker, could not refrain from expressing his gratification and his thanks. It was, indeed, as if the churches of the Marches, of Umbria, and Æmilia, so unspeakably dear to him, surrounded him, broken by extreme old age and suffering, to lift up their voices to bless him, and their hands to pray for him, their Pontiff and Parent. The members of the episcopal deputation present also expressed their sentiments of admiration. But Cardinal Pecci was little moved by praise, even when coming from the lips of the most revered of Popes, and from those of his most respected brother-bishops.

While in Rome he was privileged to consecrate the new coadjutor-bishop given to him by the Holy Father. This was Monsignor Charles Laurenzi, who had been his vicar-general ever since 1847, sharing his labors, his solici-

* "Scelta," p. 403.

tude, and his trials, deserving and enjoying the Cardinal's unbounded confidence. The episcopal consecration took place in the ancient church of St. Chrysogonus, one of the oldest in Rome, situated in the Transtiberine quarter of the city, and the Cardinal's own titular church.

As the summer passed away the crowds of pilgrims continued to flock into Rome and to press onward to the Vatican. It was a sight which the Rome of the Popes had not beheld. But the Revolutionists could not bear the sight of this spontaneous homage of love and veneration paid to an infirm old man whom their usurpation had forced to confine himself to the walls and gardens of the Vatican. There was a tumultuous meeting held by the leaders in the Apollo Theatre to protest against the pilgrimages and the presence in Rome of all these strangers. But they forgot only one thing—that these men and women from every Christian land were not *strangers* in Rome, in the Rome which Christendom and the Popes had created, and which was the home of the Common Parent. They forgot, too, that many a barbarous dynasty and tribe had ere then possessed themselves of Rome and believed that their possession of it would last for ever. History has told how soon their throne and their sway had vanished. And, besides, Christendom has not yet set the seal of its unanimous and formal international sanction on the present usurpation. There are those who persist in thinking that Rome will be again the City of the Pope-King.

II. THE OLD CAMERLENGO AND THE NEW.

Death was busy among the most illustrious cardinals in 1877. We have seen that while Monsignor Pecci was yet in the College of Nobles one of his dearest companions there was Duke Riario-Sforza, afterward Cardinal-Archbishop of Naples. This descendant of the great warrior-chief who had placed himself on the throne of Milan, and had been on the point of subjecting all Italy to his sway,

was one of those men who, called to the priesthood by divine inspiration, justify the divine choice by a life of supernatural devotion to God and man. A Roman by birth, ranking with the highest, but lifted above all earthly ambitions and sentiments by his ardent desire to serve God, His Church, and Italy to the best of his power, nothing could ever induce him to sanction by act or word of his the designs of the Italian liberals.

He accepted with gratitude his appointment to the see of Naples, because he had been led to believe that in that city he would be free, far away from the theatre of conspiracies and revolutions, to devote all his energies, under a Catholic conservative government, to the advancement of the spiritual welfare of a large, needy, and neglected population.

How that good archbishop labored in Naples; how he spent his fortune, his strength, his life in seeking the lost sheep of the flock, in bringing them back to the fold and tenderly caring for them; how he sought out souls suffering from sin and sorrow, and lifted them up into newness of life; how the poor, the sick, the plague-stricken were dearer to him than children to their mother—contemporary history has told. Some day, perhaps, this holy archbishop, whom even the pens of Protestants and unbelievers have canonized because of his unearthly goodness, will receive the honors due to God's acknowledged saints. At any rate, in 1877 this great and good man, equally dear to Pius IX. and to Cardinal Pecci, was taken to his rest. Both the Pontiff and the Cardinal envied him while sincerely mourning his loss.

But "Riario-Sforza had been preceded in the tomb by Cardinal Philip de Angelis, Archbishop of Fermo, who had presided at the Council of the Vatican, and died on July 8. Of the other four cardinals who had shared with him the honor of presiding over that august assembly, the only ones who survived the year 1877 were Cardinals Bilio and De Luca, Cardinals Bizzari and Capalti having succumbed during this year of Jubilee. The loss of De An-

gelis was most keenly felt by the Holy Father. They were both natives of the Marches, born within a month of each other on that same sunny shore of the Adriatic; raised to the purple, the one in 1838, the other in 1839; brought still nearer to each other by their passionate devotion to the interests of the Church and the unworldly spirit which animated their whole lives. During the conclave of June, 1846, De Angelis was the man to whom Cardinal Mastaï gave his vote, and Cardinal Mastaï was the choice of De Angelis for the dangerous honor of the Pontificate. While the one friend (the Pope) was forced to seek in the kingdom of Naples the liberty needed to govern the universal Church, the other was assailed by the revolutionists in his residence at Fermo, dragged like a malefactor to the prisons of Ancona, and there, during forty days, subjected to the most horrible brutality, attempts having even been made to destroy his life by poison. Later, in 1860, the Cardinal-Archbishop of Fermo was once more carried off to prison, this time in Turin, and endured a six years' captivity." *

Such were the men—great in everything which constitutes moral grandeur—to whom Cardinal Pecci, like the Pope, was bound by ties of a friendship that is not all of earth. How many such stood around Pius IX. in the solemn sessions of the Council of the Vatican!

How many on that memorable morning of June 3, 1877, surrounded the aged form of the Pontiff, on whose brow the first radiance of eternal day already rested, on whose spirit, amid the benedictions of the Old World and the New, the sweet shadows of the peace everlasting were falling fast!

Cardinal de Angelis was one to whose heroic devotion, saintly virtues, and tried prudence Pius IX. could trust, as to an own brother, in the greatest emergencies, the dearest interests of the Church. This unlimited confidence had induced him to select the Cardinal-Archbishop of Fermo

* "Life of Pius IX.," pp. 521–22, eighteenth ed., New York, 1878.

for the important charge of Camerlengo of the Roman Church—a charge involving, during the vacancy of the Papal Chair, the supreme authority to administer the temporalities of the Holy See.

Cardinal Pecci's ill-health compelled him to remain in Rome all through this memorable summer. He returned to Perugia toward the end of August to superintend the last examinations in the seminary and to preside at the distribution of premiums. Thus to the last was he faithful to his old love for his church and the young clergy. In the midst of September came the tidings that it was the intention of the Holy Father to proclaim him Camerlengo of the Holy Roman Church in the approaching consistory. Thus was he to inherit the trust of Cardinal de Angelis. The letter which brought him this announcement also conveyed an invitation from Pius IX. to take up his residence in Rome, leaving Monsignor Laurenzi to administer the diocese of Perugia.

III. THE SHADOW OF THE CROSS FALLS ON CARDINAL PECCI.

The Pope, who felt that the end for him was nigh, felt also that he bequeathed to his Cardinal Camerlengo a responsibility beset by unprecedented difficulties. In choosing Cardinal Pecci he seemed to be ratifying the choice of the united bishops of all Italy. To no more firm or prudent hand could the direction of affairs be committed when his own last hour had come.

While the summer and autumn of 1877 passed slowly away, the Jubilee still drawing crowds of pilgrims to the feet of Pius IX., the strength of the venerable invalid was slowly but surely waning. Winter came, and the Catholic world kept its eyes and its heart fixed on those rooms in the Vatican where the self-sacrificing Pontiff daily received his children, causing himself to be carried through their ranks, blessing, consoling, and strengthening them with words which all treasured ever after in their memory.

Meanwhile, and undeterred by the cares of his new charge and the unceasing occupations attached to his position in Rome, Cardinal Pecci was preparing to do for his beloved flock in Perugia what he had ever done yearly since he had been their bishop: he was about to address them for the Lent of 1878 a second pastoral letter on "The Church and Civilization." Such were the lofty arguments he chose to treat in instructing his people on the prevalent errors of the day, and the truths which were the surest antidote to the intellectual poison.

Now that we are acquainted with the solid Christian instruction on all points of doctrine and practice which Cardinal Pecci had been unwearied in giving to his flock for thirty-two years, we can admire the wisdom of the man in lifting up priests and people to the attentive study of such living and momentous questions as that which he undertook to treat in the three last Lenten pastorals which he composed for them: in 1876, "The Catholic Church and the Nineteenth Century"; in 1877 and 1878, "The Church and Civilization."

IV. THE LIGHT STILL SHINING BRIGHTLY ON PERUGIA.

In his pastoral for the Lenten season, 1877, we have, both in the logical treatment of the subject and the simplicity with which the argument at every stage is presented to the intelligence of the ordinary peasant and workingman, a model for all churchmen dealing with such matters. As to the exquisite elegance and harmony of the original Italian we cannot say too much.

"The duty which our pastoral ministry," he says, "has always imposed on us to preach the truth to you has become more pressing at this moment, because of your own increasing need in the midst of an unhappy age. We must speak to you to enlighten your minds, which others are trying to darken by fallacious and seductive doctrines; and we must put you on your guard against certain sayings which are scattered abroad, and which are found to be

dangerous in the extreme. Above all, we need to speak to you in order to do away with the confusion which is so dexterously introduced in the popularized ideas that one does not know clearly that which has been condemned as false from that which, being true and correct, is adopted as such.

"Wherefore, dearest children, the war carried on against God and His Church is all the more formidable in this, that it is not always waged loyally, but conducted with fraud and treachery. If the impious men who live in our midst would only speak out and tell us what they are aiming at, our task would be a very easy one; while, on the other hand, the faithful, perceiving the enormity of their guilty intentions, would be easily dissuaded from lending an ear to these deceivers. This, however, is not the way they go about their work; they, on the contrary, use terms which flatter their hearers, which not bearing any one precise meaning, these men throw, without explaining their sense, as food to the curiosity of the public. . . .

"We might quote here many instances of these artifices; but, to mention only one word which misbelievers make such abuse of, who does not know how great a noise is in our day made about *civilization*, as if between it and the Church there existed an intrinsic repugnance, an irreconcilable hostility?

"This word, which in itself is a vague term, one which those who use it are careful not to define, has become a kind of scourge which they hold over our shoulders, an engine for levelling our most sacred institutions, the means of paving the way to the most deplorable excesses.

"If people turn into ridicule the word of God and of him who represents God on earth, it is because civilization requires it.

"It is civilization which demands that a limit should be put to the number of churches and of the ministers of worship, and which, on the contrary, asks to have the dens of sin multiplied.

"It is civilization which calls for theatres without good

taste and without any respect for modesty. In the name of civilization they give usurers liberty to exact the most enormous interest, and speculators to realize the most dishonest gains.

"It is in the name of civilization that an immoral press poisons souls; that art, prostituting itself, defiles the sense with hideous figures, and thus opens up the way to corrupt the heart.

"All the while, beneath the charm of this spell-word, held on high as an honored banner, the pestilential ideas it covers are disseminated freely, and between the loud clash of ideas and the noise which confuses and deafens this impression is produced: that we are to be blamed if civilization does not spread more rapidly and does not rise to more splendid destinies.

"Hence the beginning of that struggle (*Culturkampf*) which its authors call the battle for civilization, but which with greater propriety should be called the violent oppression of the Church."

In the pastoral of 1878, addressed from Rome to his beloved flock, his deeply cherished attachment for them breaks forth, as it were, against his will. He is about to begin his sixty-ninth year; is it not time for him also to lay down the burden of care he has borne so long, instead of contemplating with dread the possibilities of the future? He says to his Perugians:

"Closely connected with you, as we have been, during all these long years by the holy bonds of the pastoral ministry, and by mutual relations which have ever begotten an interchange of affectionate sentiments, we feel now, dearest children, how heavy is the weight of a separation which, however justified by reasons the most imperative, is still grievous to us. In this state of mind we look forward, as you can well imagine, with no little satisfaction to the near approach of the holy season of Lent, when we can break our enforced silence and address you words of pastoral instruction.

"Since, therefore, we may not return to your midst in

person, we do so by this letter, in order to converse with you and to gather mutual comfort from the interchange of our common sentiments of faith. These are the consolations which God keeps in store for bishops to make up for much sorrow and bitterness. For what can be more grateful to us than to hold converse with the flock who are our crown, our dearest joy; than to speak to them of God, and of His Christ, and of His holy Church, of the duties of our religion and of its immortal hopes, and to repeat to them the apostolic words: 'Therefore, my dearly beloved brethren and most desired, my joy and my crown, so stand fast in the Lord, my dearly beloved'?"

Christian Rome—and in Christian Rome the Vatican—offered, as the year 1878 dawned upon the world, as January slowly passed away and found the gentle spirit of Pius IX. still hovering on the very borders of the peace eternal, a spectacle never before beheld.

"Around the aged Pontiff had been dropping off day by day the men whom he had most loved and trusted, who had passed with him through the flood and the flame. He and three or four members of the Sacred College were left standing, all stripped and scarred by storm and lightning, like those venerable trees of the Californian forest towering on the hillside in their weird and solitary grandeur, while at their feet lie the fallen trunks of their former contemporaries, and around stand a younger growth, dwarfed only into comparative inferiority by their giant elders, the sole survivors of a remote age.

"Not long, however, in spite of the fervent prayers of the Catholic world, did the heroic old man survive the friends of his youth and his intrepid associates in peril and persecution. The joys which flooded his soul, as well as the cruel apprehensions caused by the steady triumph of extreme and undisguised radicalism in the Italian cabinet, much more than the superhuman fatigues of the Jubilee receptions, were too much for a man in his eighty-sixth year." *

*The Author's "Life of Pius IX.," eighteenth edition, p. 522.

Conspicuous among the few venerable cardinals who thus gathered around the couch of the long-lived Pontiff, the most trusted and not the least beloved was the Cardinal Camerlengo. Death had come to close the eyes of the weary old man, for whom the long Pontificate of thirty-two years had been little less than the agony of a prolonged martyrdom. He had almost designated his successor to the choice of the Sacred College.

And when this death had happened Cardinal Pecci had not yet concluded the pastoral letter quoted a few pages back. He hastened at once, while his own soul was under the effect of this saintly ending to an eventful life, to conclude his Lenten instruction, dating it from the 10th of February.

"And here, dearest children," he says, "having come to this point, our heart must give vent to the grief which oppresses it, having to recall to your mind the sad event which has plunged the Catholic world in mourning, and has befallen us at a time when the evils heaped on the Church were at their heaviest. When I began to write this letter I was far from thinking that our glorious Pontiff and most loving Father would be so suddenly snatched away. I was hoping, on the contrary, that he would be restored to better health, that I might once more ask his Apostolic benediction for you, and beg you in return to pray for your chief and parent. God in His designs has deemed it better that it should not be so. He has hastened for His servant the reward merited by the long and precious labors undergone for the Church, our common mother, by his immortal deeds, by the sufferings endured with such constancy, dignity, and firmness.

"Dear fellow-laborers, do not forget to make mention, in the Holy Sacrifice, of this soul in which God had printed so vivid an image of Himself. Speak to your flocks of his merits, and tell them how much this great Pope had done not only for the Church and for souls, but also to promote the reign of Christian civilization. . . . I beseech you, dearest brethren and beloved children, to ask earnestly

of God to grant soon a Head to the Church, and to cover him when he is chosen with the shield of His power, in order that the Bark of Peter may be safely guided through the surging waters to the wished-for haven."

Part Fourth.

THE PONTIFICATE.—LUMEN IN CŒLO.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE CONCLAVE—LEO XIII.

ONE of the last acts of Pius IX. was a solemn protest sent in his name by the Secretary of State, Cardinal Simeoni, to the representatives of the Holy See at the various courts. It bore the date of January 17, 1878, the eighth day after the death of King Victor Emmanuel in the Quirinal Palace. Umberto I. had succeeded to the throne thus founded by the Revolution and placed in the habitual residence of the Popes. The Pontiff, who was so soon to follow the persecutor and spoliator to the judgment-seat, and who was so conscious of his dread nearness to it, protested in this document "that he maintained intact, as against the iniquitous spoliation, the right of the Church to her most ancient domains." This, he said, was for the purpose of removing all ground for present or future misinterpretations or doubts concerning the pretension set forth by the successor of the late king "in taking the title of King of Italy to sanction the spoliation already consummated."

To all who have read of the fatherly and merciful spirit manifested by the venerable Pontiff not only when the tidings of the mortal illness of the king reached the Vatican, but when all were startled by the announcement of his death,* the thought cannot occur that, by so protesting in the face of all the Powers of Christendom, the dying Vicar of Christ was animated by any feeling of personal resentment. Such feelings were alien to the gentle, loving, and Christian spirit of the all forgiving Pius.

The protest was the act of one who, having received in trust, on his election to the Papal Chair, the temporalities

*See "Life of Pius IX.," eighteenth edition, New York, pp. 527–28.

guaranteeing its sovereignty and thereby its independence, felt bound, as he was to appear before Christ Himself to render an account of that trust, to assert more solemnly that he was suffering violence at the hands of the oppressor, and that he persisted with his dying breath in asserting the imprescriptable right of the Church. His coronation oath had bound him to transmit the patrimony of the Holy See intact to his predecessor. To protest was all that he now could do in the face of overpowering might.

No sooner had the ocean telegraph flashed the news of the death of Pius IX. all over America than even the Protestant press began to ask the questions: "Will the Piedmontese government not take possession of the Vatican and St. Peter's?" "Will they, can they, allow the cardinals to assemble freely in conclave and elect a successor to Pius IX.?" "Is not this a golden opportunity for the kingdom of Italy to secure, even at the risk of a schism, a Pope of its own—one disposed to recognize and sanction accomplished facts—and thus put a stop to the ruinous conflict between the two powers in the Peninsula?"

Indeed, for months before January 7, 1878—the date of Pius IX.'s decease—such questions as these were seriously discussed by the public journals on both sides of the Atlantic. Many Catholics were fearful lest some such steps might be taken by the new masters of Rome; nor were there wanting in the Italian press and among Italian statesmen those who would enthusiastically applaud such steps and give effective aid toward their consummation.

Ay, that would have been the consummation of the cherished designs and deeply laid plans of Mazzini, of the anti-Christian Revolution of which he was the prophet and lawgiver. It would have filled with joy inexpressible the soul of Garibaldi and of the men who had steeped themselves in blood and sacrilege to blot out the Catholic religion from the soil of Italy.

Be it said, too, without any offence to the great mass of English and American Protestants who had clapped

their hands with transport and sung their loud pæans of thanksgiving when the Porta Pia was breached and the Piedmontese entered Rome and hoisted the flag of Savoy on the Quirinal and Castle Sant' Angelo, their exultation would have been complete if, ere the remains of Pius IX. had been cold in death, that same cross of Savoy had floated from the topmost point of the Vatican and the dome of St. Peter's.

Legge relates, in his work on the Pontificate of Pius IX., a fact which is eloquently suggestive. When, after this Pope's flight to Gaeta, a proclamation was issued by the Provisional Republican government in Rome calling a Constituent Assembly, the Pope, on January 1, 1849, issued a counter-proclamation protesting solemnly against all acts tending to a usurpation of the temporal power of the Holy See. This was both his right and his bounden duty. This proclamation, Legge informs us, was torn down by the populace, carried in procession, and then buried with every circumstance of ignominy. Then a public meeting of all the rascality in Rome was called, and the notorious Cicernacchio, the leader in all these demonstrations, moved a resolution to the effect that the Pope be then and there excommunicated, the sentence to be sent to him with an address concluding thus:

"When you, Sir Pope, left the city by one gate, the Bible entered into it by the opposite gate, and now there is no room for you!"*

We know—why remind American or English readers of the disgraceful fact?—that it was the boast of some of the modern Biblical evangelists that the *Bible* again entered Rome in triumph with the Piedmontese army through the breach at the Porta Pia.

So much the worse for the Bible as these men regard it.

But we are only speaking at present of the unaccomplished purpose of the Radical Revolutionists, and of the unfulfilled *but ardently expressed wish of those societies in league or in sympathy with Garibaldi.*

* Legge, "Pius IX.," vol. ii. p. 139.

The Italian government, by the invisible control of an overruling Providence, either had no thought or no will to interfere with what was happening inside the Vatican, or with the actions of the Cardinal Camerlengo, on whom it now devolved to administer the Church and to dispose all things for the election of another Pope.

His first determination, when Pius IX. had yielded up to the Redeemer and Judge his long-chastened spirit—dying, as dies the humblest Christian, consoled and purified by the sacraments of his faith, confessing his sins with a heartfelt and most touching simplicity, reciting, with a fervor and presence of mind that moved to tears all around him, the act of contrition, of loving sorrow for all offences against the Divine Majesty, and then receiving the last absolution—was to give no pretext to the Italian authorities to cross the threshold of the Vatican.

The custom, when the Pope died in the Quirinal, was to have the corpse lie in state in the Pauline Chapel, where the people were free to come and pray around the bier. If the death took place in the Vatican, then the body lay in state in the Sistine Chapel. But the Sistine being within the precincts of the palace—the only spot over which extends at present the very uncertain and shadowy sovereignty left to the Popes—if the remains of Pius IX. were exposed there to the public veneration, the love which yet remained so deep in the hearts of the great majority of the Roman people, as distinguished from the revolutionary multitudes that had flocked to the city after the Piedmontese, would have brought such throngs to the Sistine and through the Vatican as might have justified the municipal authorities and the government in interfering.

Cardinal Pecci wisely resolved to afford no such pretext for violating even the semblance of sovereignty left to the Holy See. He ordered the remains to be laid out in state in St. Peter's, taking also there every means to preserve order and to cut off every pretext for municipal intrusion.

The first official act of the Sacred College, assembled in conclave on Tuesday, February 19, 1878, was to confirm by

their united protest that issued by Pius IX. on January 17. The cardinals in conclave are the depositary of the Papal sovereignty; the exercise of their right of suffrage in electing the Pope is only the use of that sovereign right. They therefore declared, through the Secretary of State, to all the Great Powers:

"That they thereby renewed all the protests and reservations made by the deceased Sovereign Pontiff, whether against the occupation of the States of the Church or against the laws and decrees enacted to the detriment of the same Church and of the Apostolic See"; all unanimously declaring themselves "determined to follow the course marked out by the deceased Pontiff, whatever trials may happen to befall them through the force of events."

This document was signed by the deans of the three orders in the Sacred College—cardinal-bishops, cardinal-priests, and cardinal-deacons.

Every step, every incident in the proceedings of these days, so full of anxious expectancy and half-dread, marked the diplomatic skill, the prudent tact, and the conscientious sense of right and duty characteristic of the man, Joachim Pecci, who stood in the foremost place at the head of his brethren.

It is customary to have funeral services performed in every church and chapel in Rome for the repose of the soul of a deceased Pope during nine days before his burial. It is a touching and instructive custom, reminding Christians of every degree that the higher one's office on earth the greater is the responsibility, the more searching and awful the judgment to be undergone before Him "who searcheth the hearts and the loins," and the more pressing is, therefore, the need of pleading for the departed spirit.

The Vatican Palace and the space adjoining the Sistine Chapel are much less convenient for the purposes of a conclave than the corresponding locality in the Quirinal where Pius IX. had been elected. Cardinal Pecci resolved that no delay that could possibly be avoided should take place

by any fault of his, so that all should be in readiness for the conclave at the end of the nine days' devotions.

He summoned the architects Vespignani and Martinucci, and bade them get a sufficient body of workmen, with the requisite materials, and set to work at once to prepare lodgings for all the members of the Sacred College, with their attendants and the officers designated by law. On February 10 five hundred workmen at least were busy at their appointed task. Lodgings, furniture, all things needful even for a protracted election, were got in readiness. For, once the conclave is declared in session, all communication with the outside world ceases, and the door of the strictly guarded enclosure only opens to admit some tardy member of the Sacred College.

The Pontifical laws regulating everything that regards this, the highest body of electors in the Church, leave no room for doubt or indecision.* It is expressly enjoined that the cardinals present in Rome shall wait for ten days after the death of a Pope, and that then they shall enter into conclave and proceed to the election of a successor without waiting for the arrival of their absent colleagues.

On Sunday, February 17, the Novena, or nine days' devotions, were concluded in the Sistine Chapel by a solemn Pontifical Mass for the Dead, celebrated in presence of all the cardinals. On Monday, the 18th, the Solemn Mass of the Holy Ghost was sung in the Pauline Chapel in the forenoon, and in the afternoon all the ceremonies for the beginning of the conclave were performed.

At the election of the four last Popes, the conclave being held in the Quirinal, Rome being then governed by the Pontifical authorities, and the Sacred College being free to carry out, in public and in private, every part of the ceremonial prescribed, the custom was, on the day for entering into conclave, to proceed in state in the forenoon to St. Peter's, where the Mass of the Holy Ghost was sung by

* See the Author's article, "Conclave," in the "American Cyclopædia."

the cardinal dean of the Sacred College, and a sermon was delivered reminding the electors of their duty to consider the divine glory and the good of the universal Church as their guiding motive in what they were about to undertake.

They then went in state to the Quirinal. It was an impressive scene. The cardinals had laid aside the usual scarlet robes for purple, the sign of mourning. The necessary attendants of the electors opened the march; after them came the Papal choir singing the hymn *Veni, Creator Spiritus*. A master of ceremonies, bearing aloft the Papal cross, preceded the members of the Sacred College, who advanced in the order of their dignity and seniority. They were followed by the prelates and officials taking part in the conclave.

The governor of Rome walked by the side of the cardinal dean, the people lining the streets and joining in the sacred chants invoking the divine light on the Papal electors.

Of course, on that Monday morning, February 18, 1878, there was no procession to St. Peter's, no solemn High Mass sung beneath its sublime dome to call down the divine blessing on the men about to give a Pope to the Church, and no return in state to the Quirinal. The Quirinal was in the hands of the deadliest foes of the Papacy.

The solemn Mass celebrated to call down the aid of the Holy Spirit was sung within the Vatican, in the Pauline Chapel. Cardinal Amat, the dean of the Sacred College, was borne in a litter up the grand staircase of the palace, and from the Pauline Chapel to his sick-bed within the conclave enclosure, and his sick-bed he left not till borne back again to his residence, the election over. Another cardinal, Morichini, was but little better; he had to be supported by two assistants as he slowly and painfully mounted the palace stairs. And Cardinal Catterini, the head of the Order of Deacons, was only kept up and enabled to take part in the proceedings by his indomitable will.

They were no ordinary body of men, these sixty-one cardinals who met that morning in the Pauline Chapel. Three only of the entire body of electors were missing—Cardinal Broussais de Saint-Marc, who was lying at death's door; Cardinal Cullen, Archbishop of Dublin, detained at first by illness, and who hastened to Rome only to find the Pope elected; and the sole American cardinal, McCloskey, Archbishop of New York, who was on his way, but only came to do homage to the successor of Pius IX.*

In the altered circumstances of the political world, and the voluntary or enforced indifference of the so-called Catholic Powers to the cruel position of the Holy See, it was at least fortunate that the Sacred College was no longer to be subjected to the oppression exercised on its members in the last century and the preceding ages.

The electors were thus left free to choose the man whom they knew to be in every way the most worthy and the best fitted to rule the Church. This freedom of election—so often tampered with by the house of Bourbon, as well as by all the other royal dynasties whom mediæval feudalism had made the arbiters of Christendom—was one of the precious liberties which Providence had restored to the Church as the reward for the bitter trials of more than a century. Who knows but that the perfect independence of the Holy See is only to be the outcome of the present social and political convulsions, which, in upsetting what remains of that same feudalism, will sweep away more than one throne, enfranchise the millions of Italians to

* In the conclave which elected Leo XIII. were the following cardinals: Amat, Di Pietro, Sacconi, Guidi, Bilio, Morichini, Schwarzenberg, Pecci, Asquini, Carafa di Traetto, Donnet, Antonucci, Panebianco, De Luca, Pitra, De Bonnechose, Von Hohenlohe, Bonaparte, Ferrieri, Berardi, Moreno, Monaco la Valletta, Moraes Cardoso, Regnier, Chigi, Franchi, Guibert, Oreglia di Santo Stefano, Simor, Martinelli, Antici Mattei, Giannelli, Ledochowski, Manning, Dechamps, Simeoni, Bartolini, D'Avanzo, Franzelin, Benavides y Navarrete, Apuzzo, Garcia Gil, Howard, Para y Rico, Caverot, Di Canossa, Serafini, Mihalovitz, Kutschker, Parocchi, Moretti, Caterini, Mertel, Consolini, Borromeo, Randi, Pacca Nina, Sbarretti, Falloux du Coudray, Pellegrini.

whom the Revolution just accomplished has refused the right of honest suffrage, and enable the majority of a people not yet dechristianized to make the Vicar of Christ freer than in the days of the first or the tenth Leo?

So thought in February, 1878, and so think to-day some of the far-seeing men who entered the conclave which gave to the world Leo XIII.

The sixty-one Princes of the Church who from the Pauline Chapel, the Mass of the Holy Ghost ended, went in solemn procession through the magnificent Sala Regia (the royal hall of the Vatican) to the Sistine, there to perform the first ceremonies of the conclave, were men whom no outside influence turned aside from the one grand purpose of their coming together. Nor was the pontifical tiara, in the present condition of things, a crown that could tempt even the worldly-minded, if such there were among them. The Papal cross was borne aloft before them, to tell them now, as never before during many an age, that he whom they would place in the chair of Peter must, like Peter, share his Master's crucifixion. The voices of the Papal choir made the storied walls and ceiling of the hall resound with the majestic strains of the *Veni Creator*. Every one joined heartily in the sublime words of the prayerful hymn. No open-air pageant could equal the earnestness of spirit pervading the place and the assemblage. All genuflect to the hidden Presence on the altar as they enter the precincts of the Sistine. The senior cardinal bishop, at the foot of the altar, chants the prayer *Deus, qui corda fidelium.** There is silence, and all kneel for a few moments. When all are seated the cardinal sub-dean reads aloud the pontifical laws regulating conclaves, and every one of the electors takes the oath binding him to observe the same. Then comes the turn of the governor of the conclave, the prince-marshal, the secretary, and all the other officials to be sworn to fidelity and secrecy.

* "O God! who hast taught the hearts of the faithful by the illuminating grace of the Holy Spirit, grant us in the same Spirit to relish what is right, and thus always to enjoy the sweetness of His consolation."

This ends the ceremonial of the first part of the day. The afternoon is devoted by the cardinals to the transaction of such business as requires immediate despatch, to the reception of such personages as is customary on such occasions, the members of the diplomatic body accredited to the Holy See, the Roman nobility, and foreigners of distinction.

With the *Ave Maria* closes the Roman business day. When it has ceased tolling a bell sounds in the corridors around the Sistine Chapel, and the master of ceremonies is heard giving in a loud voice the signal for all strangers to depart: *Exeant omnes!* Many a hearty wish had been expressed within these historic walls, as the hours of the afternoon passed slowly away, that such or such a cardinal might fill the place left empty by him whose body had been yesterday laid to temporary repose yonder in St. Peter's.

That place was now to be filled, not by the ambitious, but by the self-sacrificing. God was directing it all.

Prince Chigi, Hereditary Marshal of the Holy Roman Church and Guardian of the Conclave, charged, in virtue of his office, with seeing that all outward precautions for the perfect enclosure of the conclave should be taken, went at the appointed hour from the apartments of the maestro di camera to fulfil his duty. It was a stately procession in itself: the prince in his full uniform, attended by his four captains or aids, an escort of the Noble and Swiss Guards, and a body of servants in state liveries bearing torches, advance through the lofty corridors to the great door giving entrance to the conclave. On the threshold of this entrance, and waiting for his arrival, was Cardinal Pecci, the Camerlengo, with the three cardinals, heads of orders. After the usual salutations the great door is closed, the Cardinal Camerlengo locks it on the inside, the prince-marshal locks it on the outside and places the keys in a crimson velvet bag, which he thenceforth safely keeps in his own custody.

This done, Monsignor Ricci-Parracciani, Governor of the

Conclave, walks round the enclosure, examining scrupulously every part, and assuring himself, in compliance with his oath of office, that there is no possibility of communication with the outside world. An imperfect enclosure would entail the nullity of any choice made by the electors, even though every other formality had been strictly observed.

The Cardinal Camerlengo this time has taken measures never before practised. A kitchen was by his orders installed within the enclosure, with a sufficient number of cooks and other servants. Thus every article of food was prepared within what was properly the conclave, and no occasion or pretext was left for transgressing the sacred rules of isolation and secrecy rendered necessary by the long experience of ages.

On both sides of the chapel, down along those walls on which true Christian art has left its masterpieces, sixty-four lofty screens have been erected, and in front of these are seats for the cardinals, every seat being numbered. There is before each seat a small square table with writing materials. Each seat is canopied, the canopy being the emblem of sovereignty, and all these Papal electors are now co-equal sharers in that sovereignty which they will place, undivided, on the head of the Pope of their choice. Four of these seats, with the overhanging canopies, the tables, and the screens behind, are draped in green cloth; the remaining sixty are draped in purple. What is the reason of this distinction?

The green is the color distinctive of the cardinals created by Gregory XVI., the only four surviving of all those who in June, 1846, had sat among the electors of Pius IX. The other sixty cardinals are of the creation of the long-lived Pius. Think you, when, but a few hours ago, these few cardinals who had voted in the conclave of 1846 found themselves, at so long an interval, called again to give to another the cross which Pius had borne, that their souls were not oppressed with the holy sadness wont to come, in the Catacombs, on the men called to elect the

successors of the first Clement, the first Sixtus, and the first Pius, slain by the rage of the persecutor?

There is no electoral assembly known to the civilized world and to all history like these conclaves in which are chosen the men who are, like Simon Peter, charged to feed Christ's entire flock, and destined, like Peter, to lay down their lives for the sheep.

Now let us see how these electors go about their work.

The morning of Tuesday, February 19, has dawned on Rome—a balmy morning, rising cloudless and golden-tinted beyond the Quirinal and the Esquiline, and flooding the lofty masses of the Vatican and the dome of St. Peter's with its first beams. Few there are, if any, within the Vatican and the conclave who have not been beforehand with the dawn. And to-day there is more need than usual in their being early before the mercy-seat. And ere yet the early morning hours have passed, the voice of the master of ceremonies, who is here the organ of the Church, is heard, as he passes along the corridors where the electors are lodged, pronouncing the sacramental formula, *In capellam, domini*—"To the chapel, my lords!" And to the chapel, with the docility of school boys obeying a summons to morning prayer, the venerable train of purple-robed prélates go at once. There they take the seats allotted to them, the Camerlengo, Cardinal Pecci, taking that marked "number nine" on the Gospel side, and not far from the altar. The sub-dean celebrates a Low Mass, after which all take their seats. Now begins the real work of election

Three cardinals are chosen by vote as scrutineers: their business is to examine every *schedula*, billet or vote, and to note and announce the result. To each elector is given a *schedula*, or voting-paper, prepared after a given form. In the centre he writes the name of the person for whom he votes.

At the top of the sheet he writes out the first part of the form: "I, N. Cardinal N., elect for Sovereign Pontiff my Most Reverend Lord Cardinal ——."

The part containing the name of the elector is folded

and sealed, leaving visible in the middle space only the name of the candidate he votes for.

At the lower end of the sheet he then writes a text of Scripture of his own choice, which is also sealed up, like his name at the top, and serves, in case of doubt, to verify his vote and signature.

These papers have been carefully distributed, one to each of the electors, by the secretary of the conclave; and each cardinal having duly filled the sheet and sealed it, all is ready for the balloting.

On the altar stands a large chalice with its paten, made and consecrated for this special purpose. The cardinals in due order advance one by one in succession to the altar-steps. The elector, kneeling, pronounces in a loud and distinct voice the solemn words: "I call Christ our Lord, who will judge me, to witness that I elect the person who before God I think should be elected, and which I shall make good in the accessus." Then, ascending the platform of the altar, he lays the folded *schedula* on the paten, and from this drops it into the chalice.

While cardinal after cardinal is thus giving his vote in the chapel, the vote of Cardinal Amat has been taken in his cell, according to the strict formalities enjoined by the pontifical decrees.

All the bulletins having been thus deposited in the chalice, the three scrutineers ascend to the altar. One of them takes the chalice, covers it with the paten, and shakes it well. A second then takes them out and counts them, one by one, into another chalice. There are exactly sixty-one; had there been one more or less the *schedula* must all have been burned and the balloting must have been begun again.

The scrutineers now take the second chalice with its contents, and carry it to a large, square table draped in purple, and so placed that the scrutineers seated at it are plainly in view of all the electors. The senior scrutineer draws from the chalice the first folded paper his hand touches, reads the name written in the open middle space,

then hands it to the scrutineer next in seniority, who also reads the name aloud and takes note of it. The third does the same—each name being thus thrice proclaimed aloud.

Meanwhile each of the other electors, seated at his own table, has a printed list of all the cardinals before him, and makes a mark opposite to the name thus read out. Twenty-three times the name of Cardinal Joachim Pecci is thus announced. No other member of the conclave receives anything approaching this number of votes. As the name of the Camerlengo thus comes up with ominous frequency, he is seen to be greatly disturbed. His pale, intellectual, ascetic countenance is overcast by an expression of mingled dismay and grief. Still the number twenty-three is not that of half the electors present, and an absolute two-thirds majority is necessary to an election.

Thus the first morning session of the conclave passed without any result. The balloting papers are therefore, according to rule, burned, and the blue smoke issuing from the slender stove-pipe thrust through a window in the chapel tells the expectant crowd on the square of St. Peter's that no Pope as yet has been chosen.

Joachim Pecci with a heavy, foreboding heart retires to his cell, praying fervently that the burden of the Pontificate may not be laid on his aged shoulders.

The hour for the afternoon session has come, and the voice of the master of ceremonies falls on the ears of the Cardinal Camerlengo with a startling sound: "To the chapel, my lords!"

The purple-robed procession of venerable men glides in silence into the Sistine; the silence is deeper still as all kneel before the mercy-seat and the sub-dean of the Sacred College recites aloud the first verse of the *Veni, Creator Spiritus*, his brother-cardinals taking up the alternate stanzas. This invocation to the Spirit of truth and light being ended, they prepare for the second ballot, the ceremonial being quite the same as in the morning.

During the recess each elector has been reflecting on the eminent qualities of the man for whom the twenty-

three votes were cast in the forenoon. Cardinal Pecci has been lifting up his soul to the Searcher of hearts, and beseeching Him to avert from himself the dread honors which threaten him.

What have his brethren been resolving meanwhile? Let us see.

Cardinal Pecci's turn to vote comes early, his seat being near the altar and bearing the number *nine*. At length the last bulletin has fallen into the chalice on the altar, and the scrutineers have begun to announce and count out the names of those voted for. Again Cardinal Joachim Pecci's name is repeated with even more significant frequency than in the morning. He soon has to mark twenty-three opposite to his own name on the printed list before him; again and again his name occurs till the number reaches thirty—one-half of the electors present; and on, on the number swells till it is increased to thirty-eight!

But when the number thirty has been reached and passed, the trouble, the emotion, the terror of the humble-minded Camerlengo have become uncontrollable. Cardinal Donnet, Archbishop of Bordeaux, whose seat was next to Cardinal Pecci's, describes what he then beheld in a discourse from his cathedral pulpit on his return home from the conclave:

"I remarked that, Cardinal Pecci hearing his own name mentioned so often, and that everything pointed to him as the successor of Pius IX., great tears rolled down his cheeks, and his hand shook so violently that the pen it held fell to the ground. I picked it up and gave it to him, saying: 'Courage! There is no question here of you; it is the Church and the future of the world that are in question.' He made no reply, only lifting his eyes to heaven to implore the divine assistance."*

Thirty-eight votes, however, did not constitute the two-thirds majority demanded by the canons. So again the voting-papers were all burned, and again the anxious crowd

*Translated from the "Cenni Storici."

of spectators outside in the piazza dispersed, their curiosity unsatisfied.

It was now most probable that the majority in favor of the Cardinal Camerlengo would, in the session of Wednesday morning, the 20th of February, be so increased as to secure his election. If his emotion in the chapel was such, in spite of his long habits of self-command, that he could not conceal it from the eyes of his colleagues, one may guess that in the privacy of his cell he gave free vent to his tears and pleaded with his whole soul to have the bitter cup removed from him.

Another French cardinal, De Bonnechose, Archbishop of Rouen, gives us a graphic and authentic account of the Camerlengo's appearance and behavior on the morrow.

"Cardinal Pecci," he says, "to whom on the afternoon of the first day a majority of the votes were given, looked, on Wednesday morning, pale and frightened. Just before the voting began he went to one of the most revered members of the Sacred College. 'I cannot control myself,' he said; 'I must address the Sacred College. I fear that they are about to commit a sad mistake. People think I am a learned man; they credit me with possessing wisdom; but I am neither learned nor wise. They suppose I have the necessary qualities for a Pope. I have nothing of the kind. This is what I want to say to the cardinals.' Fortunately the other said to him: 'As to your learning, we, not you, can best judge of that. As to your qualifications for the Pontifical office, God knows what they are; leave it all to Him.' Cardinal Pecci obeyed him."*

The third ballot began at the appointed hour. The Cardinal Camerlengo's distress must indeed have touched his brethren deeply. It was, in their eyes, only a further evidence of his worthiness. He was, they thought, the man needed to guide the bark of Peter amid the tempest then raging—a tempest to which no human foresight could fix a term. Acknowledged superiority of learning, with

* Translated from the "Cenni Storici."

pre-eminent virtue, and experienced skill in managing diplomatic intercourse when international law and international relations were as unsettled, as changing, as complicated as the direction and currents of winds and waves in the centre of a cyclone—such were the high and rare qualities these men, assembled to elect a Pope on Wednesday morning, the 20th of February, 1878, believed Joachim Pecci to be possessed of. So, as the balloting proceeded, and he sat prostrated at first, then calmer, resigned, and prayerful, his name was announced with the same prophetic frequency till the preceding number, thirty-eight, was passed, and forty-four votes were recorded in his favor. It was more than a two-thirds majority, and left no room for further scrutiny. Will Cardinal Pecci accept? He sits mute, pale, with closed eyes, as if his spirit were far away from the place and scene.

The master of ceremonies, accompanied by the sub-dean, the senior cardinal priest and cardinal deacon, approach the seat *Number Nine*. "Do you accept the election canonically made of you as Supreme Pontiff of the Catholic Church?" asks the sub-dean amid a stillness so painful that one might almost hear one's heart beat. Cardinal Pecci rises; his whole frame shakes with uncontrollable emotion. With a quivering voice, but steadily and distinctly, he affirms his own unworthiness. But seeing them all of one mind and determined in this matter, he bows to the divine will.

The sub-dean kneels thereupon before him; the master of ceremonies claps his hands, and at this signal all the cardinals rise and remain standing in homage to the new Sovereign. Instantly all the canopies above the seats are lowered save that above the seat of the Pope-elect. The sub-dean then asks: "By what name do you wish to be called?" "By the name of Leo XIII.," is the prompt answer.

And so POPE LEO XIII. stands forth in history to begin a new era for the Church, for Catholicity, for civilization.

Let us conclude our narrative.

The prothonotary-apostolic forthwith makes a minute of these final proceedings, bearing his own signature and those of the prince-marshal, the master of ceremonies, the secretary, and assistant secretaries.*

He is next, after a short prayer at the altar, conducted behind it between the two senior cardinal deacons. There he is divested of his cardinalitial robes and clad in the traditional white vesture worn by his predecessors—cassock, cincture, rochet, hood, white berretta (or scull-cap), and stole; the scarlet stockings are replaced by white. The embroidered shoes alone are scarlet, with a golden cross. Meanwhile they have placed upon the platform of the altar the portable Papal throne—*sedia gestatoria*—and all is in readiness for the first solemn ceremony of doing homage to the newly-elected Vicar of Christ. This is called "adoration," from the Latin word *adorare*, the ceremony by which the ancient Romans testified their reverence to any superior being or person, by turning their face toward the object of their homage and carrying the right hand to the lips. Here the act of reverence shown is to the person representing on earth the Redeemer and Guide of mankind, and, indirectly, to Christ Himself.

Leo XIII., attired in the insignia of his dignity, now advances from behind the altar and takes his place on the throne. The sub-dean, in the absence of Cardinal Amat, is the first to approach the throne. He takes from the Pope's hand the sapphire cardinalitial ring and puts on his finger the Ring of the Fisherman; then he bends low and kisses the feet of His Vicar on earth who in the Last Supper washed and kissed the feet of His apostles; he then kisses the Pope's hand, while Leo in his turn gives him on both cheeks the kiss of peace. So do all the cardinals in succession, and then the officers of the conclave.

This first homage, or "adoration," over, the senior cardinal deacon, Catterini, asks the Pope's permission to an-

* This was the moment to proclaim the ending of the conclave. The new Pope, however, deferred the removing of the enclosures till the afternoon.

CHAMBERLAIN PAGE OR CHAIR BEARER PONTIFICIAL GENDARME NOBLE GUARD SWISS GUARD SWISS GUARDS. PALACE GUARD

OFFICERS AND ATTENDANTS OF THE PONTIFICIAL COURT.

nounce the election to the outside world. Ill and faint, Catterini is nevertheless too much overjoyed at the result of the election to allow any one else to fulfil the duty of first proclaiming it. There is a great crowd in the square beneath, and within St. Peter's. The old ones among them knew at what hour very nearly the morning ballot must have ended. The blue smoke had not made its appearance at the time expected: the election was then an accomplished fact, and the fever of expectancy grew and grew.

At length on the exterior loggia of St. Peter's, overlooking the square, the Papal cross appeared, with the acolytes, master of ceremonies, mace-bearers, etc., followed by Cardinal Catterini, who, amid the breathless stillness, pronounced these words:

"I announce to you tidings of great joy. We have a Pope, the Most Eminent and Most Reverend Joachim Pecci, Cardinal Priest of the title of St. Chrysogonus, who hath given himself for name LEO XIII."

At this the bells of St. Peter's rang forth a merry peal, taken up by all the churches of Rome, the tidings of the election with the name of the new Pope spreading with lightning-like rapidity through Rome, while the electric telegraph bore them as rapidly to every quarter of the globe.

No cannon thundered from the Castle Sant' Angelo—there the usurping flag of Savoy floated; and no universal illumination in the evening proclaimed the joy of the citizens. The majority of the Roman nobility did, however, illuminate their palaces, and very many of the citizens did the same, even though by so doing they were marking themselves out to the violence of the triumphant anti-clerical mob which sometimes terrorized over the government itself.

In the New World the name of Leo XIII. was hailed by Catholics with delight, with satisfaction by all. The fears of Piedmontese interference were now found to be ground-

less. And then there was the old prophecy relating to *Lumen in Cœlo*, to which even scholars, who did not believe in its authenticity, still attached, with the people, a half-belief that was not all superstition.

And, sure enough, the ancient shield of the Pecci family displays in the upper part, on an azure ground, a star shedding a stream of light on all beneath. Then there are a tall cypress, the emblem of strength and tenacity, and two flowering lilies, the symbol of sanctity and learning.

It remains to see how Leo XIII. will justify this prophetic trust.

And in Perugia—how was the news of Cardinal Pecci's election received there?

On that very morning of February 20, as on the 19th, there had been a solemn function held in the cathedral: a solemn High Mass *pro eligendo Summo Pontifice* was celebrated, in accordance with the prescriptions of the Church, to call down the light of the Holy Spirit on the electors assembled in conclave at Rome. This is the custom in all parts of the Catholic world on such occasions. While the solemn rite was carried out in Perugia, he who had passed so many years of his life in the picturesque old mediæval city was raised by the suffrages of his peers to the Supreme Pastorship. Not long after noon the whole city was startled by an official telegram from Rome announcing the elevation of their Bishop to the chair of Peter.

It was a sudden and a most joyous surprise. Instantly Monsignor Laurenzi issued a circular announcing the change to the clergy and people of Perugia.

"We perfectly understand," the auxiliary bishop said, "with what joy this providential event must fill our clergy, so long the object of his wise and loving care, and all our people, who on so many occasions and in so many ways have had opportunities to admire his rare gifts of soul, his pastoral virtues, and the exalted wisdom of his administration, whether as our civil Governor long ago, or as the Bishop of this illustrious diocese, which he loved as his

own native land, as a choice vineyard confided to his husbandry."

The local Catholic organ spoke of the event as follows:

"Our city heard with incredible joy of the exaltation of our revered Bishop to the see of St. Peter. We have witnessed unusual emotion on this occasion—tears of joy in the eyes of many; persons of every rank calling on Monsignor Laurenzi to offer their congratulations; all the bells sending forth a glad peal, and houses illuminated. They are now forming a deputation of distinguished ecclesiastics and laymen charged to go to Rome to offer the Holy Father the felicitations and best wishes of the entire city." *

On the following Sunday, February 24, in the cathedral of Perugia and all the city and country churches throughout the diocese, there was a solemn service of thanksgiving, with exposition of the Blessed Sacrament. There was need to thank God for such a Pope; but there was still greater need to beseech God to guide him and his flock through the coming storm and darkness.

* MS.

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242
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CHAPTER XX.

LEO XIII.—LUMEN IN CŒLO.

"Amen, amen I say to thee: When thou wast younger thou didst gird thyself and didst walk where thou wouldst. But when thou shalt be old, thou shalt stretch forth thy hands, and another shall gird thee, and lead thee whither thou wouldst not."—St. John xxi. 18.

THERE were not wanting in the public press, at the very moment when the civilized world was startled by the sudden election of Leo XIII., voices calling on the four Powers once recognized as Catholic—Austria, France, Spain, and Portugal—to veto the election of the new Pope; that is, not to recognize him officially.* But the ambassadors of these Powers near the Holy See were among the first, on the day after the election, to offer in the name of their respective sovereigns heartfelt homage and congratulation to the new Pontiff. From every portion of the civilized world, from every shore connected with Rome by the electric telegraph, came to the Vatican, day by day and hourly, messages of felicitation, reverence, love, and thanksgiving. The two hundred millions of Catholics who, spread all over the globe, look to the Pope as the Vicar of Christ, felt instinctively that Leo XIII. had been freely, lawfully chosen by the Sacred College, and their hearts went out to greet him at the beginning of a reign which they knew must be one of bitter trial and struggle.

Reign! What a word to use in speaking of the conditions under which the long Pontificate of Pius IX. ended and that of his successor began!

Pius, in June, 1846, was hailed by all Rome and by all Italy with such an outburst of enthusiasm as had never been witnessed before. What a scene it was when he, over whose head all thoughtful minds read in characters of light

* See Appendix D.

inextinguishable *Crux de Cruce*, gave his first solemn blessing from the historic balcony above the principal door of St. Peter's! What a delirious scene was that presented by the great square with its exultant crowds! But far more triumphant was the "progress" of Pius IX. when he was crowned and went in solemn procession through the streets of Rome to take formal possession of his cathedral, the church of St. John Lateran.

Far different must be the inaugural scenes of the pontificate of Leo XIII. Will he, can he, give his first solemn papal blessing from the accustomed place, and to the multitude assembled in the great square of St. Peter's?

A multitude did indeed assemble there early in the afternoon. But most of them wisely went into the interior of the temple itself, rightly judging that the new Pope would bless them from the interior balcony overlooking the nave of the church. There is, in fact, above the vast portico of St. Peter's a great hall coextensive in length and breadth with the porch itself, and communicating from above with the Vatican Palace. Across this hall, and in a direct line with the outward historical balcony mentioned above, is another of the same dimensions, and opening out on the nave of the Basilica.

It was toward this interior loggia that all eyes within St. Peter's were constantly turned as hour after hour passed away. The nave was densely packed up to and beyond the High Altar. A little after half-past four, just as the Canons had concluded their vesper service, there was a sudden stir in the great mass of people, a loud murmur ran along like an electric flash, and all would fain have knelt; but in the crowd this was impossible. The windows of the loggia had been thrown open, and a tall white figure appeared, surrounded by the Cardinals and members of the Papal Household. He scarcely stands and looks for an instant on this his Roman flock. Then he kneels, covering his face with his hands, and leaning on the rails of the balcony. He prays fervently and briefly. And now, rising, he stands erect, venerable with his white hair, as

white as his raiment, and his pale, ascetic features overspread with the light of a deep emotion. All at once, his voice, quivering, but clear and clarion-toned, peals forth : *Sit nomen Domini Benedictum !* "Blessed be the Name of the Lord !" The answer comes back, like the voice of many waters, from the multitude beneath, "Long live Leo XIII.!"

The next morning, February 21, the Pope, Cardinals, Prelates, together with the representatives of the Roman nobility and foreigners of distinction present in Rome, assisted in the Sistine Chapel at the singing of a solemn Te Deum of thanksgiving. In all the churches of Rome, and in most of those in Italy, the same solemn thanksgiving was also offered up. The next three or four days were also devoted by the Pope to receiving the Ambassadors of the Catholic Powers, and the congratulations of the courts. It was one of the first thoughts of Leo XIII. to write autograph letters to the Sovereigns informing them of his elevation. He was inspired also to write to the Emperors of Germany and Russia, and to the President of the Swiss Confederation, between whose governments and the Holy See diplomatic relations had been broken off or were painfully strained. This was a happy thought, which, as we shall see in the sequel, was only a first step on the road to perfect conciliation.

No official notice, however, was given of the election to the Italian Government. Nor will any reader who is acquainted with the men who have been at the head of Italian affairs during the last twenty years be surprised that Leo XIII. did not inform the Court of the Quirinal of his accession to the papal throne, when it is remembered that Signor Depretis was then Prime-Minister, and Signor Crispi Minister of the Interior.

This will account for the fact that the coronation of Leo XIII. did not take place as usual in the interior loggia of St. Peter's. Sunday, March 3, was fixed for that solemn ceremony. The Pope gave orders that all preparation should be made in St. Peter's. But on Friday, March 1, the works were stopped, the decorations and scaffoldings

were taken away. It became a question of performing the coronation in the Basilica, with closed doors, or of admitting a promiscuous crowd with the consequent risk of serious disorder. The local authorities refused to give any promise of protection.

The Pope, acting on the principle which had induced him while Camerlengo, to give the Italian officials no opportunity of interfering within the precincts of the Vatican, now determined to be crowned in the Sistine Chapel. So, on the day appointed, the solemn and stately procession took place through the vast halls of the Vatican from the papal apartments to the Pauline Chapel, where the blessed sacrament is always kept, and thence through the Sala Regia and the Sala Ducale to the Sistine. Precisely because the Piedmontese masters of Rome would not recognize in the Pope any but a nominal Sovereignty, Leo XIII. resolved that, although imprisoned within the Vatican, he should omit not a single portion of the time-honored ceremonial used in crowning his long line of predecessors. From the Pauline he was borne aloft in the *Sedia Gestatoria*, or portable throne, between the gorgeous eastern *flabelli* or fans, surrounded by his full court, and escorted by the Noble and Swiss Guards. The historical flax was thrice in succession lifted on high and burned before him, while a chaplain chanted, "Holy Father, thus passeth the glory of the world." To Leo XIII.'s serious and prophetic mind there was no need of recalling how often in the past the temporal glory of the Papacy had seemed to die out as suddenly and totally as the flash of yonder flame. But he also knew that the glory of the papal sovereignty had not been buried for ever in the Catacombs with Sixtus or Callistus, nor eclipsed for ever in exile and captivity with Gregory VII. or the Sixth and Seventh Pius.

And he had already set his heart on first raising the honor and influence of the Papacy to a height never yet attained in modern ages, and thus preparing the way to the restoration of that Temporal Power without which

sovereignty is an empty shadow, and the sovereign freedom of the Pope in his spiritual government an impossibility in the present state of the world.

He sang himself the Pontifical Mass in the Sistine in presence of the Diplomatic Body accredited to the Vatican, Cardinal Mertel placing on the shoulders of the kneeling Pontiff, as he first approached the altar, the pallium, symbol of the fullness of the priesthood. And the Mass ended, the same Cardinal placed on the Pope's head the golden tiara, with the words: "Receive the tiara with its three crowns; and know that thou art father over princes and kings, the ruler of the world, the Vicar on earth of the Saviour, our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom belong honor and glory for ever and ever." As the papal choir and the whole body of worshipers in the Chapel sang the answering Amen, the bells of St. Peter's pealed forth their music, and were at once joined by all the bells of Rome.

When the Pope had laid aside the pontifical vestments, he received, as is customary on such occasions, the homage of the Sacred College. Cardinal di Pietro, the sub-dean, in the name of his colleagues renewed the oath and the promises of fealty made in conclave on the day of the election, and then in a brief address expressed their common sentiments toward the new Sovereign. "Behold, we shall be thy mouth and thy flesh," he said, in the words of Scripture. The Pope answered in terms of deep humility, saying that the very rites they had just fulfilled impressed him more and more with the sublimity of the station to which they had raised him, and made him continually repeat, with King David, "Who am I, O Lord God, that Thou has brought me unto this?"

When night came there was a spontaneous illumination. All classes of the true Romans, the old population of the city, as distinguished from the masses whom the Government had invited or encouraged to come to Rome from all parts of Italy, lit up their windows. The palaces of the nobles were especially conspicuous on this occasion. But the men who had resolved that the Papal coronation

should not be performed with the usual solemnities in St. Peter's were on the lookout for this manifestation of Catholic feeling. They soon had well-organized bands in all the streets, provided with stones, and smashing every window in every house they could reach and that dared to show a single taper or lamp. The palaces along the Corso fared ill on that night. The police were there; but the police took care to encourage the rioters by exhorting them "not to go too far." It is sufficient to know that the Minister of the Interior was then the notorious Crispi.

On the 4th of March, the very day after his coronation, Leo XIII. completed the work which Pius IX. had been prevented by death from finishing: he promulgated the bull *Ex Supremo Apostolatus Apice*, reconstituting the Catholic hierarchy in Scotland. This work of reconstruction seemed, as he expresses it in his exquisite Latin, "a happy omen with which to begin the exercise of the Supreme Pastorate, which we have taken on ourself with fear and trembling amid the calamities of the present times." It is with extreme satisfaction that, remembering the history of the ancient see of St. Andrew's, Leo XIII. "recalls it from the tomb and bestows on it metropolitan rank, with the title of the See of Edinburgh." In his first consistorial allocution, on the 28th of the same month, the Pope again alludes to the restoration of the Scottish hierarchy. "We trust," he says, "that the work thus brought to an end by the Holy See shall be productive of abundant fruit, and that, through the intercession of the patron saints of Scotland, the mountains in that country shall put on peace for the people, and the hills righteousness."

Did the watchful eyes of the Common Father not look beyond the shores of Scotland and the isles blessed by Columbkille long ago to that kindred land from which, in Europe's darkest days, light, righteousness, and the peace of the Gospel had come for both Scotland and England, for the adjoining Continent, for the mountains above St. Gall and Lake Constance, for the Ligurian hills where Bobbio arose around the monastery of St. Columbanus?

Can he, Leo XIII., *will* he bring back peace with justice to the Green Isle so unspeakably dear to both Columbkille and Columbanus? We shall see.

On the 11th of that same month, amid all the anxieties and occupations which pressed upon him, Leo XIII. found time to reply, with more even than his wonted warmth, to a society founded in Paris for the protection and encouragement of young artisans. It was the creation of a man well known to the author, one of those simply heroic Christians who find it quite natural to devote themselves in life to the most arduous self-denial and self-sacrifice for the good of others, and who face imprisonment and death in the performance of duty with the calm intrepidity of souls that never knew either guilt or fear. This was Father Olivaint, one of the victims or "hostages" of the Paris Commune.

He and his brethren had done wonders to save the working men and women of the French capital from the temptations of poverty, as well as from ignorance, vice, and the meshes of the socialistic organizations. When Olivaint fell, and his brethren were expelled in 1880 from their own houses, they either remained in obscurity and isolation near the scene of their labors, so as to continue their noble work, or other noble men took it up after them.

It was work such as Leo XIII. sympathized with from the bottom of his soul; for he had been careful in Perugia, and indeed wherever he had labored, to watch tenderly over the interests, material as well as spiritual, of the children of toil. And this most fatherly solicitude for the welfare of the laboring classes all over the world has inspired some of his most magnificent encyclical letters, as we shall soon see.

A month later the Pope wrote another beautiful letter to Prince Eugene de Caraman-Chimay, who, with many of his brother-noblemen, were devoting themselves in Belgium to found and promote societies in aid of workingmen. In France there was no less activity in this direction on the part of distinguished laymen, and Leo XIII. seized upon every occasion to praise and bless their exertions. How

needed were the efforts of the noble sons and the praise of the parent the world will soon see.

In truth, as we shall have occasion to observe in a future chapter, his great mind had long before clearly perceived the utility and necessity of reviving in our age and in every civilized land associations of workingmen and tradesmen after the model of the free labor guilds of the early and later Christian ages, of those of Italy in particular, which had in very truth been the creators of that glorious Italy which the Revolution is now fain to destroy.*

We have just mentioned Leo XIII.'s first consistorial allocution, pronounced on March 28. Many things contributed to make this discourse remarkable apart from its being the first solemn utterance of the new Pontiff. His former colleagues in the Sacred College and brothers in the pastoral office were well acquainted with the scholarly accomplishments of Cardinal Pecci. But these, great and unquestioned as they were, could only be accounted a secondary merit. They had raised him by their suffrages to the Chair of Peter in the most evil days known since those of Nero or Julian the Apostate, because of the magnificent administrative abilities of which he had afforded so many and such splendid proofs as Bishop of Perugia from 1846 till 1878. They placed on him, well-nigh a septuagenarian, the triple crown, because they firmly believed that he, in the necessarily few years he could rule the Church, would

* The *Riforma* of Rome, the organ of Signor Crispi and the revolutionary party in Italy—the organ, in fact, of what we have designated in this volume as the *Occult Force*—published on March 9, 1886, an editorial article containing a plan for the complete destruction of the Church in Italy, and quite identical with that which is now so effectually carried out in France: "To array the inferior clergy against their superiors; to take away in every parish, village, and hamlet the influence and authority of the priest, and transfer them to the atheistical schoolmaster and schoolmistress; to take the complete control of ecclesiastical revenues of every kind, so that no parish priest, no clerical functionary shall receive a penny save from the hand of the government." Such is the Italian *Kulturkampf*. The letter of Hermann Grimm in the *Deutsche Randau* on the "Destruction of Rome" points to another part of this campaign against Christianity, Christian art, and civilization, and they are putting it into execution with right hearty zeal!

guide her bark safely through the fierce storm that raged around it, through the breakers which beset it on every side.

In 1888 we see how gloriously their expectations and trust are realized. But we may not anticipate. It is right that we should give ear to the beautiful words of wisdom addressed to the Sacred College and to the Christian world on that 28th of March:

"VENERABLE BROTHERS: When your suffrages called us last month to take on ourselves the government of the universal Church, and to fill on earth the place of the Prince of pastors, Christ Jesus, we did indeed feel our soul moved by the deepest perplexity and perturbation. On the one hand we were filled with great fear by the sincere conviction of our own unworthiness, as well as by our utter inability to support so great a burden; and this sense of infirmity was all the more increased by the remembrance of how much the fame of our predecessor . . . shone the brighter and more glorious through the whole earth. That great ruler of the Catholic fold had always contended for truth and justice with such invincible courage, and had labored so long and with such exemplary fidelity in administering the affairs of the Christian world, that he not only shed a lustre on this Apostolic See, but filled the whole Church with love and admiration for his person, thereby perhaps excelling all his predecessors in the high and constant testimonies of public respect and veneration paid to him, as he surpassed them all by the length of his Pontificate.

"On the other hand, we were filled with deep anxiety by the very sad state, in our days, of civil society almost everywhere, as well as of the Catholic Church itself, and especially of this Apostolic See, which, violently stripped of its temporal sovereignty, is reduced to a condition in which it can in no wise enjoy the full, free, and unimpeded use of its power.

"Such, Venerable Brothers, were the reasons which moved us to refuse the proffered honor of the Pontificate. But how could we resist the divine will, which was

so manifest in the unanimity of your decision, and in that most loving solicitude felt by you for the sole interest of the Catholic Church, urging you to elect, as soon as possible, a Sovereign Pontiff?

"We, therefore, deemed it our duty to take on ourselves the office of the Supreme Apostleship, and to yield to the will of God, placing our whole trust in Him, with the hope that He who had imposed on us the high dignity would also give to our lowliness the strength to sustain it.

"As this is the first time it is allowed us to address your Eminences from this place, we desire first of all solemnly to assure you that in the fulfilment of the service of our apostolate we shall have nothing so much at heart as to bestow all our care, with the help of God's grace, in sacredly guarding the deposit of the Catholic faith, in watching faithfully over the rights and interests of the Church and the Holy See, and in laboring for the salvation of all; ever ready, for all these purposes, to undergo any fatigue, to draw back from no discomfort. . . .

"In the discharge of these duties of our ministry we trust that we shall never lack the benefit of your counsels and your wisdom—nay, we ardently beseech you never to allow them to fail us. And in saying this we wish you to understand that it is not a mere expression of official courtesy, but a solemn declaration of our affectionate desire. For we are deeply impressed by what the Holy Scripture relates of Moses—that, namely, when recoiling from the weighty responsibility of governing a whole people, he, by God's own command, called to his aid seventy men from among the ancients of Israel, in order to have them bear the burden with him, and thus to make them, by their help and counsel, lighten his cares in governing the people of Israel. This is the example which we, who have been made the guide and ruler of the entire Christian people, in spite of our unworthiness, set before our eyes; wherefore we cannot refrain from seeking and finding in you the seventy men of all Israel in the Church of God, a help in our labors, a comfort in our cares.

"We know, moreover, as the word of God declares, that there is safety where there are many counsels; we know that, as the Council of Trent admonishes us, that the administration of the universal Church depends on the counsels given to the Roman Pontiff by the College of Cardinals; we learn, finally, from St. Bernard, that the cardinals are called the Pontiff's colleagues and counsellors. And therefore it is that we, who for nearly twenty-five years have enjoyed the honors of your order, have brought with us to this sovereign seat not only a heart full of affection and zeal for you, but the firm resolve to use chiefly those who were formerly our associates in rank as our fellow-laborers and advisers in transacting ecclesiastical affairs.

"And now a most happy and timely occurrence permits us to share with you the first sweet fruit of consolation which our Lord permits us to gather from the first great work accomplished for the glory of religion. Our saintly predecessor, Pius IX., in his great zeal for the Catholic cause, had undertaken what such of you as belong to the Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith had definitely decreed—to re-establish the episcopal hierarchy in the illustrious kingdom of Scotland, and thereby add a new lustre to that Church; this we have been able to bring, with the divine aid, to a happy termination by the apostolic letters (bull) which we had published on the 4th of this month.

"It was indeed to us a subject of holy joy that in so doing we were fulfilling the ardent wishes of our dearly beloved, the clergy and faithful people of Scotland, of whose great devotion to the Catholic Church and the Chair of Peter we have many striking proofs. We therefore hope sincerely that the work thus accomplished by the Apostolic See shall be crowned with happy results, and that, through the intercession of the patron saints of Scotland, throughout the length and breadth of the kingdom 'the mountains shall put on peace for the people, and the hills righteousness.' . . ."*

* "Leonis XIII. Pont. Max. Acta," vol. i. pp. 37–41.

Such was Leo XIII.'s first official utterance from the Apostolic Throne.

On the 21st of April appeared his first encyclical letter, *Inscrutabili*, on the evils which torment society in Christian countries and endanger its very existence, as well as on their causes and their remedy.

It foreshadowed all the teachings of the magnificent series of encyclicals which were to issue in succession from his pen. He seemed to feel, while penning this first great doctrinal epistle, that the burden of old age was heavy on him, as well as the terrible load of care imposed by his charge. He therefore put all his thought and strength into this first letter, warning, with the voice and the authority of a prophet, governments and peoples of the fearful causes of social disaster and ruin which were at work in their midst.

Every word and act of Leo XIII. had, during the first month after his election, been watched with a keen if not with a friendly interest by the liberal press of Italy and all Continental Europe. The rumor had been industriously circulated that he had made up his mind, if not to depart entirely from the line of policy pursued by Pius IX., at least to modify it deeply.

The Italian revolutionists identified, or pretended to identify, the wholesale political, legislative, and irreligious changes which they had brought about in the Peninsula with what in other lands was called "progress" and "modern civilization." They wished the Pope, and all Catholics with him, to accept the usurpation of the States of the Church, the occupation of Rome, the suppression of the Religious Orders, the sequestration of Church property, the laws on matrimony, on education, and those even which degraded the priesthood and deprived both the Pope and the bishops of the liberty essential to their office, as the natural consequence of the development of that "modern civilization," and, by accepting "accomplished facts" as done and over, to be reconciled with the existing state of things.

This iniquitous and impossible "reconciliation" Pius IX. had denounced, exposed, and stigmatized with an eloquence and a truth which commended themselves to the judgment of all real statesmen, sound politicians, and true Christians. Just as well, in the days of Mohammed II., had the Turks succeeded in conquering Vienna and Rome, and with them the Austrian Empire and the Italian Peninsula, could the victor have demanded of the then existing Pope to accept the change of governments as "progress," and have expected the Church to become reconciled to the Koran and to such toleration and liberty as Constantinople met with in 1450, and Seville and Toledo in 715.

It was persistently asserted, and was believed in some quarters, that Leo XIII. would yield to the force of events and endeavor to devise a *modus vivendi* with the masters of Rome and Italy.

So, in spite of the formal and solemn declarations to the contrary contained in the Pope's first allocution, in spite of the confirmatory statements to be found in other utterances of his, the liberal press still continued their tactics of contrasting the new Pontiff's moderation of mind, high culture, liberality of sentiment, and knowledge of modern society and its exigencies with the "unyielding and uncompromising" spirit and temper of his predecessor. They were impatiently expecting the first encyclical, which, like the discourse of a prime minister at the opening of Parliament, or the first message to Congress of a newly elected American president, is taken as a programme of his future policy.

The encyclical at length appeared, dated on Easter Sunday, the 21st of April, 1878, and it did show in the most remarkable manner that Leo XIII. had a perfect "knowledge of modern society and its exigencies," a thorough insight into Christian civilization, its principles and benefits to mankind. But it wofully disappointed all who fancied or hoped that a Pope could reconcile the revealed truth of which he is the divinely appointed guardian, the righteous

ness, justice, and divine morality which flow from the revealed law of life, with the awful errors, the unbridled licentiousness of thought and word and deed, the iniquity and the immorality, which are cloaked over by their pretended civilization.

If we have been able in the preceding chapters to convey to the reader the conviction or the impression that Joachim Pecci, while Bishop of Perugia, in giving to his people the magnificent instructions mentioned by us, was giving them the light of revealed truth as he conceived it, and dealing out to them full draughts of Christian wisdom, the philosophy which builds up and perfects and preserves states, then we shall find the same light shining now with greater splendor. From the hill-top on which is throned Perugia the zealous bishop could only speak to Umbria, or at most to Italy. From the sublime elevation of the Chair of Peter, Leo XIII. speaks with authority to all mankind; the light imparted by his teaching illuminates both hemispheres.

We say it with the deepest and most intense conviction of the truth of what we say, that in defending Catholic truth, the institutions and morals of Christian society, Leo XIII. defends the dearest, deepest, most vital and sacred interests of every *Protestant country* on the face of the globe, the essential liberty, morality, and happiness of every Protestant home in existence.

Once more we affirm it: the battle which is now raging in Italy and in Spain, in France and Germany and Belgium, in Great Britain and even in our own United States, is not so much a battle against Catholicism as the most powerful, wide-spread, compact, and ancient form of Christianity, as against *Christianity itself*, against the very notion of religion, the very existence of social order, the very foundations of that glorious civilization which has given to Europe the leadership of the world.

If any man doubt this, then let him read this first encyclical letter of Leo XIII. We can only give a few extracts. But these will satisfy the earnest and the can-

did-minded that the world has rarely heard such eloquent and pregnant lessons fall even from the Chair of Peter. It is addressed in the usual form to all the bishops of the Catholic world, by the Supreme Pastor to his fellow-laborers in the fold of Christ:*

"As soon as, by an inscrutable design of God, we were, albeit unworthy, raised to the sublime height of this apostolic dignity, we felt impelled by a strong desire and by a kind of necessity to address you by letter, not only for the purpose of expressing our heartfelt affection for you, but for that of discharging the duty of our divinely entrusted office by encouraging you—you who are called to bear a part in our care—to continue with us the battle for the Church of God and the salvation of souls.

"From the very beginning of our Pontificate we have before our eyes the sad spectacle of the evils which assail mankind from every side. There is a wide-spread subversion of the cardinal truths on which the very foundations of human society repose. There is a wicked disposition of men's minds which is impatient of all lawful power. There is a perpetual foment of dissension, begetting internal strife, cruel and bloody wars. There is a contempt of the laws of morality and justice, an insatiable yearning for the transitory goods of earth, and a forgetfulness of the eternal, carried to the insane pitch of causing so many unhappy persons to lay violent hands on themselves. There is an inconsiderate administration, a squandering, an upsetting of the public property and revenues; and there is the brazen impudence of men who, when they deceive their fellows most, make them believe that they are the promoters of patriotism, of liberty, of right of every kind. There is, in fine, a pestilential virus which creeps into the vital organs and members of human society, which allows them no rest, and which forebodes for the social order new revolutions ending in calamitous results."

* An encyclical letter, like a papal bull, is always designated by the two or three first words. This is termed the encyclical *Inscrutabili*.

No one who is at all acquainted with the social condition of the civilized world but will admit the truth of this diagnosis. Now, what is the nature, what the source of this universal distemper?

"As to the cause of all these evils, we are persuaded that it lies principally in this: that men have despised and rejected the holy and august authority of the Church, which, in the name of God, is placed over the human race and is the avenger and protector of all legitimate authority. The enemies of public order were fully persuaded of this when they found no means of destroying society to its foundations so efficacious as persistent attacks on the Church of God, by assailing her with the weapons of shameless calumny, by odiously accusing her of being the enemy of true civilization, by daily damaging her authority and influence in some new way, and subverting the supreme power of the Roman Pontiff, who is the asserter and protector on earth of the eternal and unchangeable interests of goodness and righteousness.

"Hence the origin of these laws which overturn the divine constitution of the Catholic Church, and which we lament to see in vigor in most countries; hence came the contempt of episcopal authority, the obstacles opposed to the free exercise of the ecclesiastical ministry, the destruction of religious communities, and the public sale of the property which supported the ministers of the Church and fed the poor; hence came the withdrawing from the salutary control of the Church of the public institutions of charity and beneficence; hence sprang the unbridled liberty of teaching and publishing all manner of evil, while, on the other hand, the right of the Church to train and to educate the young is violated and suppressed. Nor is any other purpose to be found for the usurpation of the civil principality which Providence conferred, many ages ago, on the Bishop of Rome, to enable him to exercise freely, without let or hindrance, the power given him by Christ for the eternal salvation of the race."

To be sure, some of our non-Catholic readers will not,

perhaps, be ready to grant that the primal and chief source of modern social evils springs from the successful conspiracy organized against the Catholic Church and her institutions, especially against the Papacy and the Temporal Power. But, unfortunately for their view of this great question, we have the recorded utterances of the head-conspirators themselves—of Weishaupt and Frederick II. and Voltaire, without mentioning so many others of the so-called "philosophers" of the last century—of the recognized leaders of the sceptic, rationalistic, scientific, and socialistic schools of the present age. They now proclaim it openly in France, in Belgium, in Germany, in Switzerland, as well as in Italy, where they have carried out to the letter the old programme of the anti-Christian leagues.

They are not afraid of Protestantism, because it is not a unit like the Catholic Church, and because the Protestant sects, with their Bible and proselytizing societies, are useful and energetic allies in battering down the bulwark of the common enemy—the Church of Rome.

None the less true is it that all the forces of infidelity and revolution are marshalled against Christianity as embodied in that grand old Church. And equally evident is it that as in Perugia, so in Rome and from his seat of authority in the Vatican, he whom we call Leo XIII. leads to battle the forces of those who fight for Christ and revelation and social order.

In addressing himself to the Catholic hierarchy, dispersed all over the globe, he does not, he says, mean to sadden them by depicting the sad social condition of Christian peoples, but clearly to point out to them toward what purpose their common zeal must be chiefly directed.

And then, as if to furnish them a rich theme for the instruction to be given to their flocks, intellectual weapons for the campaign which he wishes them to begin against the enemies of order and humanity, he sketches true civilization with a masterly hand:

"It is well known and self-evident that we cannot conceive of a community in which true civilization is not based

on the everlasting principles of truth and the immutable laws of rectitude and justice, and in which men's hearts are not united by sincere love, and where such love does not sweetly regulate the interchange of duties and relations.

"Now, who will dare to deny that it is the Church, which, by preaching the Gospel to the nations, has borne the light of truth into the midst of savage races plunged in hideous superstition, and has thereby led them to acknowledge the Divine Author of the world and to reform their lives? that it was the Church which did away with the miseries of slavery and lifted up mankind once more to their sublime native dignity? that she it was who, planting the sign of redemption on every shore, brought thither at the same time or took under her protection the sciences and the arts, founded and fostered the admirable institutions of charity in which every form of suffering was assuaged, and everywhere instructed and elevated the populations, delivered them from squalid poverty, and labored in every way to make them live in a manner suitable to the dignity of human nature and to its hoped-for destinies?

"If any sensible man in our day will compare the age in which we live, so bitterly hostile to the religion and Church of Christ, to those blessed ages when the Church was honored as a mother by the nations, he will surely find that the society of our day, so convulsed by revolutions and destructive upheavals, is moving straightway and rapidly toward its ruin; while the society of the former ages, when most docile to the rule of the Church and most obedient to her laws, was adorned with the noblest institutions and enjoyed tranquillity, riches, and prosperity. If the many blessings which we have enumerated, springing as they did from the ministrations and salutary labors of the Church, are the characteristic works and ornaments of true civilization, then, far from being averse to it or repelling it, the Church of Christ, on the contrary, claims that to her belongs the glory of having given birth to it, nursed and developed it.

"More than that, the kind of social civilization which

is so hostile to the doctrines and laws of the Church is found to be only a hollow imitation of the reality, a mere name without the substance. You have the proof of this in the peoples on whom the light of the Gospel never shone, in whose manner of living there appeared, indeed, a certain false semblance of true civilization, but the solid and substantial fruits of its culture were not there.

"Assuredly that is not to be deemed the perfection of civilized life which boldly contemns all lawful power; nor is that to be esteemed liberty whose wretched progress is marked by the unrepressed propagation of error, by the unbridled gratification of evil desires, by the impunity allowed to guilt and crime, and by the oppression which weighs on good citizens of every rank. All these are wrong, are bad, are absurd, and cannot, therefore, avail to perfect the human race or to bless it with prosperity, for *sin maketh nations miserable;** on the contrary, they must, by corrupting both minds and hearts, drag down by their very weight nations into every crime, ruin all order, and at length bring the condition and peace of a commonwealth to extreme and certain destruction.

"Now, if we consider the labors of the Papacy, what can be more unjust than to deny the great and glorious services rendered to the whole civilized world by the Bishops of Rome? Our predecessors, in securing the good of the nations, never hesitated to face struggles of every kind, to undergo any amount of labor, to expose themselves to bitter troubles. With their eyes fixed on heaven, they did not quail before the threats of the wicked, nor allow either flattery or bribes to elicit from them an assent which would prove them to be degenerate and unworthy of their office.

"It was this Apostolic See which collected and built up together again the remains of ancient society fallen asunder; it was the Apostolic See in whose friendly beacon-light shone forth the civilization of the Christian ages; it

* Proverbs xiv. 34. The Protestant Version says: "Sin is a reproach to any people."

was the anchor of salvation which held the bark of humanity amid all the fearful storms that assailed it; it was the sacred tie of concord through which the most widely separated nations, and the most opposed in their manners and customs, were bound together in one great society; it was, finally, the common centre at which the nations sought not only the doctrine of faith and religion, but the means to bring about peace and the wise counsels for administering their affairs.

"Why say so much? It was the glory of the Popes that they placed themselves, with inflexible constancy, like a wall and a bulwark to prevent human society from falling back into the ancient superstition and savagery.

"Would to God that this salutary authority had never been neglected or repudiated! Then, assuredly, civil sovereignty itself would not have lost that august and sacred character which religion had bestowed upon it, and which alone gave to the obedience of the subject its worth and nobility; nor should we have witnessed so many rebellions and wars which have filled the earth with blood and misery; nor would realms formerly most prosperous and powerful be now fallen down to the depths of helplessness and oppressed by calamities of every kind. An example of this is afforded by the Eastern peoples, who, breaking asunder the sweet ties which bound them to this Apostolic See, have forfeited the splendor of their primitive glory, their fame for the culture of the arts and sciences, and their rank among the nations."

The Pope here enumerates the special benefits for which ungrateful Italy is indebted to the Papacy. He points to the great names shining like stars of the first magnitude along the illustrious line of his predecessors—great, good, and glorious Pontiffs, who were the parents and protectors of Italy and the benefactors of the human race. "This great city itself, the seat of these Pontiffs, bears witness to the countless benefits conferred by them; it became the strong citadel of the faith, the refuge of all the arts of civilization, the abode of wisdom, winning for itself the admira-

tion and reverence of the whole world. As the greatness of all these services is recorded for eternal remembrance in the monuments of history, it is easy to understand that only by bitter hatred and unworthy falsehood, uttered for the purpose of deceiving the unwary, and published from pulpit and press, could this Apostolic See have been represented as an obstacle to the civilization of Italy or to the happiness of her peoples.

"If, therefore, the hopes of Italy and of the Christian world are founded on the influence attached to the authority of the Holy See, an influence so salutary for the advantage and welfare of all; if they also are placed in that close bond of union by which all Christ's faithful people are held in communion with the Roman Pontiff, no duty for us is greater than to maintain secure and inviolate the dignity of the Roman Chair, than to strengthen more and more the connection of the members with their Head, of the children with their Parent.

"Wherefore, first of all, in order to assert in the only way now possible the rights and the liberty of this Holy See, we declare that we shall never cease to contend for the full obedience due to our authority, for the removal of all obstacles put in the way of the full and free exercise of our ministry and power, and for our restoration to that condition of things in which the provident design of the Divine Wisdom had formerly placed the Roman Pontiffs.

"And in demanding such restoration we are moved by no ambition, no desire of domination, but only by the best interests of our office and by the sacred oaths we have taken; and, besides, not only because the civil sovereignty is necessary for the protecting and preserving of the full liberty of the spiritual power, but because, moreover—a thing in itself evident—whenever there is question of the temporal principality of the Holy See, then the interests of the public good and the salvation of the whole of human society are involved.

"Hence it is that in the fulfilment of our duty, which obliges us to defend the rights of holy Church, we renew

HIS HOLINESS TAKING RECREATION IN THE GARDEN OF THE VATICAN.

and confirm by this letter all the declarations and protestations which our predecessor, Pius IX., issued and reiterated both against the occupation of his civil principality and against the violation of the rights belonging to the Roman Church.

"At the same time we address ourselves to sovereigns and to those who are the supreme rulers of states, and implore them again and again, in the august name of the Most High God, not to reject at this needful time the aid offered them by the Church, and that they unite in friendly zeal in favor of that great source of authority and salvation, and seek to be united to her more and more by the ties of hearty love and reverence.

"God grant that, discovering the truth of what we have been saying, and being themselves convinced that the doctrine of Christ, as Augustine was wont to say, *is a mighty safeguard to the state when it finds obedient observance*,* and that in the safety of the Church and dutiful obedience to her are to be found the interests of the public surety and tranquillity, they would bestow their thought and care in alleviating the evils which afflict the Church and her visible Head! Thereby would it come to pass that the peoples whom they govern, entering on the paths of justice and peace, would enjoy a golden age of prosperity and glory." †

Such was the impressive appeal to the governments of our day, reminding them that those who had the temerity to touch and to change the great principles on which the God whom all Christians adore has established the Christian order in society were moving the foundations of the earth, letting loose the earthquake, the whirlwind, and the flame, and opening up an abyss in which peoples and rulers will be surely engulfed.

He therefore adjures them by the august name of the Most High God to listen to the warning words of the Vicar of Christ. It was the warning of a prophet.

Then, remembering that the family is the organic ele-

* Ep. 138, alias 5 ad Marcellinum, n. 5. † "Acta," vol. i. pp. 44–52.

ment from which the state springs; that domestic society is the nursery in which, together with all Christian virtues, are fostered all the solid and noble qualities and habits which alone make great citizens; that on the Christian training of children from their tender years must spring, as the ripe and full fruit from the flower, the education—Christian in its aims, its principles, and its methods—which is the formative force of the modern world, he thus addresses himself to the bishops on the family, its institutions and its education:

"In the next place, desiring to draw more closely day by day the bonds which unite the entire Catholic flock with the Supreme Pastor, we here address ourselves to you, Venerable Brothers, with especial affection, and earnestly beseech you to display your priestly zeal and pastoral vigilance in kindling in the souls of your people the love of our holy religion, in order that they may thereby become more closely and heartily attached to this chair of truth and justice, accept all its teachings with the deepest assent of mind and will, and unhesitatingly reject all opinions, even the most wide-spread, which they know to be in opposition to the doctrines of the Church.

"On this point the Roman Pontiffs who have come before us, and, last of all, Pius IX., of saintly memory, especially in the Council of the Vatican, had present to their minds the words of St. Paul: *Beware lest any man cheat you by philosophy and vain deceit according to the tradition of men, according to the elements of the world, and not according to Christ;** hence they lost no needful opportunity to condemn spreading errors and mark them with the apostolic censure. All these condemnations we, following the example of our predecessors, confirm and renew from this apostolic seat of truth, beseeching fervently, at the same time, the Father of lights that all the faithful, being perfectly of 'one accord and agreeing in sentiment,' should be of one mind with us and speak the same thing.

* Colossians ii. 8.

"Your duty it is, Venerable Brothers, to bestow unremitting care on scattering the seeds of the heavenly doctrines broadcast over the field of the Lord; to make Catholic teaching penetrate, in good time, into the minds of the faithful; to plant it deeply there, and to keep it safe from admixture with corrupt doctrines. The more active the enemies of religion are to teach the unlearned, the young especially, what clouds their intellect and corrupts their morals, the more should you exert yourselves to establish not only a well-adapted and solid method of instruction, but a method in every way, both in letters and in discipline, in conformity with the Catholic faith, especially as regards mental philosophy, on which the right teaching of all the other sciences depends in a great measure—a philosophy such as shall prepare the way for divine revelation instead of aiming at overturning it; which shall defend revealed truth, as in their writings did the great Augustine, the Angelic Doctor, and the other teachers of Christian wisdom.

"The best way of training youth, however—that which conduces to preserve the integrity of both faith and morals—should begin from early childhood and in the Christian home. Unhappily, the Christian family in our times has been sadly disturbed, and can only recover its proper dignity by being governed by the laws under which it was placed in the Church by the Divine Author of both. By raising the matrimonial contract, in which He willed us to see the sign of His own union with the Church, to the dignity of a sacrament, He not only sanctified the union of husband and wife, but also provided most efficient helps for both parents and children to fulfil their mutual and respective duties, and thereby the more easily attain to everlasting life and the happiness of the present.

"But impious laws, taking no account of the sacredness of this great sacrament, placed it on the same level as all merely civil contracts; and the deplorable result has been that citizens, desecrating the holy dignity of marriage, have lived in legal concubinage instead of Christian matrimony;

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the married pair have violated the fidelity pledged to each other; the children born to them have refused them obedience; and, what is most scandalous and most baneful to public morality, very often unhallowed love was followed by fatal quarrels. All these unhappy and deplorable results must move your zeal to warn your faithful peoples assiduously and fervently to have a reverent regard for the doctrine of the Church on holy matrimony, and to observe scrupulously the laws of the Church regulating the mutual duties of parents and children.

"From this we shall obtain one blessed fruit—that every member of Christian society will reform his own conduct and outward manner of living. The decayed or degenerate trunk of a tree puts forth shoots that are worse still and bear unhappy fruit. So does the moral evil which infects the tree of domestic life become a contagion which communicates its virus to the community and yields a baneful harvest for public life.

"On the contrary, where Christian families are governed by the law of Christ, all their members are habituated by degrees to cherish religion and piety, to look with horror on false and pernicious doctrines, to practise virtue, to obey their superiors, and to control that tendency to self-seeking which is the root of human degeneracy and degradation.

"Toward this purpose not a little help will be found in the proper encouragement and direction of the pious associations which have sprung up in our day to the great benefit of Catholic interests.

"These are lofty objects, requiring superhuman efforts, which we hope and wish to see realized. But God has made the nations of the earth susceptible of healing, since He founded the Church for the salvation of mankind, and promised that His help should not fail her to the end of time; we therefore firmly trust that by working together we shall enable the human race, warned by so many evils and calamities, to seek for salvation and prosperity in obedience to the Church and in listening to the infallible teaching of this Apostolic Chair."*

* Ibidem.

A few months later Leo XIII. will seize an opportunity for outlining his doctrinal plan: "From the very first days of our pontificate, and from the elevation of the Apostolic Chair, we turned our eyes toward the society of our day, to ascertain its condition, investigate its needs, and to counsel the remedial measures. . . ."

And what principally arrested the Pontiff's attention? ". . . The waning of truth—not only of the truths of the supernatural order which are known by the light of faith, but of natural truth, both speculative and practical; the prevalence of the most baneful errors, . . . disorders everywhere increasing. . . .

"The most potent cause of such moral ruin is the separation, the attempted apostasy, of actual society from Christ and from His Church, in which alone resides the virtue sufficient to repair all the enormous evils done it."

The conviction that, under God, the Church alone established by Him was able to cope with the manifold evils which were desolating society, makes him, almost at the outset, renew the solemn protest of Pius IX. on his death-bed against the usurpers of the temporal principality of the Holy See. Then he unfolds his plan for combating the dominant anti-social errors.

CHAPTER XXI.

LEO XIII. FACE TO FACE WITH ANTICHRIST IN ROME.

TO Cardinal Simeoni, who had been Pius IX.'s last and trusted Secretary of State, Leo XIII. had substituted, on March 5, Cardinal Alexander Franchi, for several years the prefect of the Congregation de Propaganda Fide, in one respect the most important charge in the Church. The new Secretary of State, whose position at the head of the Propaganda had brought him into personal contact with the bishops of four-fifths of the globe, and who was thoroughly acquainted with the affairs of all the churches outside of Italy, Spain, and France, was a man of singular ability. His vast experience, his quick tact, sure judgment, and amiable disposition enabled him to overcome obstacles and to settle difficulties which had defied all the skill and labor of others.

The choice of such a man was full of promise to English-speaking Catholics, with whose political and religious condition he was well acquainted. He, like all friends of humanity and social progress in the Three Kingdoms, desired to see Ireland pacified. In the beginning of September, 1876, Cardinal Franchi visited Ireland by order of Pius IX., and was present at the opening of the diocesan seminary of Holy Cross, Clonliffe, on September 14, and at an anniversary celebration in honor of O'Connell. What he then saw of the country, its people, and its religious establishments, made on him a favorable impression.

As Secretary of State he could have greatly helped Leo XIII. in furtherance of his plan to rally all civilized Powers to the support of the Church, by establishing friendly relations with the British Government. His first cares

were bestowed in opening up negotiations with the Emperors of Germany and Turkey. He had, while filling an extraordinary mission in Constantinople in 1871, rendered great service to the Church by sustaining and directing the Patriarch Hassoun in the latter's struggle with his schismatic countrymen. He now resolved to second the Holy Father in his generous policy of conciliation toward the Eastern peoples. But he died on July 31, 1878, expressing in his last moments his regret at not being able to see the result of the communications begun with the Court of Berlin. Leo XIII. had just initiated him in his grand plan for advancing among the nations the cause of Christ, of His Church, of society and civilization, as against all their united and powerful enemies in our day.

Cardinal Lorenzo Nina was chosen to succeed Cardinal Franchi. To set at rest at once and for ever all doubts and hypotheses about his principles and policy, Leo XIII. addressed to the new Secretary of State a letter, dated August 27, which contains a retrospect of the first six months of his Pontificate, and defines luminously the lines on which he intends to govern the Church, and to labor for the interests of Christianity and the nations.

"It was a great misfortune and a great grief for us," he says, "to have so suddenly lost Cardinal Alexander Franchi, our Secretary of State. We called him to this high office because of the confidence inspired by his uncommon gifts of mind and heart, and the long services he had rendered to the Church. He so fully answered to all our expectations during the short time he labored by our side that his memory shall never by us be forgotten, and among those who come after us, as among the living, his name shall remain ever dear and blessed.

"As, however, it has pleased our Lord to subject us to this trial, we adore with submissive will His divine counsels. And turning our attention to the choice of a successor, we have cast our eyes on you, my Lord Cardinal, whose skill in conducting affairs was well known to us, as well as your firmness of purpose and the generous

spirit of self-sacrifice towards the Church which animates you.

"As you were entering on your charge we deemed it proper to address you the present letter, in order to make known our mind to you concerning several most important points on which your unceasing care must be in a very special manner bestowed.

"In the very first days of our Pontificate, and from the height of this Apostolic Chair, we turned our eyes to society as it is at present, to ascertain its condition, to examine its needs, and to discover proper remedies. Since then, in the encyclical letters addressed to all our brother-bishops, we lamented the decadence not only of the supernatural truths made known to us by faith, but of the natural truths, both speculative and practical, the prevalence of the most fatal errors, and the very serious peril of society from the ever-increasing disorders which confront it on every side.

"We said that the chief reason of this great moral ruin was the openly proclaimed separation and the attempted apostasy of the society of our day from Christ and His Church, which alone has the power to repair all the evils of society. In the noonday light of facts we then showed that the Church founded by Christ to renovate the world, from her first appearance in it began to give it great comfort by her superhuman virtue; that in the darkest and most destructive periods the Church was the only beacon-light which made the road of life safe to the nations, the only refuge where they found peace and safety.

"From this it was easy to conclude that if in past ages the Church was able to bestow upon the world such signal benefits, she can also do it most certainly at present; that the Church, as every Catholic believes, being ever animated by the Spirit of Christ—who promised her His unfailing assistance—was by Him established teacher of truth and guardian of a holy and faultless law; and that, being such, she possesses at this day all the force necessary to resist the intellectual and moral decay which sickens society, and to restore the latter to health.

"And inasmuch as unprincipled foes, in order to bring her into disrepute and to draw on her the enmity of the world, continue to propagate against her the gravest calumnies, we endeavored from the beginning to dissipate these prejudices and to expose these falsehoods, resting assured that the nations, when they come to know the Church as she is in reality, and in her own beneficent nature, will everywhere willingly return to her bosom.

"Urged by this purpose, we resolved also to make our voice heard to those who rule the nations, inviting them earnestly not to reject, in these times of pressing need, the strong support which the Church offers them. And under the impulse of our apostolic charity we addressed ourselves even to those who are not bound to us by the tie of the Catholic religion, desiring, as we did, that their subjects also should experience the kindly influence of that divine institution.

"You are well aware, my Lord Cardinal, that in following out this impulse of our heart we addressed ourselves also to the mighty emperor of the illustrious German nation—a nation which demanded our special attention on account of the hard conditions there imposed on Catholics. Our words, *inspired solely by the desire to see religious peace restored to Germany*, were favorably received by the emperor and had the good effect to lead to friendly negotiations. In these our purpose was, not to rest satisfied with a simple suspension of hostilities, but, removing every obstacle in the way, *to come to a true, solid, and lasting peace.*

"The importance of this aim was justly appreciated by those who hold in their hands the destinies of that empire, and this will lead them, as we sincerely trust, to join hands with us in attaining it. The Church assuredly would rejoice to see peace brought back to that great nation; but the empire itself would not rejoice less that, consciences being appeased, the sons of the Catholic Church would be found still—what they had at other times proved themselves to be—the most faithful and the most generous of subjects.

"Nor could the countries of the East escape our fatherly vigilance; there the great events which are just now in course of accomplishment are, perhaps, preparing a better future for religious interests. Nothing shall be omitted by the Apostolic See to promote these; and we cherish the hope that the illustrious churches of these regions shall at length come to live a fruitful life and to shed abroad their ancient splendor.

"These brief remarks reveal sufficiently, my Lord Cardinal, our design of extending largely the beneficent action of the Church and the Papacy throughout modern society in all its degrees. It is, therefore, necessary that you also should apply all your lights and all your activity to carrying out this design which God has inspired us with.

"Besides that, you shall have to give your serious attention to another matter of the highest importance—that is, to the very difficult condition created for the Head of the Church in Italy and in Rome when they had despoiled him of the temporal power which Providence so many centuries ago had bestowed on him to protect the freedom of his spiritual power.

"We do not wish to stop to reflect here that the violation of the most sacred interests of the Apostolic See and of the Roman Pontiff is fatal also to the welfare and the tranquillity of the nations, who, seeing the most ancient and august rights violated in the person of Christ's Vicar, feel their deep notions of duty and justice seriously weakened, their respect for law lessened, and thus the way is opened to destroy the very possibility of living together in society.

"Nor shall we delay you to consider that the Catholics of the different States can never feel at rest till their Supreme Pontiff, the supreme teacher of their faith, the moderator of their consciences, is in the full enjoyment of a true liberty and a real independence.

"We cannot, however, help observing that while we need for our spiritual power, both on account of its divine origin and superhuman destination, and for the needful

exercise of its beneficent influence in favor of all human societies, the fullest and most perfect liberty, on the other hand the present conditions in which we are placed so hamper and limit it that we find it most difficult to govern the universal Church. The thing is notorious and proved by daily occurrences. The solemn complaints uttered by our predecessor, Pius IX., in the memorable Consistorial Allocution of March 12, 1877, may with equal reason be repeated by us, with the addition of many other grievances arising from the new obstacles opposed to the free exercise of our power.

"We have not only to deplore, as did our illustrious predecessor, the suppression of the Religious Orders, which deprives the Pontiff of a precious aid in the congregations which transact the most important affairs of the Church. We grieve that divine worship sees its ministers taken away by the law on military conscription, which compels all, without distinction, to serve in the army; that they withdraw from our control and that of the clergy the institutions of charity and beneficence founded in Rome by the Popes, or by Catholic nations who confided them to the watchful care of the Church. We grieve, with the intense, bitter grief which fills our heart as a father and a pastor, to find that we are compelled to see beneath our eyes in this Rome, the centre of the Catholic religion, the progress made by heresy, heterodox temples and schools built freely and in a great number, and to have to observe the perversion which is the consequence, especially among young people, who are given an anti-Catholic education. But, as if all this were nothing, they are endeavoring to nullify the very acts of our spiritual jurisdiction.

"It is well known to you, my Lord Cardinal, how, after the occupation of Rome, wishing to calm to some extent the consciences of Catholics who felt very uneasy about the fate of their Chief Pastor, the government publicly and solemnly declared that they would leave the nomination of the bishops of Italy entirely in the hands of the Pope. Then, under the pretext that the acts of their canonical

institution were not submitted to the government *placet*, not only were the new bishops deprived of their revenues —thus throwing on the Holy See the heavy burden of supporting them—but, moreover, to the great spiritual injury of their flocks, the government would not even acknowledge the acts of episcopal jurisdiction performed by them, such as the nomination of parish priests or other beneficed persons.

"And when, to obviate all these serious evils, the Holy See tolerated that the newly-elected bishops of Italy should present their bulls of nomination and of institution carried out in due canonical form, the condition of the Church was in no whit improved thereby. Notwithstanding this act of presentation, for one futile reason or another many bishops continued to be deprived of their revenues and to have their jurisdiction ignored. Those who can obtain their object see their petition sent from one office to another and subjected to endless delays. Men of the highest merit, distinguished by their learning and virtue, deemed by the Sovereign Pontiff worthy of filling the highest degrees in the ecclesiastical hierarchy, are forced to see themselves subjected to the most humiliating and prying disquisitions, as if they were vulgarians under the ban of suspicion. The venerable man designated by us to administer the Church of Perugia in our name, although placed already at the head of another church, and legally acknowledged therein, after a long period of waiting still vainly expects an answer. Thus it is that, with a paltry cunning, they take away from the Church with the left hand what mere policy feigned to give her with the right.

"To render this state of things still more painful, they lately began to assert the rights of royal patronage in several dioceses of Italy, with such exaggerated pretensions, accompanied by such odious measures, that the Archbishop of Chieti was judicially informed that they denied his jurisdiction, declared his appointment null, and ignored even his episcopal character!

"It is not to our purpose to insist on the nullity of such

rights, which besides was confessed by not a few of our adversaries. It is sufficient to recall the fact that the Apostolic See, to which is reserved to provide for all episcopal sees, was only in the habit of granting the right of patronage to such sovereigns as had deserved well of the Church by supporting her interests, promoting her extension, increasing her patrimony; and that all who combat her by impugning her rights, appropriating her possessions, become by that alone, in accordance with the canons, incapable of exercising such patronage.

"The facts touched upon so far evidently indicate the purpose of continuing in Italy a system of ever-increasing hostility toward the Church, and clearly show what sort of liberty is kept in store for her, and with what kind of respect they intend to surround the Head of the Catholic religion.

"In this most deplorable condition of things we are not ignorant, my Lord Cardinal, of the sacred duties imposed upon us by our sacred ministry; and, with our eyes fixed on heaven, with our soul strengthened by the assurance of the divine help, we shall study never to be unfaithful to them. . . ."*

We have rather anticipated the order of events to submit this official programme of Leo. XIII.'s policy to the judgment of the reader. It discloses clearly the grand purpose of his reign: to make rulers and peoples acknowledge the Church as their divinely appointed guide and their safeguard against social errors and anarchy.

The first encyclical of Leo XIII. was, indeed, a disappointment to the Italian Radicals and to all others who hoped or fancied that the new Pope would deviate from the policy of his predecessor, shake hands with King Umberto, and become reconciled with Antichrist and the Revolution in the persons of those who, in the cabinet of the Quirinal or in the Parliament of Montecitorio, were incessantly plotting and planning to make Rome intolerable to the Pope, to see it rid of the last cardinal, the last monk, the last priest.

* "Acta," i. pp. 103–111.

No doubt on that memorable Easter Sunday, April 21, 1878, when the encyclical *Inscrutabili* was published, the prime minister, Depretis, and his associates of all revolutionary and anti-Christian hues, were firmly convinced that the German emperor and his powerful arch-chancellor were the firm and devoted allies of the new Italian kingdom, and that they, like all the Great Powers, had as good as set their seal of sanction on the "facts accomplished" in Rome and in Italy We shall see how Leo XIII. defeated all their hopes.

Certain it is that Leo XIII., as we read in his own words quoted above, seems to have taken the initiative in his peaceful strategy against the *Kulturkampf* by writing himself to the Emperor William. It is also certain, from the discourse delivered at what may be called and what is regarded in Germany as the end of this war against the Church, on April 14, 1886, by Prince Bismarck himself, that he was quite disposed to meet the Pope. Why the religious peace was not then concluded was due to misunderstandings on both sides, but principally, if not solely, to the national anti-Catholic and anti-Papal sentiment in the German Reichstag and the nation, which persisted in regarding the Papacy in the Franco-German war as being "the rear-guard of the French army."

In another chapter we shall have to discuss fully the Kulturkampf, and study the strategy with which Leo XIII. sought its extinction and succeeded. We can only say now that even when diplomatic relations were taken up and suspended and renewed, and then seemed about to fail utterly in their object, the Pope pursued his glorious plan of enlightening peoples, rulers, and governments on their dangers and the only way out of them, till it grew on the mind of the German emperor, his chancellor, ministers, and his enlightened, conservative aristocracy, that Leo XIII. was God's prophet, sent to teach and to save the modern social world, and that Catholicism, where it is left free and fostered by the civil authorities, is the great conservative, vital force of the nations.

The Pope also wrote to the Emperor Alexander II. of Russia and to the president of the Swiss Confederation; for in both of these countries Catholics were sorely oppressed, and the Holy Father trusted to make both of these governments understand that their *interest* as well as their duty lay in protecting, not enslaving, the Church. How far he succeeded the sequel will also show.

What he purposed doing for the Christians of the Turkish Empire we have just seen. But no mention is made of the great American continent. In the Canadian Confederation, however, as well as in the United States, the Sovereign Pontiff was left absolutely free to govern the Church as he chose. In Portuguese and Spanish America the secret anti-Christian societies had long made their home. In the last century they had planted their offshoots in the then flourishing colonies dependent on the two kingdoms of the Spanish Peninsula, and had cast deep roots in that virgin soil, waxing strong and spreading with the vigor and rapidity of tropical vegetation. When the great Catholic teaching communities were suppressed there by the two metropolitan governments, society and education were like the palm and date trees left without the care of the husbandman. The terrible parasites of scepticism and unbelief had soon held them in their deadly clasp, and there was no one to lay the axe to the root of these creepers.

The only hope for religion in Mexico, as in Brazil and all South and Central America, would be in annexation to the United States, in the introduction of American institutions and a plentiful injection of American blood, American practical sense, political conservatism, reverence for religion, and the full liberty for the Holy See to regulate the Catholic interests of the southern, as it does that of the northern, continent.

But the Depretis cabinet had their strategy—a very radical and thorough one, too—by which they meant to destroy not only the educational and missionary resources of the Church in Rome and in the kingdom of Italy, but the very idea of *Christianity* in the minds of the people, and

thereby the very groundwork on which rests the *possibility* of the existence of the Church among a people.

Further on we shall come to the quasi-confiscation of the Propaganda property. Now let us see the war in Rome itself.

Whether the encyclical *Inscrutabili* had convinced the anti-Christian societies dominating both Italy and France that Leo XIII. thoroughly understood the war carried on by them against the Church, the very structure of Christian society, and the civilization which had sprung therefrom, or whether they had made up their minds to declare open war against the Pontiff and the Church of which he was the head, the year 1878 offered them a most favorable opportunity of solemnly proclaiming their purpose.

It was the centenary year of the death of Voltaire.

The conspirators against the Christian order on both sides of the Alps announced that they would meet at Rome in the month of May, and there celebrate the death —the *apotheosis*, as they termed it—of the man whose life-long watchword against Christ had been, *Écrasez l'infâme* —"*Crush the man of infamy!*"

It is well to recall this occurrence, because it places the civilized world face to face with the reality, with the true enemy whom Leo XIII. has had to contend with. It will enable all who still believe in Christ, even though they do not acknowledge Leo XIII. as their spiritual guide, to appreciate the nature of the struggle in which he is the central figure.

And so Rome, under the cross of Savoy, beheld those who administered her government, sat foremost in her legislative halls, on the judicial bench, in all the public offices; the *littérateurs* who had been the apostles of incredulity, of revolution, and the apologists of impiety; the journalists who upheld the spoliation of the Papacy, and those who advocated in no uncertain tones the abolition of the existing royalty—all joined together in solemn conclave and in the orgies of intellectual licentiousness, within sight of the Vatican and the Quirinal. And with them were the

men who were fast turning France into the Republic of 1793, or aiming at one vast Commune for their country on the model of that of 1871.

This meeting accentuated, to use a current expression, the fierce hostility of the French and Italian *Liberal* (!) press against the Holy See and the reigning Pontiff. There were sessions after sessions held in the halls where the Roman youth had been formerly taught the sublime truths of the Christian religion and the benefits it had conferred on mankind. It was a carnival of blasphemy and of cowardly outrage against the Pontiff shut up helpless in the Vatican, and against all that the Catholic and the Christian world held to be most sacred or most venerable.

In the English-speaking world these occurrences were not heard of or only received a passing notice. The significance, the deadly importance of these anti-Christian manifestations was understood only by the few. And what could the few do to awaken public attention to the designs and progress of that power which threatens the destruction of the moral world? It is only when such fearful outbursts of the spirit of disorder as the riots in London and in Belgium, and even the labor troubles in the United States, happen to startle us from our lethargy, our dream of fancied security against socialistic revolution, that we begin to reflect upon Leo XIII.'s warnings and lessons. But surely the Voltairean and anti-Christian centenary feast at Rome in May, 1878, should, even now at ten years' distance, make us think seriously on the fault committed by the civilized world when they permitted Victor Emmanuel to take possession of the city of the holy apostles.

But we must not imagine that the true Rome—the Rome and the people who remained faithful to Christ and His Vicar, as distinguished from the new Rome, the Piedmontese, with the scum of all Italy whom they had gathered into it—did not resent the insult to their religion and to its Pontiff.

They felt these satanical festivities to be directed against

Christ Himself, and they spontaneously set about repairing the outrage by solemn devotions in the churches and by no less solemn protestations addressed to the Holy Father. Rome has been for many centuries renowned for her admirable guilds and charitable societies. These comprise the very highest nobles as well as the simple artisan. They combined, in the last years of Pius IX., in a great union called, after him, *La Federazione Piana.* They extended their labors to the protection of Catholic interests, as well as to charity and beneficence.

The union chose the feast of the Ascension of our Lord, which happened on May 30, to present themselves before Leo XIII. and enter a solemn protest in the name of all true Romans and all patriotic Italians against the desecration of the Eternal City by the disciples of Voltaire and Antichrist. It was a touching scene, and the Pope, as well as all who were present on the occasion, felt it. To their address he answered, impressing on them and on all Christians the importance of repairing the outrage offered to the Divine Majesty by this unparalleled outpouring of blasphemy. He especially felicitated them, the representatives of the Christian Rome, on their courage and determination.

It was not the only counter-demonstration which showed the Holy Father how deeply all classes of Romans and Italians resented the abominable impiety which had run riot in Rome during the month especially dedicated to recalling the memories of the Incarnate Son of God and His Blessed Mother. But to every deputation which waited on him he repeated his courageous words of advice and exhortation. The days of trial had come for them all; they must take their share in the general persecution, and not refuse to suffer for truth and for Christ.

On June 6, while Rome was still filled with the evil atmosphere left behind by the Voltairean celebration, General Kanzler and the veteran soldiers of the Pontifical Army came in a body to offer their homage to the new Pope. He was just the man to appreciate their senti-

ments. For he was resolved to abate not one jot of his sovereign prerogatives in Rome, nor to forego the hope of seeing Providence restore in time the temporal dominions indispensable to the free exercise of his spiritual power. This was the hope he held out to the brave men who had remained true to the Pontifical flag. "To you," he said, in concluding his stirring address—"to you, glorious defenders of right and justice, we shall say in conclusion: Persevere; remain faithful to your duties. Let no act in your future life ever stain your honored career. If it please God to shorten the days of trial by granting us happier times, you shall be found at your post, ready to protect the sacred interests of the Church. Should it turn out otherwise, you will have the consolation of having shared with us our ill-fortune and to have cast your lot with us."

They were brave words, and he meant them, and those who heard them treasured them up as a hope and as a reward.

But there was another army whose soldiers were ever engaged in the terrible conflict, and who could not, like General Kanzler and his men, lay by their arms and wait for the day of battle. The battle for priests in Rome, in Italy, on every point of the European Continent, never ceases to rage, and no true man can leave the ranks or skulk away from the perils of the contest. The Piedmontese government had wofully thinned the battalions of this spiritual militia by suppressing, dispersing, banishing the Regular Orders. Rome has, ever since Christianity has extended its influence to all the nations of the earth, been a training-camp for the priesthood, for the apostleship to be exercised in all countries. This the Revolution understood right well when it seized upon the great central monasteries, novitiates, and schools of Rome. This was obliterating the very springs of Christian life, learning, and zeal.

Pius IX., though deprived of the revenues of the Papal territories, made every provision his limited resources and the charities of the faithful enabled him to carry out for

educating his clergy, for recruiting their ranks, and for keeping education and learning up to the highest levels. His successor was not the man to neglect such a blessed and necessary work, to leave it incomplete. He threw his whole strength into enlarging it rather, extending the sphere of clerical and lay education, and raising the standard of literary and scientific excellence far above that which governed the secular schools. And we shall see that he succeeded.

VISIT OF STUDENTS.

On June 13 the students of the Seminario Romano and Seminario Pio, which were the special nurseries of the Pontifical secular clergy, were admitted to the presence of Leo XIII. Never does the personal character of the Pontiff show itself in such an amiable light as when he is surrounded by bands of seminarians or school-children. The memory of all his goodness to the young generations he reared in Perugia will live for ever in the hearts and on the lips of the people of Umbria.

With his seminarians, however, the Pope loves to put in his speeches and conversation all the graces of the purest classic Latin. He delights in encouraging them to aim at perfection in everything. He loves to set ever before them the high ideal of the priesthood, *præcelsa sacrorum ministrorum dignitas*—"the sublime dignity of God's ministers"; to exalt, amid the present abasement of Rome, the singular privileges of its clergy—*Romani cleri nomen ac decus, nostrorum temporum conditio, quibus ingens errorum ac pestilens corruptionis lues undique grassatur*—"and the sad condition of the present times, when error and corruption like a twin stream of pestilential waters overspread the land."

The men who composed the Italian government were well aware to what extent they had crippled the Church in her clergy by the suppression and banishment of the Monastic Orders, by the law of conscription compelling clerical students to serve their term in the army, by the hope-

less, helpless poverty to which the great mass of priests were condemned, by the degrading treatment to which both bishops and priests were subjected in their enforced relations with the civil authorities, and by a thousand-and-one petty means at the use of those in power to make life a burden to an odious class of citizens.

Still, the source of clerical vocations was not dried up among the Italian populations, although the supply was reduced alarmingly. The government resolved to go to the very source itself, and to render the Christian family giving priests to the Church an impossible thing. They would seize on all elementary schools, and banish from them all Christian spirit, all Catholic teaching, the very adored names of Christ and of God.

And they did it in Rome, perhaps to honor the centennial celebration in honor of Voltaire. But they did it! On June 26 the Pope addressed to Cardinal Monaco la Valletta, his vicar-general in Rome, a letter, admirable in every sense, on religious instruction in the schools of that city. The Piedmontese government had not been ashamed, in the city where St. Peter and St. Paul had preached and planted the faith, not only to forbid in all schools under their control the giving of any religious instruction whatever, but they had banished from elementary schools frequented only by the children of Catholic parents the Catholic catechism.

And yet, while still claiming the name of Catholics, these men allowed all other denominations to have their schools, to teach their catechism, and to take every means to entice Catholic children to attend them. It was not even fair play. But their immediate purpose was to destroy the Catholic Church and religion. The rest would easily follow.

Those who rejoiced at whatever event might upset the power of the Papacy, temporal as well as spiritual, and who even now clap their hands at seeing the revolutionists destroying every distinctive feature of Papal—that is, of Christian—Rome, ought to remember that the men who

sought to banish the Catholic catechism from the schools of the Eternal City, while permitting non-Catholic sects the fullest liberty of religious instruction and proselytism, are the deadliest, the sworn, the professed enemies of Christianity itself, of all religion indeed.

What Paul Bert did in France, in open pursuance of a design he never attempted to conceal, that Doctor Baccelli, appointed Minister of Public Instruction in 1880, openly avowed as his purpose and carried out faithfully. He declared that from all schools in Italy should be systematically, carefully excluded all religious teaching, even that of the simplest Theism.

Is it right, is it honorable, is it in accordance with Christian principle to be, even indirectly, the allies and auxiliaries of such men in dechristianizing Italy? Is it consistency to have the Bible—the Bible in the Italian tongue, and unauthorized by the Pope or the Italian bishops—ranked with the most blasphemous anti-Christian literature, and with the obscene and utterly abominable books and pamphlets, and flying illustrated sheets, which are studiously circulated in Italy to corrupt the hearts, the minds, the morals of the people?

Surely, where the means employed by the present masters of Italy and of the Eternal City to blot out the notion of God, and to make the very name of Christ our Lord odious and ridiculous, are such as Beelzebub and Belial would avow, men and women who have sincerely at heart the triumph of Gospel truth and morality should ask themselves in what company they are. It is not likely that demons would conspire to overthrow the empire of falsehood and vice. And where they and their visible agents are found arrayed against a venerable and widely-spread creed and order of things, the presumption is that that creed and that order are from God.

From the very beginning of his Pontificate Leo XIII. set his heart upon counteracting, by every agency which he could command, the effects of the irreligious and immoral education given, of set purpose, to the children of Ro-

man parents and the youth of the great public schools ever since 1870. Cardinal Monaco la Valletta gave the Pope effectual aid in this; and later, when Cardinal Parocchi, then Archbishop of Bologna, became cardinal vicar, he threw into the work of organizing a thorough system of secular and religious instruction in the primary schools of Rome all his intelligent zeal, experience, and characteristic energy. But, as the government had taken forcible possession of all primary and intermediate secular schools existing at the time of the occupation of Rome, the Pope had to create out of his own crippled resources a system of schools able to counteract the influence of the others.

This was one great object of solicitude. We shall see further on what Leo XIII. effected in this direction.

CHAPTER XXII.

DIFFICULTIES—PILGRIMS—SOLICITUDE FOR FRANCE AND GERMANY—ENCYCLICAL ON SOCIALISM.

[1878–1879.]

WE have not enumerated all the difficulties which from the outset beset the path of Leo XIII., nor have we described their magnitude. To their solution the aged Pope brought a clear head, a firm purpose, an indomitable courage, a rare knowledge of men and of the age in which he lived, consummate prudence and tact in dealing with sovereigns and statesmen as well as with churchmen and laymen of every class. Add to all these qualities an unbounded confidence in the God whose cause was entrusted to him, and the simple faith, the living, ardent piety of the lowliest of Christians, refreshing and strengthening his soul in his gigantic labors.

Formidable as were the obstacles opposed to the fulfilment of his mission in Germany, France, and Belgium, as well as in Russia and the Turkish Empire, there was some hope of removing them by degrees. But in Italy and in Rome itself no diplomatic skill, no concessions, compromises, or transactions, could avail to conciliate or change the fell spirit of the revolutionary and anti-Christian government, which, under the name of a monarchy, moved as steadily, as scientifically, as fatally onward to the annihilation of the Church and the Papacy as a locomotive at full speed on a perfectly safe road, and directed by a skilled and experienced hand, moves on toward its goal, crushing beneath its iron wheels the puny obstacles the hand of a child would oppose to its progress.

We have seen, stripped of all disguises and fair names, the Voltairean, the anti-Christian power which is at present

master of Rome, and presides in the councils of the municipality as it does in those of the government.

Outwardly, to all human seeming, judging things from the standpoint of mere human wisdom and experience, and apart from some superhuman intervention of Providence, in May, 1878, there appeared not one ray of hope for the Papacy, for the preservation of the Church and of the Catholic religion in Italy, as against the irresistible domination of the established civil power and the fatal advance of the radical and irreligious spirit.

The Italian prime minister could at any moment he chose order a company of chasseurs to occupy the Vatican, and to put Leo XIII. and his secretary, with their breviaries and travelling-suits, into a hackney coach, as Napoleon I. ordered the seventh Pius, and have them conveyed to the fortress of Fenestrelle or across the frontier. And not a European or American power would have sent a fleet or an army to prevent the outrage.

Thus it was in 1878.

We see how bravely the Pope faces his enemies and prepares to solve every difficulty, to ward off every danger, while neglecting not one detail of his vast administration, or the urging forward of a single one of the mighty missionary enterprises begun or pursued under his direction in every known land.

Follow him in a few of the cares and labors, the joys and consolations also, which continue to fill up his days as the summer of 1878 passes into autumn.

The government had devised a plan for "renovating" and "reforming" the external aspect of Rome within and without the circuit of the ancient walls. It was intended, under the pretext of laying out new streets, of widening the old, and of providing room for the increasing population, to blot out all the features of the mediæval and Papal city; in a word, all the characters of the Christian Rome, the capital of the Christian world. The uninhabited quarter on the Esquiline was laid out and united to the Quirinal by avenues intended to rival those of Paris or Berlin or

Vienna—as if the torrid climate of Rome in summer was compatible with broad, glaring, sunburnt, and wind-swept thoroughfares! No provision for Catholic worship was made in this new quarter. Indeed, it was openly said in official quarters that none would be made by the government or the city authorities. The municipal council, like the cabinet and the legislature, was now under the control of the revolutionary clubs.

But from the Vatican the Holy Father watched the gradual destruction of the Rome of the Popes and the rapid increase of the city population. He could not leave the new comers devoid of all spiritual succor and comfort, and on August 11, calling before him the chapter and clergy of St. Mary Major, he entrusted to their priestly zeal and generosity the care of this new district.

But with the summer also came bands of pilgrims from distant lands—men who felt the need of renewing at the feet of Christ's Vicar their pledges of fidelity to the law which it was sought to banish from the face of the earth, and to return home, comforted and strengthened by his blessing, to continue the battle with scepticism, with open and professed unbelief, and with the terrible secret associations which pushed on their warfare on religion and all authority.

The German Catholics, so fearfully tried by the Culturkampf, or by what Prince Bismarck later called "the battle with the Church," sent a noble band of representative men to enter their protest against the Voltairean Congress. They were presented to the Pope on May 23, and the words of filial love, reverence, and sympathy uttered by them to the Common Parent were a sweet consolation amid the hideous atheistic revelry covered by the sanction of the new masters of Rome. And he in return, whose heart went out to suffering Germany, found glowing words of praise and admiration for the pilgrims and their absent brethren.

And here, as if pausing between two of these glorious pilgrim-receptions at the Vatican, we come upon a letter

addressed on July 24 to the mayor and municipality of Cork, in answer to their address of congratulation and filial homage sent to the Holy Father on the preceding 11th of March. Their homage was most grateful to him, he says. "It clearly showed us the reverence and filial piety you entertain toward us, which unite your own hearts together and do not fear to express themselves publicly. It also commended to us the religious sense and wisdom of your illustrious city, which found in you sons worthy of being entrusted with the administration of its affairs. To you therefore, beloved sons, we gladly express in this letter our gratitude and affection; and, ready as we are ever to give you every proof we can of our fatherly love, we pray God from our heart to be evermore your protector and helper, and so to inspire your counsels that your labors may procure His glory as well as the welfare and prosperity of your fellow-citizens."

Simple, sincere, and loving words, which Cork will treasure up in her records, and which found their echo in Ireland as if addressed to her long-suffering millions, promising them that "God would also be their protector and helper," and the Pontiff who had succeeded to Gregory XV. and Urban VIII., after an interval of more than two centuries, "would be ever ready to give them in their need every possible proof of his fatherly love and care."

From Spain came, at the end of summer, a large company of pilgrims, under the guidance of the Bishop of Huesca. They had left their country, impelled by the desire to offer to the common Father of Christians the homage of their filial veneration. But they had not foreseen the difficulties to be met with in the fulfilment of their purpose. The steamer *Santiago* had been retained to take them from Barcelona to Civita Vecchia. At this port the Italian authorities placed the vessel in quarantine. Not before the 17th of August were they free to be presented to the Holy Father, who received with evident delight these representatives of a nation that had suffered and fought for the faith during seven hundred years. They

had not come empty-handed to what should ever be the city of the Popes, the home of the common parent of Christendom. They brought generous alms to help him support the vast administration of the universal Church.

But this was not what the Italian Government and the anti-clerical clubs of Rome wanted. Pilgrimages to the Vatican, with their demonstrations of reverence and their pious offerings, were to the masters of Italy an abomination not to be tolerated.

The month of February, 1879, concluding the first year of Leo XIII.'s Pontificate, witnessed in Rome a very momentous gathering. It was a congress of Catholic writers and journalists, who had come, representative toilers of the pen, from all countries to take advice from the Holy Father on the line of conduct to be followed by the Catholic press in treating of politico-religious questions. No assemblage, apart from an œcumenical council, could wield a greater influence over the course of public opinion, the direction of all intellectual currents, and the peace and prosperity of the Christian commonwealth than such a gathering.

Leo XIII. knew it, and sad experience had taught the truth of it to the men who gathered to hear Leo XIII. on February 22, 1879. In France and in Spain, as is well known, political opinion among Catholics had divided the very best and most influential into opposite and bitterly hostile camps. In France this division had been still more complicated by theological and philosophical discussions. People in such cases, when they are conscientious and ardent—and they were so on both sides of the Pyrenees—would naturally wish to have Rome on their side. Men who defended religion and the dearest interests of the Church against rampant Cæsarism, or no less rampant liberalism and demagoguism, would too often take on themselves to dictate to priests, bishops, and Pope the line of conduct they ought to pursue even in ecclesiastical matters, but more especially in the domain of politics. The peculiar circumstances of the Holy See, the opportune-

ness or the inopportuneness of making concessions to the foreign invaders who had come from the foot of the Alps in time of peace to attack a defenceless and almost unarmed power hitherto held sacred and inviolable by Christendom—all these were made the continual subject of newspaper discussion, greatly to the injury of religion, to the scandal of the people, and to the detriment of the Papacy, whose interests it was sought to advance.

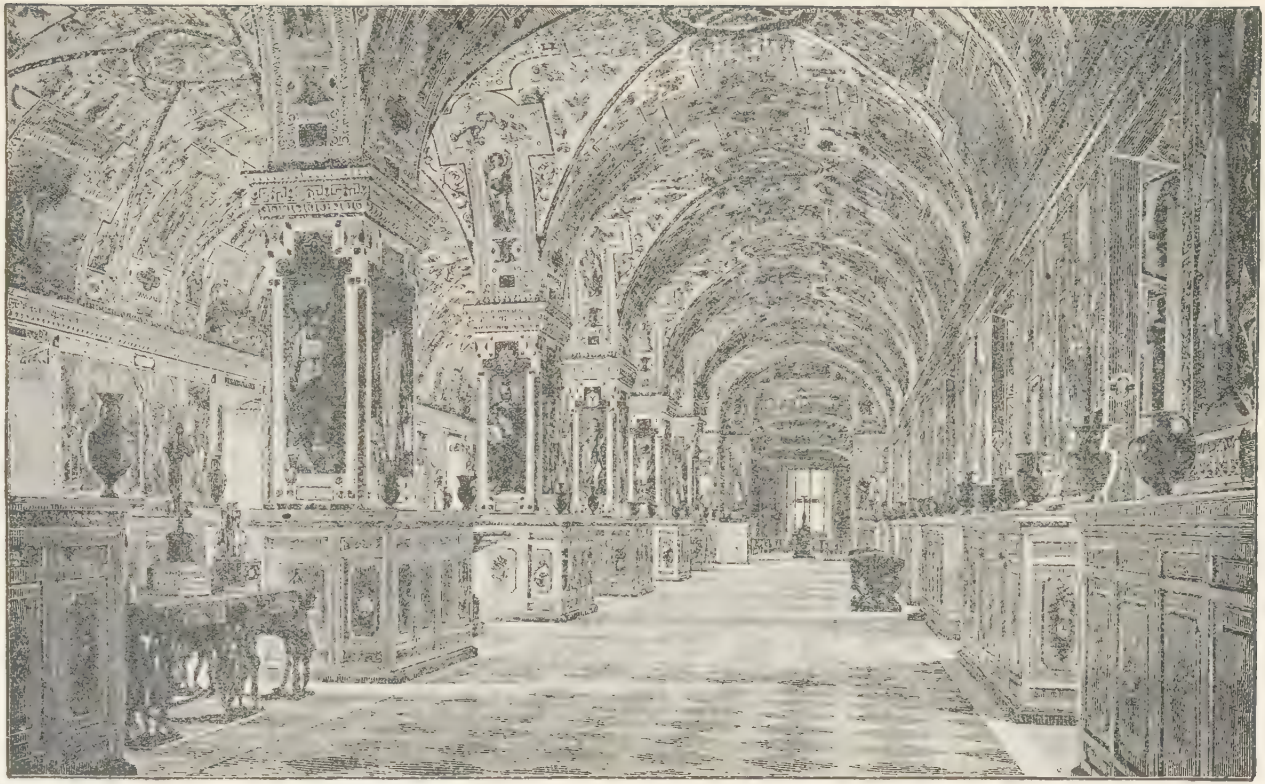
On the question whether Italian citizens should throw themselves into the new current of political life, and thereby recognize the legitimacy of the existing government, the validity of the spoliations and suppressions accomplished in Rome and throughout the Peninsula, lend an indirect sanction to the sacrilegious restrictions and violations of the Papal and episcopal spiritual jurisdiction daily and hourly taking place even in the Eternal City itself—these were subjects which set men's hearts and heads aflame, and made their pens write words that burned like fire. Who could control these mighty forces of the press? Who but the Vicar of Christ?

When this select body, representing the great host of the soldiers of Catholic truth, stood before him on that same 22d of February, he had but tender words of fatherly gratitude and blessing for them. What had he been himself in Perugia, during the thirty-two long years of intellectual combat with error and wrong, but a soldier of the truth, a toiler of the pen? And so his whole heart went out also to those champions of God and his Church.

Those who insisted on coming to terms with the Revolution received, however, a stern rebuke: they "must not presume to decide in their own name and by their own light public controversies of the highest importance, bearing on the circumstances of the Apostolic See, nor seem to have opinions in opposition to what is required by the dignity and liberty of the Roman Pontiff."

But here in the following words speaks the heart of the Pontiff:

"Beloved sons, who are supremely devoted to the Apos-



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tolic See, and show yourselves so ready to sustain its liberty and its honor, be also courageous and unanimous in employing both voice and pen in upholding the necessity of the temporal sovereignty for the free exercise of our supreme authority. With the records of history in your hand, show that there is no power on earth which can pretend to be superior or equal to it in the legitimacy of the right and title from which it sprang. If any one, in order to draw on you the hatred of the multitude, should go about repeating that this temporal sovereignty is incompatible with the welfare of Italy and the prosperity of states, you, on the other hand, should rejoin that the safety and the prosperity of nations has nothing to fear from the sovereignty of the Popes and from the freedom of the Church. . . . Add this, which all know, that the Roman Pontiffs at all times bestowed the greatest pains in fostering the letters and sciences, that they were the generous protectors of the fine arts, and that with a just and paternal sway they made their people happy. Proclaim, in fine, to the world that the public affairs of Italy will never prosper nor enjoy permanent tranquillity until provision has been made, in accordance with all sorts of reasons, for the dignity of the Roman See and the liberty of the Sovereign Pontiff."

In the beginning (9th) of September the Pope issued a new code of regulations for the use of the Vatican Library. Already he felt the necessity of stimulating Italian scholars to explore the rich mine of historical lore laid up in Rome, for so many centuries the head of the Christian, as it had long before been that of the pagan, world. In spite of the literary treasures taken away from time to time by those who had possession of the Eternal City, there still remained enough behind to tempt the ambition of the student. In the Vatican particularly, where are the archives of the Christian Church, the records of Christianity itself, it is important that those who would know what the Church did in the world should seek authentic information at its very source.

That same month of September, 1878, had witnessed

the establishment of a Council of Cardinals, whose special labor should be to select fit persons to fill the episcopal sees of Italy. The importance of this new act of Leo XIII. will at once strike all readers acquainted with the political and religious condition of the Peninsula. At any rate, the Pope, who, from his lofty seat in Perugia, had watched the struggles of the Italian hierarchy with the Piedmontese revolutionists, and the desperate measures resorted to by the latter to bend the bishops to their own will, now resolved that every precaution which the divine wisdom of the Church can suggest should be employed to fill the vacant sees of Italy with none but the best men—men of God, men of superior learning and superior virtue, men of inflexible principles and indomitable courage. Leo XIII. wanted to do all a Pope could do to make the hierarchy of Italy the light of the world.

Later, in November (21), the venerable Archbishop Gastaldi, of Turin, who is still so gratefully and affectionately remembered by the Catholics of Great Britain and Ireland, received from the Holy Father a warm letter of thanks and praise for the acts of his Diocesan Synod.

The same month witnessed the creation of the new diocese of Leeds in England.

The trials of German Catholics, particularly in Prussia, were still bitter in the extreme. The Archbishop of Cologne had written to the Holy Father, giving an account of the sufferings endured, but rehearsing the glorious tale of the people's constancy to their baptismal faith, of the priests' fidelity to their flocks and obedience to their bishops, of the perfect union of hearts and minds which reigned among the bishops themselves, and of their devoted attachment to the Vicar of Christ.

On December 24 the Pope answered the archbishop in one of those thrilling letters which sound like the address of a commander-in-chief to troops in battle array and facing the enemy. Bishops, priests, and people get their meed of praise. Glancing at the efforts made all through Germany by the Occult Force to inculcate errors the most pernicious

to religion and society, and ever conscious that governments can have no efficient aid against this ubiquitous and destructive enemy save from the Church, he informs the archbishop that he has raised his voice to the rulers of Germany to be at peace with the Church instead of combating and crippling her. While endeavoring to conduct to a successful termination the efforts made toward a lasting peace between Prussia and her Catholic subjects, he will continue to do the work which will, in the end, be most advantageous to the state, by denouncing error, exposing the magnitude and the causes of social disorders, and by pointing out the remedy.

The Pope knew that every line of his letter would be eagerly and attentively read and studied by the Imperial government, by Prince Bismarck above all. He calculated, not without reason, on the effects which his own conservative teaching, which is that of the Church, of Christianity itself, would have on minds that felt the need of such principles, and must end by respecting the Church which upholds and practices them.

Then comes a vivid picture of what that Church has to endure at the hands of the Prussian and Imperial authorities.

Evidently the mind of Leo XIII. was then full of the encyclical which he was preparing to issue on *Socialism*, the one topic which, before all others, was at that moment sure to obtain the undivided attention of both the Emperor William and his prime minister. It was published on December 28:*

"As the very nature of our apostolic charge required, we did not fail to point out to you from the beginning of our Pontificate, in an encyclical letter, that mortal poison which circulates in the vital organs of human society and reduces it to the most extreme danger. At the same time we explained to you what were the most efficacious remedies by the application of which society may be restored to health and the grave perils which threaten it may be averted.

* Encyclical *Quod Apostolici muneris*, Dec. 28, 1878.

"But since then the evils which we deplored have so rapidly developed that we are again obliged to address ourselves to you. It is as if the prophet thundered in our ears: *Cry out, cease not, lift up thy voice like a trumpet!* *

"You will easily understand, Venerable Brothers, that we are speaking of that class of men who, under various and strange names, are known as *Socialists*, *Communists*, or *Nihilists*, and who, spread over the globe and linked together in a criminal conspiracy, no longer seek the friendly shelter of their secret conventicles, but come forth boldly into the daylight, and seek to carry out their long-cherished purpose of subverting civil society to its foundations.

"These are the men who, as the word of God attests, *defile the flesh, and despise dominion, and blaspheme majesty.* † They spare nothing, leave nothing untouched of all that divine and human laws have devised in their wisdom for the protection and adornment of life. The highest powers, to which, as the Apostle teaches, every living soul should be subject, and which hold of God the right to command, they refuse to obey, and preach a perfect equality of all men, both with regard to their rights and to their duties.

"They profane the natural union of husband and wife, which even barbarous tribes hold to be sacred; and as to the marriage bond, which is the chief foundation of domestic society, they either weaken it or make of it the plaything of passion.

"Then, carried away by the greed of actual wealth, which *is the root of all evils, which some coveting have erred from the faith,* ‡ they deny the right to hold property sanctioned by the law of nature; and by a savage audacity, under the pretext of providing for the needs and desires of all mankind, they aim at dispossessing people of all that they have lawfully inherited, or gained by their talents or industry, or hoarded from their savings. These monstrous

* Isaias lviii. 1 † Jude 8. ‡ 1 Timothy vi. 10.

opinions they proclaim in their meetings, teach in their pamphlets, and spread through a host of organs in the press. From all these lessons such hatred sprang among the seditious crowd against the majesty and authority of rulers that criminal traitors, impatient of all control, have several times within a brief interval made impious attempts on the lives of heads of states." *

The Pope then gives the history of modern Socialistic error, tracing it back to the sixteenth century, when "a bitter war was declared against the Catholic faith, gaining strength continually down to the present time, and having for its aim to set aside all revealed truth, all the supernatural order; to pave the way for reason with its discoveries, or its dreams rather. This error, wrongly taking its name from reason, flatters and stimulates man's natural desire of lifting himself above others, gives a free rein to all the passions, and thus naturally found adepts in most men, and spread among the social classes.

"Hence, an impious thing never dreamed of even by the old pagans, states were founded without any regard to God or to the order by Him established. It was given as a dictate of truth that public authority derives from God neither its origin, nor its majesty, nor its power to command, all that coming, on the contrary, from the multitude; and that the people, deeming themselves free from all divine sanctions, consented only to be ruled by such laws as they chose to enact.

"The supernatural truths of the Christian faith, as a thing repugnant to reason, were denied and rejected, while the very Author and Redeemer of the human race was eliminated from the matters of study in the universities, colleges, and academies, and was finally banished by degrees from the whole intercourse of life.

"In fine, the rewards and punishments of the life to come were put out of mind and sight, and the ardent wishes of the human breast for happiness were limited to the narrow compass of the present life.

* "Acta," vol. i. pp. 170–173.

"By spreading such doctrines far and wide, such an unbridled licentiousness of thought and action was begotten everywhere that it is no wonder if men of the lower classes, disgusted with their poverty-stricken homes and their dismal workshop, are filled with an inordinate desire to rush upon the homes and fortunes of the wealthy; no wonder is it that tranquillity is banished from all private and public life, and that the human race seems hurried onward to its ruin."

"The supreme pastors of the Church, however, who are bound by their office to protect Christ's flock against the snares of the enemy, took pains from the beginning to ward off the danger, and to watch over the safety of the fold. Wherefore, no sooner had these clandestine societies begun to spread, bearing with them the seeds of all the errors just enumerated, than the Sovereign Pontiffs, Clement XII. and Benedict XIV., unmasked the unholy designs of these sectaries, and disclosed to the knowledge of the faithful the calamities which were thus meditated in secret against them. When, later, through the agency of the men of the last century who called themselves 'philosophers,' an unlimited liberty was claimed for man; when people began to establish and sanction the *new jurisprudence*, as it is called, a jurisprudence opposed to the natural and the divine laws; Pius VI., of happy memory, at once proclaimed in his authoritative teachings the character and falsity of these doctrines, and, with an apostolic foresight, he predicted the ruin toward which the unhappy and misguided nations were impelled.

"Still, as no effective stop was put to the propagation of these baneful doctrines among the people, Pius VII. and Leo XII. solemnly condemned the Secret Societies, and uttered a cry of alarm to warn human society of the perils which threatened it. Finally, everybody knows with what eloquent words, with what constancy and courage, Pius IX., of happy memory, did battle . . . with the sects and their plans, and in particular with this plague of Socialism, which is the offspring of these sects.

"The misfortune is that those to whom the care of the public welfare is committed, allow themselves to be deceived by the arts of these wicked men, imbibe an unfounded distrust of the Church, and fail to perceive that the designs of the secret societies must have been utterly frustrated, had both rulers and peoples allowed the Church to maintain over them her due influence. For *the Church of the living God, the pillar and ground of truth,* teaches such a doctrine and enjoins such practical conduct as can alone secure the safety and peace of commonwealths, and oppose a bulwark to the fateful spread of Socialism."

Fast following on the first persecuting laws enacted against the Prussian Catholics came Socialistic conspiracies, disturbances, and attempts against the life of the sovereign. These were attributed to Catholics, whether maliciously or not we do not stop to ask; and Catholics, therefore, were made a theme for fiercer denunciation by the Culturkampf organs. The highest officials, however, could not long acquiesce in such belief. The reports of their own police had convinced them of the contrary.

Very soon both the emperor and the prince chancellor had good reason to know that the great danger for the empire they had built up, for religion and social order in Germany, came from the doctrines and plots of Socialism—not from the intrigues of the Jesuits, the doctrines or practices of Catholicism, or from the fancied hostility of the Holy See.

It was impossible that this second great doctrinal pronouncement should not have made a deep impression on the aged emperor and his far-seeing minister.

The masterly exposition of Socialistic error and its effects on the entire framework of society could be verified in every detail by what was daily happening all over France and in parts of Switzerland, and by what was attempted in Germany and Belgium.

The genesis and history of Socialistic error as given in the encyclical was warmly, angrily even, discussed and disputed. But the great fact asserted by the Pope, that

with the spread of the sixteenth-century doctrines the supernatural, and with it Christ Himself, was gradually banished from the university schools of non-Catholic countries, could not be denied. Germany had experience enough of it. Then it was that the life to come began to be laughed at and left out of men's calculations. There was nothing for them but the present—no heaven, no hell. Nothing was left to the disinherited classes in society to compensate them for the misery and wretchedness of their present lot; nothing to make them satisfied with their poverty and their ill-requited toil; no force to withhold the passions, excited and maddened by Socialism, from rushing on the wealthy and the great, and gratifying both their revenge and their greed.

The great doctrine on the origin of social power and social authority was still more striking as formulated in the Pontiff's terse and classic Latin. With the Socialists and all who adopt the modern theory of civil society God is nothing and He has nothing to do with the state. The people alone are the source of power; they commit it to whom they please. The depositaries of their power are responsible to the people only for the discharge of their trust; beyond the people we need not, cannot go. So that, after all, social man in obeying state authority is only obeying his own freely chosen representatives; in obeying the law he was only submitting to be bound by the act of his own will.

To statesmen, magistrates, rulers—to all men who seek to place social order on a solid and sacred basis—the solemn utterances of the encyclical were like the second promulgation of the law on which rest the foundations of the moral world.

Leo XIII. did not trust to mere human activities, no matter how energetic, concentrated, and wisely directed, to accomplish the mighty labors incumbent on himself and his fellow-workers all over the world. He was chiefly anxious to obtain the divine assistance, which can alone secure the desired success.

On February 15, 1879, he published the bull *Pontifices*

Maximi proclaiming a general jubilee. "At the approach of the anniversary of our election," he says, "we only follow the example of our predecessors by proclaiming an indulgence for the whole Catholic world in the form of a jubilee. We are well aware of the need we have of a full abundance of the divine gifts amid the difficulties of our ministry. We know by long experience how deplorable is the condition of society in the present age, and what storms assail the Church. Nor can we help foreseeing and dreading greater calamities when we consider how public affairs are progressing from bad to worse, how the wicked never rest from conspiring, and how Heaven gives manifest signs of its impending wrath by the severe chastisements which have already overtaken some offenders.

"Inasmuch as the special benefit derived from a jubilee consists in having men purify their souls from the stains of sin, in making them practice penitence and charity, and fulfil with increased fervor the duty of prayer; and whereas the sacrifices of justice and the prayers offered up by the members of the whole Church, acting in concert, must be so pleasing to God, and so fruitful in merit, as to do a kind of violence to the divine goodness—we, therefore, firmly trust that our Father in Heaven will look down with favor on the humility of His people; and that, things being changed for the better, He will allow the light and comfort of His mercy once more to fall upon us. For (as St. Leo the Great was wont to say) we are enabled to correct the evil of our ways by the divine assistance; not only will our spiritual enemies be overcome, but our very bodily foes will be shorn of their strength, and weakened by our change of life, since it is not their own merit, but our sins, which give them power to injure us.* Wherefore, we must earnestly exhort all and every the children of the Catholic Church, and beseech them, in the Lord, to unite with ours their own prayers, supplications, and exercises of Christian piety and life, so that they may, with God's help, turn to the very best account the grace of the

* *Serm. i de Quadragesima.*

jubilee now offered to them, in this day of God's mercy, for their own souls' benefit and the good of the Church."*

The Catholic reader who has followed us attentively in the details of this biography, will not be surprised at the importance which Leo XIII. here attaches to united prayer and united fervor in self-sanctification, and the performance of the works of Christian charity. It is for the instruction of non-Catholic readers that we here submit this extract. Even with us in America the yearly appointment of a day of public thanksgiving, and the occasional proclamation by the State or Federal authority of a day of humiliation and prayer, is only a reminiscence of the custom, universal throughout Christendom before the schism of the sixteenth century, of uniting in public supplication, penitential works, reform of manners, and charitable deeds—or in fervent thanksgiving—as occasion required, either humiliation before the Divine Majesty, or devout gratitude.

Thus the first year of Leo XIII.'s Pontificate had been fruitful in unexpected and most blessed results.

Not all unexpected, however ; for those who were well acquainted with the man, and with the qualities which he had displayed as a diplomat, an administrator, and a teacher of men, had confidently hoped that he, if any one could, would bring about peace where peace had so far appeared impossible.

* *Acta Leonis XIII.* Vol. i, pp. 189, 190.

CHAPTER XXIII.

LEO XIII. AND THE EASTERN PEOPLES.

I.

1. *Slavonic Races: Centenary of Sts. Cyril and Methodius.*—2. *The Greeks and the College of St. Athanasius.*—3. *The Syrians.*—4. *The Chaldeans and Armenians.*

PIUS IX. had inherited from his predecessor, Gregory XVI., a great zeal for the restoration to newness of life of the Christian communities scattered throughout the Turkish Empire and its dependencies, as well as for the spread of the Gospel light among the pagan nations of Asia and Africa. These great missionary purposes commended themselves no less to Leo XIII. on his elevation to the Chair of Peter.

In his intense desire, however, to make the influence of the Catholic Church and the authority of the Holy See acceptable to all the rulers and nations of what had once been united Christendom, he resolved to win the affections of all the Eastern races, with their Governments, and thus, single-handed in a manner, endeavor to bind together once more the East and the West against the steady advance of the Anti-Christian conspiracy in Western, Northern, and Southern Europe.

Pius IX. by his representatives in Constantinople, had been successfully working to heal the schism which had broken out among the Armenian and Chaldean Catholics in 1870–71, after the last decrees of the Council of the Vatican. The first fruits of this success were joyfully

announced by Leo XIII. in the Consistory of February 28, 1879.*

"We are glad to enjoy your presence on this day," he says to the Cardinals, "in order, by our joint action and in conformity with the practice of our predecessors, to confirm the Patriarch of Babylon of the Chaldean rite, elected by his brother-bishops of that rite to fill the vacant See. Everything pertaining to the Eastern churches we deem, in the discharge of the Supreme office confided to us by Providence, to be most deserving of our peculiar care and zeal, following therein the examples of our predecessors. . . . They knew well how famous are these primitive countries, on which the Sun of Righteousness (first) shone, as well the glory shed upon them by the shining lights of wisdom, and admirable holiness to which they gave birth. This induced us, at the very beginning of our Pontificate, and in view of the discussions which raged in these lands, to come to the assistance of each of them in particular. Finding an auspicious occasion to take counsel, by means of our ambassadors, with the leading sovereigns of Europe about the necessity of restoring (religious) peace to the Oriental peoples, we employed every good office to obtain for the Catholic religion full liberty and legal sanction for its public exercise in these countries. This first happy success has made us firm in our determination to exert ourself unceasingly in order that this same right shall be fully given to all these peoples; and that so by thus assisting the liberty and dignity of the Catholic faith, we shall plant firmly the elementary principles from which spring up into goodly culture and plenteous fruit, not only the regulating of public manners, but the honor due to the public authority, the mutual charity and kindness which men owe each other, the whole order of society, and everything conducive to civilization.

"It is our confident hope, Venerable Brothers, that the rulers of the Turkish Empire will readily understand how much it is their interest to grant to their Catholic

* *Acta* i, pp. 197-201.

subjects, without stint or limit, all that justice and equity demand; all the more so, that they have just had striking proofs of the fidelity of these same Catholics, and of their attachment to the Empire, in refutation of the calumnies of their enemies, and of the distrust which these vainly endeavored to create so unjustly (in the minds of their rulers)."

The fact is that the late Chaldean Patriarch of Babylon, Joseph Ando, whose election had been confirmed in the Consistory of September 11, 1848, had, after the proclamation of the dogma of Pontifical Infallibility in July, 1870, been seduced from his allegiance to the Holy See. He soon repented, however, and braved all the odium and persecution of his schismatic countrymen during the last years of his life, rather than fail in his duty. At his death, the Catholic Chaldean bishops elected in his place Peter Elias Abolionan, then Bishop of Ghezir; and this election, the first earnest of the near end of the schisms in Mesopotamia and Constantinople, the Pope now confirmed in full consistory.

This single fact taken in conjunction with the passages quoted above from the Allocution of February 28, will serve as an introduction to our rapid survey of Leo XIII.'s labors in favor of the Oriental peoples. Let us glance successively at what he achieved or attempted in each of the great Empires to which the Eastern races and Churches belong.

I.—THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE AND THE SLAVONIC RACES.

Diplomatic intercourse had been broken off between the Vatican and the Court of St. Petersburg since August 19, 1877. Early in June of that year Prince Ouronsoff, the Russian Chargé d'Affaires in Rome, presented to the Holy See, in the name of his sovereign, the outlines of a plan for settling all the religious questions between the two Governments. This step was taken just before Russia entered on the war which proved so disastrous to the Turks. On July 26, following, Cardinal Simeoni, then

Pontifical Secretary of State, placed in the hands of Prince Ouronsoff an official statement of grievances on the part of the Holy See, as well as an enumeration of the religious reforms demanded of the Russian Government. This paper was addressed to the Czar in person. After a delay of two weeks, during which no acknowledgment whatever was made of it to the Pontifical Government, the paper was insultingly returned. Cardinal Simeoni, in a letter dated August 19, resented with dignity and a proper spirit a proceeding which was without precedent in the history of diplomatic intercourse. Prince Ouronsoff was dismissed without being even granted a farewell audience.

Thus matters stood till the beginning of the new Pontificate. Of course the sad condition of Russian Catholics was not improved by this rupture. A very natural opportunity, however, soon presented itself to Leo XIII. to make a first advance toward conciliation. This was on the occasion of the attempt made on the life of the Czar on April 14, 1879. A still more favorable opportunity was afforded by the Russian Emperor's Silver Jubilee, which happened about a year afterwards. The 25th anniversary of the Emperor's accession was celebrated with great rejoicings in St. Petersburg and throughout the Empire. The Pope sent his congratulations through his Nuncio at the Court of Vienna.

This was so well received that later, on April 12, the Holy Father was encouraged to write the following letter to Alexander himself:

"SIRE: All the prosperity which, through our cardinal pro-nuncio in Vienna, we wished your Imperial Majesty on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of your accession to the throne, we now wish anew in this letter, praying from our heart that the King of kings and Lord of lords may fulfil our prayers.

"We cannot, however, forbear to profit by this opportunity to appeal to your Majesty, beseeching you to bestow your thoughts and attention on the cruel condition of the Catholics belonging to your vast empire. Their state fills

us with unceasing pain and anxiety. The deep zeal which moves us, in the discharge of our office of Supreme Pastor of the Church, to provide for the spiritual needs of these faithful Catholics, should, it seems to us, impel your Majesty, in the midst of so many political revolutions, of so many convulsions produced by greedy human passions, to grant to the Catholic Church such liberty as would assuredly create peace, beget fidelity, and bind to your person the trusting hearts of your subjects.

"Your Majesty's sense of justice and right moves us to hope that we can both bring about an accord entirely to our mutual satisfaction. For your Majesty cannot be ignorant of the fact that the Catholic religion deems it her duty everywhere to spread the spirit of peace and to labor to preserve the tranquillity of kingdoms and peoples.

"Trusting, therefore, that our wishes in this regard shall be happily fulfilled, we meanwhile pray with our whole heart Almighty God to keep you long safe from all ill, to inspire you with salutary counsels, and to unite you to us in perfect charity."

The letter has a prophetic significance in view of the tragic death of Alexander, which startled the entire civilized world ere another twelvemonth had elapsed. That the Sovereign Pontiff's words, so different from the empty expressions in which sovereigns exchange compliments, did strike the emperor, is attested by the fact that two of his sons, the Archdukes Sergius and Paul, were sent to Rome before the end of the year, and were instrumental in reopening friendly intercourse between the Vatican and St. Petersburg.

The prospect of a firm religious peace for Russian Catholics was suddenly and rudely dispelled by the tragic death of Alexander II., early in the following year. This awful assassination, taken in conjunction with the attempts made on the life of the Emperor of Germany, and on that of the President of the United States, afforded Leo XIII. an opportunity for appealing once more to the Rulers of States, and to all Christians concerned for the preservation

of the social order of Christendom. The Encyclical *Diuturnum*, describing and defining the nature and origin of the Supreme Authority in all constituted societies, appeared on June 29, almost simultaneously with the attempt on President Garfield's life. The timeliness of this Pontifical utterance, the startling eloquence of its tone, the lofty social doctrines it promulgates, and the appeal it contains to rulers, statesmen, and peoples to correct the evil of their ways, to cease combating the Church and restraining her civilizing and conservative action—all made a deep impression on the European mind.

"The long and fierce war"—the Pope says—"undertaken against the divine authority of the Church, has come to the issue toward which it tended: it has placed in jeopardy the very existence of human society, the existence, in particular, of the supreme civil authority, on which the public safety chiefly depends. This is one of the most noticeable facts of our age. The popular passions more openly refuse in our day than ever before to submit to the control of any authority; and to such a pitch has unbridled liberty reached in some countries, and of such frequent occurrence are rebellions and seditions, that men placed at the head of governments are not only often refused obedience, but their very lives are not sufficiently protected. People have been long laboring to make rulers an object of contempt and hatred to the masses; and, the fire of these passions bursting forth at length, we have seen within a short space of time the lives of the supreme rulers of states assailed either by the private assassin or by open violence. All Europe, not long ago, was stricken with horror by the assassination of a mighty Emperor; and while men's minds are still under the impression of this fearful crime, wicked men are not afraid to utter the most terrible threats against other European sovereigns.

"These perils which hang over all civilized communities in the sight of all men, are to us a subject of deep anxiety, beholding as we do, how the safety of rulers and the tranquillity of nations are almost daily placed in jeop-

ardy. And yet the divine virtue of the Christian religion hath ever afforded to the state the most admirable foundation of stability and order, as soon as that religion had permeated the public manners and institutions. Not the least or the last fruit of this same pervading virtue is the just and wise ordering of the respective rights and duties of both rulers and peoples. For there is in the precepts and examples of Christ our Lord a wonderful power for keeping within the bounds of duty, not only those who obey in the community, but those who govern, and for maintaining between both, a thing which is so much in conformity with nature, that united action and harmony of wills whence proceeds the peaceful and undisturbed course of public life. Wherefore, since we have been, by divine favor, appointed supreme ruler of the Catholic Church, which is the custodian and interpreter of Christ's doctrine, we have deemed it to be one of the duties of our office, Venerable Brothers, here to recall what duty Catholic truth imposes on each Christian in this matter ; and thereby we shall know what we have to do and how to do it, in order to meet the present fearful condition of public affairs."*

Leo XIII. then proceeds to carry out one of the grand purposes which he had proposed to himself from the very moment of his accession—to demonstrate to all Governments and peoples that the chief cause of the present social disorders and dangers lay in their having rejected the Church of Christ, and Christ's teaching and practice on civil society and civil duties and virtues.

The theory introduced into the Christendom of the sixteenth century, that men living in civil society have not to go beyond or above themselves to find the origin of the supreme authority which governs the state, or the sanction of the laws which regulate the conduct of citizens toward each other and toward their rulers, is denounced by the Pope as formally opposed to the revealed word of God. He attributes to this *Humanism* (if we may here

*Encyclical *Diuturnum :* ACTA LEONIS XIII., vol ii, p. 269.

coin a word to designate this capital heresy) all the disorders which to-day threaten society with destruction. From this attributing to man alone the origin of all authority, all social duties and obligations, have sprung Socialism, and its ultimate form, Anarchism.

The great lesson had a peculiar timeliness about it as addressed to Russian statesmen, and to the son and successor of the murdered Emperor—Alexander III. It took several years to bring the lesson home to them. But as the year 1888 dawns on Christendom, from St. Petersburg come to the Pope the congratulations of Alexander III., of his sons and his counselors. Thus dawns, also, a new hope of religious peace for the long-tried Catholics of Russia.

But the Pope had even a grander object in view than the mitigating of the hard lot of the Russian Catholics: he wished to raise the flag of reunion with the Church of Rome in the sight of all these Eastern churches, so sadly fallen away from their ancient freedom and their ancient splendor.

To the Slavonic populations within the Russian, Austro-Hungarian, and Turkish Empires the names of the great brother-saints, Cyril and Methodius, are deservedly dear. They were for the Slavs what Peter and Paul were to the Romans, Patrick to the Irish, Augustine to the English, and Boniface to the Germans. But Cyril and Methodius lived, labored, died in the communion of the Holy See, and in strict subordination to its authority. Indeed, Cyril died in Rome and was buried there. He it was who invented the alphabet still in use among the Slavs. He is, therefore, in a manner, the parent of Slavonic civilization.

The two brother-apostles had from the ninth century been revered as saints both by the Roman and the Eastern churches. The return of their centenary in 1880 offered Leo XIII. one of those happy opportunities for winning still more the affection and respect of the wide-spread nationalities who worship the memory of Sts. Cyril and Methodius as their apostles. The Pope wrote an encycli-

cal letter, extending to the universal Church the duty of honoring the two saints by a solemn office. Dated on September 23, this magnificent encyclical, in every way worthy of the head and heart of Leo XIII., recounts the reasons which induce him to pay such honor to these illustrious brothers.

There is a rapid and pregnant biographical sketch, such as Leo XIII. knows how to fill up, like the frame of a miniature painting, with the most exquisite details, finished with a master's hand. He insists on the life-long relations of the two apostles with the Holy See, and recites the unceasing solicitude of the Roman Pontiffs, after the death of these holy men, to maintain the Slavs in the Catholic faith and to promote their material prosperity as well.

"Wherefore," the encyclical says, "we thank God for giving us an opportunity to do a grateful thing to the peoples of Slavonic race, and to help contribute to their welfare with a zeal in no whit less than that shown by our predecessors. Our sole aim, our only wish, is to use every exertion to provide these peoples with a greater number of bishops and priests. These will confirm them in the profession of the true faith, in dutiful obedience to the true Church of Christ, and daily experience will teach them more and more what blessings accrue from Catholic institutions to families as well as to all classes in society. These Slavonic churches are to us an object of especial care. There is nothing we desire more ardently than to promote their welfare and prosperity, and to bind them to us by the ties of perpetual concord, which to them means a bond of perpetual safety." *

The Slavs responded with great enthusiasm to the encyclical of the Holy Father. The centenary was everywhere celebrated with great solemnity. A numerous pilgrimage of representative men of Slavonic origin from Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, Servia, and other Turkish de-

* "Acta Leonis XIII.," September 23, 1880.

pendencies came to Rome to express to Leo XIII. the gratitude of the various nationalities. It was one of those spectacles which consoled the heart of the Pontiff for the bitter cup held to his lips by Italians. It should have opened the eyes of the purblind Piedmontese government to the absurdity of maintaining in Rome a rival sovereignty with a power which extended its spiritual sway and its incomparable influence beyond the Peninsula, beyond the Adriatic and the Mediterranean, to every Eastern as to every Western land.

All through the remaining months of 1880 and during 1881 letters from bishops and addresses came continually to the Vatican, thanking the Pope for his encyclical and the honor done to the Slavs in the persons of their revered apostles. From Bohemia, from Croatia, these expressions of gratitude were particularly significant. Replying to Cardinal Prince Schwarzenberg, Archbishop of Prague, and the bishops of Bohemia, on July 14, 1881, the Pope gives vent to his joy. The Slavonic pilgrimage, and all that he sees and hears about the symptoms of reunion and religious revival, fill him with gratitude to God and with well-founded hopes for the great future of these peoples. He will omit nothing which can help to promote among them the divine honor. The bishops must labor strenuously to promote education, to promote in particular that of the clergy, who are to lead the van of all true progress.

On July 5 of that same year Leo XIII. gave a specimen of his practical love for the Slavs and his enlightened interest in their spiritual welfare by doing for Bosnia and Herzegovina what had been done for England and Scotland—establishing, namely, a regular hierarchy in these regions. He rejoices, he says in the bull of institution, that he has been enabled to accomplish what so many of his predecessors had in vain yearned to do.*

The movement toward reconciliation and reunion has gone on ever since, and is not likely to die out, in spite of

* Bull *Ex hac augusta*, July 5, 1881.

the opposition, secret or open, of the powerful schismatic Greek churches.

It was the Roman Church which sanctioned the mission and the acts of the two brother-apostles; it was to Rome that they referred all they did for blessing and approval. They came thither in 869, Cyril bringing with him the remains of St. Clement, Pope and martyr, from the Crimea, whither he had been sent to labor in the mines and had suffered death for Christ. Cyril, wasted by his apostolic labors, died there and was buried with the most solemn pomp in the church of St. Clement, by the side of the martyr-Pope—that "Clement whose name is written in the book of life." Methodius returned to labor alone among his Slavs, bearing now in his heart a double charity and heroism, bent on running his race and winning the crown to which his loved companion had attained. He performed prodigies of labor more astonishing than any miracle, dying in Moravia, which he had converted and civilized, in September, 880.

To these two the Slavonic races owe not only the possession of the Gospel truth, but their literature and the very characters they use down to the present day.

Well may they reverence their names!

Leo XIII., therefore, did a wise and a politic thing in publishing his encyclical, and giving to this centenary celebration the extraordinary solemnity which won the Slavonic heart.

But he did not confine this policy to that race alone among the Eastern peoples.

II. THE EASTERN GREEKS, AND THE PEOPLES WHO CLING TO THE GREEK LITURGY OUTSIDE OF GREECE.

Gregory XIII., whose great mind first conceived the idea of founding the Congregation de Propaganda Fide and colleges for educating in Rome missionaries for all nations, began by founding on January 23, 1577, the Greek College of St. Athanasius, which was destined to be, for all the

nationalities who used the Greek language in their liturgy, what the College of Propaganda became later for all nations.

This college prospered wonderfully and became a nursery of great scholars and apostolic men.

Leo XIII. conceived that it was not sufficient to guard the faith of the Slavonic races over whom Panslavism and the schismatical Greek Church seek to establish an exclusive domination, but that the light of Catholic truth should be carried into the very strongholds of that same Greek Church itself.

He therefore, from the beginning of his Pontificate, bestowed the greatest attention on the Greek College. He reorganized its studies, enlarged and elevated their standard, selected the most illustrious Greek scholars to teach the students their native literature, and more especially to perfect them in rhetoric, in the most perfect art of the preacher. For classic Greek and all the other languages, ancient and modern, these young men frequent the classes of the Seminario Romano and other great schools which the present Pontiff has done so much to improve.

Besides this, knowing how fondly the Greeks cling to their liturgy, the Pope has founded in the college two special chairs—one for the teaching of everything pertaining to the history, theory, and practice of the Greek liturgy, and another for the teaching of ecclesiastical chant. Church music is a desideratum in the East, and Leo XIII. has made up his mind that the young men who go forth in future from the halls of St. Athanasius shall bring with them not only all the graces of accomplished oratory for the pulpit, but a knowledge of the best Church music known in Rome.

The growing fame of the Greek College attracted so many pupils that the Pope, in spite of his limited means and the many calls upon his generosity, has just completed a new wing to the building, enabling it to face all the demands for room made on it.

This was solemnly inaugurated and blessed on May 2, 1886, the feast of St. Athanasius, when the best musical

critics in Rome were equally surprised and charmed by the splendor of the morning and evening services and the vocal performances of the students.

Now think for a moment of the various countries from which these young men come, and say if it be not a divine thought thus to bring together men born so widely asunder and often separated by national antipathies which a unity of liturgy is not sufficient to overcome without the aid of divine charity.

The former Greek colonies in Italy itself and the islands once belonging to her are not only permitted by the Holy See but obliged to celebrate the Greek liturgy. So there are students from Sicily, Calabria, Naples, Leghorn, Malta, and Corsica. Besides these Italo-Greeks there are the Hellenes, or Greeks proper, the Roumanians, the Bulgarians, the sons of the vast Ruthenian branches, and the Melchites.

There is a vicariate-apostolic in Greece. But there the Russian influence is all-powerful, and it is only by slow degrees that the old prejudices and antipathies cherished so fondly in the nineteenth century by a far-seeing but unscrupulous policy can be overcome, and a way made for the entrance of truth into minds and hearts.

III. PEOPLES OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE.

Brief as has been the reign of Leo XIII., his enlightened zeal and prudent policy have already done as much to revive Christianity in the Turkish and Persian dominions as the insane ambition of the republican rulers of France has done to ruin its best interests in the far East. Let us gather from the lips of Leo XIII. himself what estimate he had formed of these venerable Eastern churches, and what measures he adopted to aid them in their straits and to build up among them the edifice of religion and civilization:

"Everything pertaining to the Eastern churches," he says in the allocution of February 28, 1879, "because of the supreme ministry entrusted to us, we deem to be deserving of peculiar solicitude and zeal; we, indeed, find it to have

been so held by our predecessors in every century. . . . For they knew the pristine pre-eminence of these countries, in which the Sun of Justice arose for mankind, as well as the glory of these ancient churches which produced men who were the shining lights of heavenly wisdom and wonderful holiness.

"Wherefore, from the very beginning of our Pontificate, seeing the sad troubles to which the churches of the East were a prey, we endeavored to give what help we could to each one of them in its need. Finding a favorable opportunity for taking measures, through the ambassadors of the chief European sovereigns, to restore peace to the East, we employed every possible means to have full liberty publicly guaranteed and sanctioned for the exercise there of the Catholic religion. Having happily succeeded in this, it is now our firm purpose to take every pains to have the right thus guaranteed fully upheld in practice. . . .

"We trust, on the other hand, that those who carry on the government of the Ottoman Empire shall easily understand that it is their interest to grant in the fullest measure to the Catholics of their jurisdiction all that right and justice demand; and this all the more readily that they have lately had splendid practical proofs of the loyalty of these Catholics, of their devotion to the state, on both of which their enemies endeavored to cast odious suspicions by calumnies that did them supreme injustice.

" . . . We recall to your minds that last year the Church of Chaldea became widowed of her patriarch in the person of our venerable brother, Joseph Audo, whom Pius IX. had confirmed and instituted in that dignity on September 11, 1848. This prelate, . . . in the last years of his life, carried away by the advice of evil counsellors, forgot his duty toward this Apostolic See. But, admonished by the apostolic authority, he returned to his duty, gave evidence of his obedience to the Sovereign Pontiff, incurred and bore with Christian fortitude on that account many annoyances from those of his nation, and on his death-bed, with his latest breath, expressed his sorrow for his fault, bore witness to his

love and devotion to the Chair of Peter and the Vicar of Christ, and left a great example of edification behind him.

"After his death the bishops of the Chaldaic rite met in council at Alkosh, as the canons require, and in the usual form elected, on July 26 last past, Peter Elias Abolionan, Bishop of Gezir, to fill the office of patriarch of Babylon of the Chaldeans. . . ."

The Sublime Porte was not one of the last powers to feel and to acknowledge the truth of Leo XIII.'s affirmation *that the Catholic Church is everywhere a mighty element of peace, order, security, unity, and stability to the nations and their rulers.* It acknowledged that the successful efforts to bring about concord between the Holy See and the Eastern schismatics, or between the rival Christian denominations themselves, proved to be a great benefit bestowed upon the empire.

The Sublime Porte confirmed the election of Monsignor Abolionan as patriarch of Babylon, and granted him the firman ratifying the Holy Father's approbation of his election. This was an official acknowledgment of the patriarch as the head of his nation—the Chaldeans—and a solemn guarantee of full religious liberty to himself and his people.

It was a great and peaceful triumph won by Leo XIII.

This was followed almost immediately by the healing of the deplorable schism which had taken place in another diocese of Mesopotamia, Zachan. The bishop who had intruded himself into the see, and his followers among the clergy, the monks, and the laity, submitted in all humility to the patriarch and asked for absolution from the Holy See.

"From all this," the Holy Father says in his allocution of May 12, "we conceive well-founded hope of seeing the baneful schism which has so long afflicted the Catholics of Mesopotamia entirely extinguished."

A new joy was added to these, as the Pontiff expresses it, by the appeasement of the long and bloody feud between the Jacobite Nestorians of Syria and the Catholics of the Syrian rite. There had been a brief misunderstanding between the Syrian Catholic patriarch and the government,

and the Nestorians, under pretence of supporting the civil authority, had taken forcible possession of the Catholic churches, refusing, on any account, to give them up. The Holy Father, having, through his delegate in Constantinople, obtained the ear of the Imperial government, had the question of right submitted to the arbitration of the British and French ambassadors in that capital.

The decision was in favor of the Catholics. But so judicious and conciliatory was the conduct of the Catholic officials that a number of Jacobite families renounced their sect, and numbers of others seemed disposed to follow their example.

A like happy termination concluded the deplorable schism which had taken place among the Armenians. These are very powerful in Constantinople, where their wealth exercises great influence.

Among them, too, the definition of the dogma of the Pontifical Infallibility in 1870 had been taken advantage of by the evil-minded to stir up the jealousy of the government against the Holy See, and to produce some such scandalous and absurd division as that caused in Bavaria by Döllinger and the Old Catholics. But as in Germany, so in Turkey, the prejudices and misconceptions begotten by heated and one-sided theological discussions and by latent national jealousies and antipathies passed away, and people began to see that they had acted rashly and irrationally.

The Armenian Archbishop of Diarbekir, Monsignor Bahtiarian, and the Armenian Bishop of Cyprus, Gasparian, were both ambitious men, who thought that the stir made in Germany and all over Continental Europe by the dogma of Papal Infallibility offered them a favorable opportunity for advancing their own interests. They won over to their designs a number of secular priests and monks, and a large following among the laity. One of these monks, Kiupelian, caused himself to be elected in a conventicle as civil patriarch of the Armenians, and Bahtiarian himself was therein chosen as religious patriarch or *Catholicos* of *Cilicia*. Now, Monsignor Antony Hassun had been for many years the

acknowledged patriarch and catholicos of the Armenians of Cilicia, the civil and religious head of the nation therefore. But as he, an old pupil of the Propaganda, humble, conscientious, devoted, and too well informed not to know the utter falsity of the charges made against the Pope, remained firm in his attachment to the Holy See, the government, deceived by Bahtiarian and Gasparian, was prevailed on to banish Monsignor Hassun from Constantinople.

Kiupelian was consecrated by the two schismatical bishops, and officially recognized by the government as civil patriarch of the Armenians. But these refused to acknowledge the division of authority, and would not obey Bahtiarian as catholicos or the religious patriarch. Disgusted or threatened, the disappointed schismatic withdrew to the Armenian convent on Mount Lebanon.

Meanwhile Monsignor Hassun was subjected to many indignities, but his virtue and patience were proof against the most bitter trials. And so things went on among the Armenians, the schism even spreading to Egypt, till the accession of Leo XIII.

On March 10, 1879, Archbishop Kiupelian, urged by remorse, wrote to the vizier renouncing his episcopal and official rank, expressing his sorrow at the wrong done to the Holy See and the lawful patriarch. He cast himself at the feet of the latter, who forthwith urged him to go to Rome and there seek forgiveness from the Holy Father. Arriving in Rome at the beginning of April, he at once wrote to His Holiness. The Pope received him with the greatest kindness, and allowed him to retain the title and insignia of bishop, although the culprit had received them so unworthily.

But the Holy Father calculated the effect which this clemency would have in bringing back the other schismatics. He was not mistaken. On November 26 following Monsignor Gasparian came to cast himself at the feet of the Pope, and was received with a like tender charity. In the summer of 1880 the schismatic Armenian bishop at Cairo, Davidian, also returned to the fold, and at length Bahtiarian himself asked for absolution for his sin.

In April, 1880, the Pope wrote to the sultan, Abdul Hamid, to thank him for his prompt readiness to recall and reinstate Monsignor Hassun. The latter was presented by the delegate, Monsignor Grasselli, and was received with extreme pleasure by the sultan.

Thus was this dangerous and wide-spread schism healed and a great triumph won by the conciliatory temper and wise clemency of Leo XIII.

In the public consistory of December 11, 1880, the Pope was happily inspired to reward the patriarch, Monsignor Hassun, by giving him the Roman purple. The first Oriental ever created cardinal was the illustrious Greek scholar Bessarion, whom Eugenius IV. raised to the purple after the Council of Florence (1439–1442). So, after an interval of nearly four centuries and a half, the same distinction was granted to an Armenian. There was great rejoicing in Constantinople. The sultan felt the promotion as a personal compliment. Everything in his empire thus promised well for Catholicism.

But Leo XIII., seeing how much could be done for Christianity through the Armenian nation, placed in the very heart of Asia Minor, carried out at once, regardless of his own poverty, the noble idea of Gregory XIII., who had decreed the foundation of a college for the Armenians in Rome, as he had for the Greeks, but was prevented by death from carrying out his purpose in this latter respect.

On March 1, 1881, he issued the bull *Benigna hominum parens Ecclesia*, founding a special college for the Armenians. The bull is one of the most beautiful and eloquent compositions which have come from the pen of Joachim Pecci.

The college is now in full operation.

But the Pontiff, two years before, had sent among the Armenians a colony of Jesuits to open a college there, and another of Christian Brothers to establish popular schools. Both are prosperous beyond the hopes of the founders.

The Chaldeans were not neglected in this respect. The Holy Father sent to the patriarch, Monsignor Abolionan,

a colony of learned Dominicans, who have now a flourishing seminary at Mossoul, on the banks of the Tigris, at the very seat of the ancient Babylonian power and civilization. To this seminary flock the Chaldean youth from every part of Mesopotamia. The Roman official journals, as this page is written, are full of the most cheering accounts from this new school, this other advanced post of Christianity and civilization, planted by Leo XIII. near the frontiers of the Persian Empire, at the mouth of the Persian Gulf, and in the birthplace of Heber, of Abraham and Sarah.

This is the proper place to mention another project cherished by Leo XIII. in connection with the hoped-for return to unity of the Eastern peoples: the founding in Athens and Constantinople, respectively, of two great central schools for the education not only of the clergy, but of the laity as well. This project on which the Holy Father had set his heart, and for the carrying out of which he lacked adequate means when this book was written, is now assured of success, thanks to the generous offerings poured at the feet of the Common Parent by the whole Catholic world during the Jubilee festivities of 1887–88.

But in 1880 the Sacerdotal Jubilee of Leo XIII. was at best a remote and uncertain event; and no one dreamed, not even the aged Pontiff himself, that Rome could, within the present century at least, witness the extraordinary concourse of pilgrims and the filial enthusiasm which had been seen in 1877, on the occasion of the Episcopal Jubilee of Pius IX., so intensely loved by his immense flock. The needs of the Missions in the East, and all over both hemispheres, were constantly increasing, while in the Catholic countries of Europe the all-powerful revolutionary sects were despoiling the Church and putting forth their utmost strength to extinguish, together with the Catholic priesthood, all the great institutions of missionary labor, all the sources of pecuniary assistance toward the propagation of the Gospel.

Still, France, foremost in apostolic zeal, even amid the oppressive measures of her Masonic Government, as she

had been in the past, did more for the divine work than all the other nations together.

The better to stimulate such apostolic zeal, and to fan the flame of charity among all classes of the faithful, the Holy Father chose the feast of St. Francis Xavier (December 3, 1880), to issue, in the form of an Encyclical Letter, a stirring appeal in favor of three great associations formed in France for the support of missionary enterprise. These were the "Society of the Propagation of the Faith," the "Society of the Holy Infancy," and that of "Oriental Schools."

This Encyclical is known under the title of *Sancta Dei Civitas.*

"The Holy City of God, which is the Church, being unconfined by the frontiers of kingdoms, has received from her Founder an inherent energy which makes her daily *enlarge the place of her tent, and stretch out the skins of her tabernacle.** Although these additions to the Christian fold are principally due to the interior impulse and assistance of the Holy Spirit, their accomplishment, outwardly, is also due to the labor of man, and is brought about by natural human agency. For it becometh the Divine Wisdom to order all things and bring them to their appointed end in a manner suitable to the nature of each. Still is it by no one class of men or functions that are made these accessions of new citizens to our Sion.

"The first place here belongs to those who preach the Word of God. . . . . This function belongs to such as have been lawfully initiated in Holy Orders. They receive no little help in labor and zeal from those who either minister external means, or endeavor by their prayers to obtain for the preachers Graces from on high. For this reason the Gospel praises the women who *ministered unto Him* (Christ) *of their substance* (1); and St. Paul affirms that to all who preach the Gospel, it is allowed by Divine permission to live by the Gospel (2). In like manner we know the bidding of Christ to His followers and hearers:

* Isaias, liv. 2.

Pray ye . . . the Lord of the harvest that He send laborers into His harvest (3); and that His first disciples, in imitation of the Apostles, were wont thus to beseech God: *Grant to Thy servants that with all confidence they may speak Thy word* (4).

"These two offices, which consist in bestowing alms and offering up supplication, not only are most helpful toward enlarging the boundaries of God's kingdom here below, but are such as to be within the easy reach of all classes of men. Who is so devoid of worldly means as not to be able to bestow an alms? or who so overburthened with business as to be prevented from praying God in behalf of the preachers of the Gospel? Such helps as these have always been used by apostolic men, and by the Sovereign Pontiffs in particular, to whom belongs, especially, the care of propagating the Faith. . . . .

"PROPAGATION OF THE FAITH," "ORIENTAL SCHOOLS," "HOLY INFANCY."

"In our times people are inclined to associate and unite heads and hands in carrying forward all sorts of difficult enterprises; and of these societies, not a few have for their object the spread of religion in some countries. Foremost among these is the pious 'Society of the Propagation of the Faith,' founded some sixty years ago at Lyons, in France. Its primary object was to assist some of the American missions. It soon grew, however, like the Gospel "mustard-seed," into a mighty tree, whose branches spread far and wide; so that it now extends active help toward the missions on every point of the globe. This glorious institution soon obtained the approbation of the pastors of the Church, who vied with each other in praising it. The Roman Pontiffs, Pius VII., Leo XII., and Pius VIII., commended it in the warmest terms, and bestowed on it abundant indulgences. But he who promoted it most zealously, and showed toward it the deepest fatherly affection, was Gregory XVI., who, in his Encyclical Letter of August 15, 1840, speaks of the Society in the following strain:

"'This mighty and most holy work, which, by means of the trifling contributions and daily prayers of each one of the associates, receives its sustenance, its increase, and its strength, and which is able to support the apostolic laborers in their work, to furnish them with funds for practising manifold Christian charity toward their neophytes, and even to protect their faithful flocks against the attacks of persecution, is a work which we deem to be most deserving of the admiration and love of all good men. Indeed, we are bound to believe that it was specially originated by Providence in these latter times to be to the Church so fruitful a source of needful help and utility. For while Hell is turning against the Church, the beloved spouse of Christ, machinations of all kinds, no design could be more timely than that of associating all fervent Catholics for the purpose of gaining souls to Christ.'"*

After this prologue the Pontiff exhorts the Bishops to use all their endeavors in their respective dioceses for the spread therein of this blessed Society.

"Nor did Pius IX., of glorious memory, fail to imitate the examples set him by his predecessors. He never lost an opportunity for promoting this most deserving association, and for furthering its prosperity. He enriched the members with more ample treasures of papal indulgences; he stimulated the piety of the faithful to contribute to the funds of the Society, and he bestowed various decorations on the most prominent officers; and, finally, he praised in the highest terms certain grants and bequests made to the Society by persons in the world.

"During this same period the noble rivalry of Christian piety created two other remarkable associations, namely, the 'Society of the Sacred Infancy,' and that of 'Oriental Schools.' The former has for its object to take up and educate to the practice of Christianity infants who are inhumanly exposed to perish by their parents, because these are either unable or unwilling to rear them, as is the

* "Acta Leonis XIII.," ii., pp. 169–178.

barbarous custom in pagan countries, and more especially in China. The charity of the Society opens its arms to these little ones, often buys them from their parents, regenerates them in the waters of baptism, so as to enable them to serve the Church when grown up, or, at least, to insure to them, when saved from impending death, the felicity of the eternal life to come.

"The latter Society bestows its care on youth, for whom it most zealously endeavors to secure a sound education, while warding off all danger of false teaching, to which unbridled curiosity too often exposes the young.

"Both of these associations are, in a manner, the auxiliaries of their elder, that of the 'Propagation of the Faith;' the alms and prayers of the Christian peoples enable them to work lovingly for the same high purpose; all aim, by spreading abroad the light of the Gospel, to bring as many as possible of those who are outside the Church to know God, and worship Him, as well as Christ, whom He hath sent. Therefore, with good reason did Pius IX. bestow great praise on these two last-mentioned Societies, and enrich them with many indulgences.

"Wherefore, these three Societies, working and growing under the assured favor of the Sovereign Pontiffs, bearing abundant fruits because they have never ceased to pursue their respective purposes in perfect concord, proved themselves to be of great help to the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda, whose burthen they very much lightened. and, prospering as they did, they gave promise of an immense harvest to be reaped in the future by their co-operation. But the many fierce storms which swept over the old Christian lands ruined also the institutions created for evangelizing the heathen. Many things happened which caused a falling off in the membership of these Societies, and a decrease in the spirit of liberality. When the public mind becomes tainted by opinions which favor the enjoyment of this life's felicity, and make men forget the happiness of the life to come, what can one expect from Christians whose minds are bent on discover-

ing new pleasures, and whose senses are athirst for enjoyment? Can such souls pour forth at the throne of mercy prayers capable of inducing God to bring the peoples still benighted to a knowledge of the Gospel truth? Are they the men to come to the help of the priests who are working and fighting for the faith? It was inevitable that the degeneracy of the times should cause a great falling off in liberality even among good Christians, partly because where iniquity abounds the springs of charity are frozen up in many souls, partly because the straitened circumstances to which many are reduced by political revolutions, together with the fear of worse in the future, make many persons more careful of what they have, and less willing to be open-handed.

"Meanwhile, the manifold and pressing needs of our apostolic missions are increasing, and the numbers of laborers in the field are daily diminished: to those whom death calls away, old age enfeebles, and long toil has exhausted, no successors are found equal in number and in virtue. For the Religious Orders whence swarms of such missionaries were wont to issue are dispersed by hostile laws; the members of the clergy are torn from the sanctuary and forced to perform military service; the property of both Seculars and Regulars is sold at public auction or confiscated. At the same time communications are opened up with regions which until now seemed inaccessible, thanks to the better knowledge obtained of countries and peoples. Demands upon demands come to us for bands of missionaries, and new centres of work are created. Thus there is great need of men able to devote themselves to the missions, and to give timely aid to the cause. We pass over the difficulties and obstacles created by our adversaries. Not unfrequently do we see the heralds of false doctrine clothe themselves with the cloak of the apostle, and, relying on their abundant means furnished to them, forestall the zeal of the Catholic priest, or steal into the field which he is forced to abandon, or set up their pulpits in opposition to his, thinking they have achieved their purpose if

the poor heathens, hearing the word of God preached, now in one sense and now in another, are left in doubt as to what path to pursue in order to be saved. Would to God that their efforts proved to be unavailing! This at least is certain, that even those who reject these false teachers, or who have never heard them, but who thirst for the truth, are often deprived of a teacher to imbue them with the sound doctrine, and to lead them into the Church. Ay, truly, the little children cry out for bread, and there is no one to break it to them; the land round about is whitening to the harvest, and to a teeming harvest, but the harvesters are few, and will, it may be, be fewer still in the future."*

* Ibidem.

CHAPTER XXIV.

LEO XIII. AND THE EASTERN PEOPLES.—II. PERSIA, CHINA, AND JAPAN.

THE Armenian students of the Propaganda, like Cardinal Hassun, were the men who since the sixteenth century had kept the faith alive among their fellow-countrymen throughout the Turkish Empire. They were also anxious to spread it among their Mussulman neighbors. But, even had this not been a most perilous kind of proselytism, it was not a very promising one in itself.

The old Moslem populations away from the great cities are simple folk, but sincere and steady believers in Allah; and in their conception Allah is the one, true, living God, the God of Abraham, whom all Christians adore. Of the extravagances or contradictions of the Koran or of its commentators they know or care little or nothing. They are not to be moved from their ancestral faith by the ignorant and tepid Christians who are in their midst. It is only when these shall have been instructed and lifted up by their clergy to a higher intellectual and moral level that the examples of superior virtue first can impress these honest country-folk and open the way to instruction.

1. The Emperor of Persia, Nasr-ed-Din Shah, is a man of progress, liberal and large-minded. During his tour through Europe newspaper reporters were more eager to collect all the wretched gossip they could pick up here and there from hotel servants and valets about the royal traveller's personal habits and peculiarities than to obtain serious information about his many great qualities. That he made up his mind to travel at all outside of his own dominions and in Christian countries, and that for the avowed purpose of observing what he saw and benefiting thereby his own people, proves that he is a man of no ordinary character.

He is sincerely desirous of improving in every way he can the condition of his country. But its central position on the Asiatic continent, and its remoteness from the ordinary highways of commerce and civilization, render improvement a matter of great difficulty.

The shah is quite awake to the ambitious designs of Russia, and so far he has had the skill to avoid a collision with that power.

From his tour through Europe he has also brought back a great spirit of toleration toward Christians; and this he has communicated to his three sons, who govern the empire under him.

The oldest of these, Prince Zel-el-Sultan, is governor of the central provinces, whose capital is Ispahan. He is not the presumptive heir to the throne, because his mother was of inferior rank. But he is a man of rare intelligence. His confidant and counsellor is Baghi-Khan, rector of the University of Ispahan, a man of culture and exceedingly favorable to the Christians. Both the prince and himself first contracted a warm friendship for Father Arakelian, the superior of the Armenian Catholics, and afterwards with Father Pascal, the local superior of the French Lazarists, to whose care the vicariate-apostolic of Persia is entrusted. Prince Zel-el-Sultan has shown himself a kind protector to the Catholic missionaries and their people.

The third or youngest son, Prince Naïb Sultaneh, is Minister of War and governor of the province of Teheran, with his residence in that city. He is no less tolerant and liberal, and has done much to protect and help the missionaries.

The second son, who bears the title of Wali-Ahed, is the heir presumptive. He is the governor of the important frontier province of Azerbaijan, and is rather reserved and retiring, probably on account of the greater popularity of his two brothers.

The delegate-apostolic in Persia is also a Lazarist, Monsignor Thomas, Archbishop of Adrianopolis, who was appointed by Leo XIII. in 1883. Things prospered so well

with him, his brother-Lazarists, and the Catholic Armenian community in Persia, thanks to the protection afforded them by the shah and his sons, that the delegate reported most favorably to the Holy See. Thereupon Leo XIII., pursuing his wonted wise policy, sent to the two princes the insignia of Grand Cross of the Order of Pius IX. This was another stroke of good statesmanship, destined to secure Archbishop Thomas and his brother-Lazarists, who cultivate that field so successfully, a great increase of favor with the royal family and all persons in power.

The presentation of the insignia of the Pontifical Order took place with the greatest solemnity at Teheran on the 2d and the 5th of March, 1886.

Archbishop Thomas, the delegate, was unable, through ill-health and his distance from the capital, to perform the ceremony in person, but delegated one of his brother-missionaries, Rev. M. Domergue, to present the decorations in his stead. The tidings of the distinction bestowed on the two imperial princes by the Supreme Chief of the Catholic religion had created quite a stir among the people of Teheran. The princes themselves expressed their extreme gratification, and were impatient to wear their new honors. So there was a great crowd at the palace on the 2d of March when the French ambassador, M. Souhaid, took Father Domergue in his state carriage, escorted by a numerous company of armed attendants. The East is the country for ceremony, and everything here was done in the most stately form. The Prince Naïb Sultaneh was in full dress and surrounded by a splendid court. He received the decoration from the hand of Father Domergue, who made him a very happy speech, and at once placed the star on his breast, expressing his profound gratitude to the Holy Father, and promising to write himself to His Holiness.

On the 5th Prince Zel-el-Sultan received the insignia with the same ceremony, and replied in a set speech. His august father, he said, had instructed him to treat all his subjects justly without any distinction of creed. He had found the Catholics a hard-working, peaceful, law-abiding,

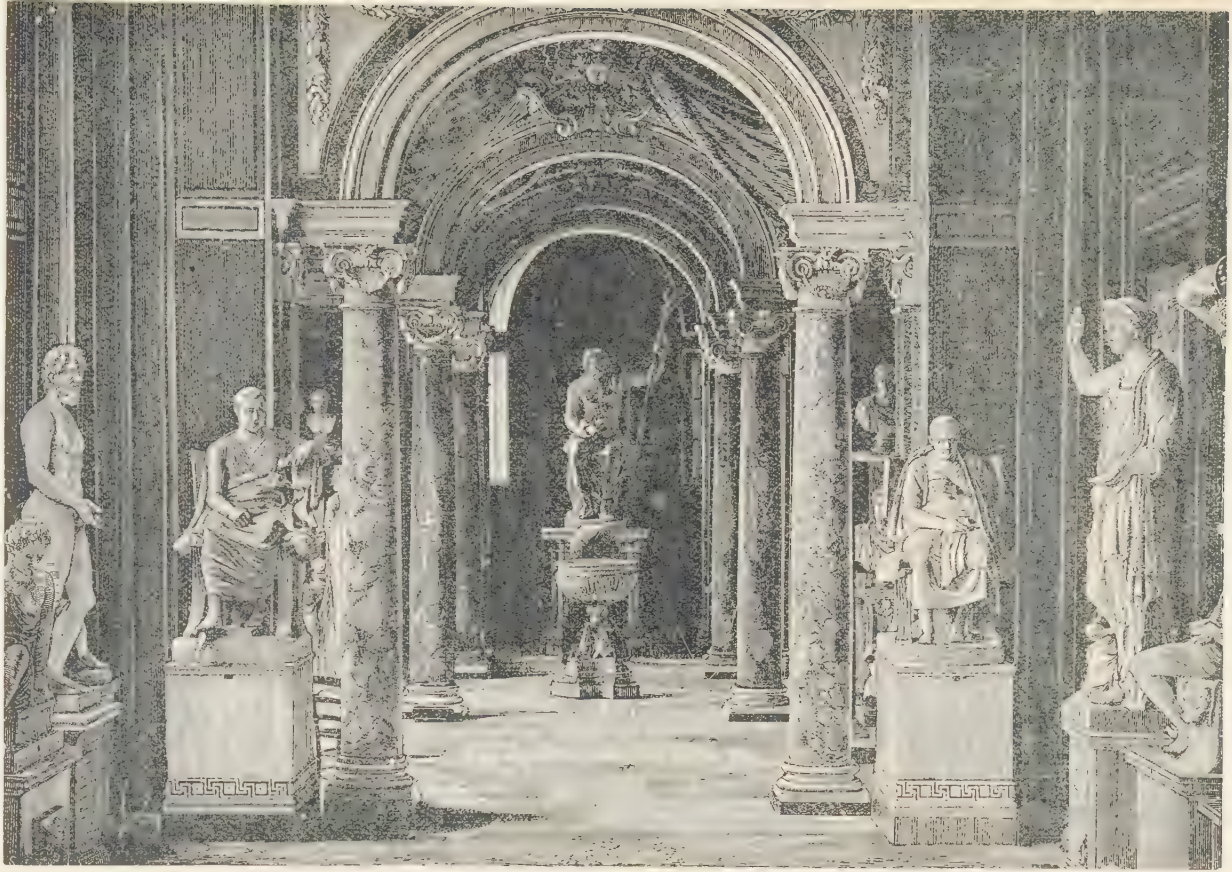
and loyal people; expressed his admiration for Father Pascál, the superior of the mission in his province, and said that he was proud to wear the distinction sent him, would write to His Holiness to express his gratitude, and hoped some day to visit Rome and pay his homage in person to the Pope.

These events are only forerunners of greater success. Persia is destined to play a great part in the Eastern drama, whose first acts are already passing beneath our eyes. If Christian civilization—not the mere material civilization, but the culture of the mind, and the elevation of the heart to nobler virtues and nobler aims, and the refining of life and manners—could only prepare the people to receive the improvements in the mechanical and industrial arts made by Christian nations, and to guard against the defects and dangers which we ourselves acknowledge and deplore, then ancient Iran might take a proud place in Asia.

2. But Leo XIII.'s keen and practical judgment also saw the necessity of establishing a friendly intercourse between the courts of Pekin and Tokio and the Vatican. He therefore resolved to place himself in direct personal relations with the two great emperors of the far East.

On February 1, 1885, Leo XIII. wrote to the Emperor of China for the purpose of warding off from the Christians of the Celestial Empire the outbursts of popular wrath which had already produced bloodshed in more than one city. The invasion of Tonquin by a French army, and the progress of that power in Cochin China, had excited the fiercest national hatred against all foreigners, and threatened to cause everywhere an indiscriminate massacre of Christians.

"We follow the example of our predecessors," the Pope writes, "who have more than once besought the protection of your powerful ancestors in favor of the European missionaries and their flocks. We are led to hope much from your Majesty in this, from the fact that, in spite of the breaking out of hostilities, your Majesty has given many evidences of kindly feeling toward Christians. We were informed that



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from the beginning of the war you had given orders forbidding all to trouble the Christians in any way, and not even to molest the French missionaries. In that your Majesty has shown a spirit of justice and humanity worthy of a great sovereign. We acknowledge this all the more gladly that all the priests of European nationality who are in your Majesty's empire have been sent thither by the Roman Pontiffs, from whom they hold their mission, their office, their instructions, and all the spiritual authority they exercise.

"These missionaries do not belong to any one single nation; Italy, Belgium, Holland, Spain, and Germany claim each a large number of missionaries who labor in ten of the provinces of your Majesty's vast empire. The priests of the Society of Jesus and of the Society of Foreign Missions who exercise their ministry in the other provinces belong to divers nationalities.

"This is the special characteristic of the Christian religion: it has not been founded for one people in particular, but for all; and it receives them all into the fellowship of a common brotherly love, without any distinction of race or of country."

The Pope then states clearly and briefly the great truth on which he insists so strongly and so unvaryingly in his letters to the emperors of Europe as well as to those of Asia, in his communications with the republics of the New World as well as with those of the Old:

"The labors of those who preach the Gospel are of the very greatest utility to states themselves. For they are enjoined to abstain from meddling in mere political affairs, and to bestow all their zeal in preaching and cultivating among the people the wisdom of Christ. Now, the chief precepts of that wisdom are, to fear God and to have in all things a supreme reverence for justice. Hence it follows that we must be submissive to the magistrates, obey the laws, honor the king, not through fear only, but for conscience' sake. Than these virtues nothing can be more efficacious to keep the multitude within the bounds of duty and to secure the public safety." *

* "Acta," v. 10–12.

The Holy Father then appeals to the emperor, asking him whether the missionaries have not at all times been most exemplary in obeying the laws of the empire, as well as most efficient in procuring the public welfare.

The action of the Holy Father in opening direct communication with the Emperor of China has given rise to some untoward discussions in the French and Italian press. Catholic France, up to the present time, has deemed that both her interest and her national pride were involved in standing forth in China as the protector of the Catholic missions. All negotiations between the Holy See and the court of Pekin were carried on through the French ambassador. That the Pope should himself write directly to the emperor was construed by some officious public journals as at least a slight on the government of the French Republic. Others went further and said that Prince Bismarck had urged the Holy Father to make himself in the East quite independent of the now worthless French protectorate. These discussions, and the national feelings to which they appeal, were most untimely and unfortunate. Happening just when Leo XIII. was bestowing on Prince Bismarck a high mark of pontifical gratitude at the happy conclusion of the mediation between Germany and Spain, and coinciding with the strong personal efforts of the German chancellor to end the *Culturkampf* and bring about a perfect religious peace in Prussia, the sensitive national feeling in France was quick to take alarm, to accept false statements, and to resent anything like a concordant action in China of the Holy See and the German chancery.

But the cloud which gathered, borne by the winds of misrepresentation, has vanished before the light of truth. The Pope is left free to follow in the East as well as in the West the promptings of his own well-directed genius.

3. The letter of Leo XIII. to the Emperor of Japan was an act of that same far-seeing policy. The Pope knew what deep roots the Catholic religion had left in Japan when Taïco-Sama deluged the land with the blood of so many thousands of martyrs. It was found during the late perse-

cutions among the Christians * that Catholicity had survived in many places, although no priest could be found to minister to its professors. One of the vicars-apostolic officially states that the Catholics in his district number at least 25,000. In the *Missionary Herald*, the organ of the American Protestant Board of Foreign Missions, † is published a letter from Rev. J. H. Pettee, of Okogama, entitled "A New Peril in Japan," and sounding a loud note of alarm about the manifest leaning of the Japanese nation toward Catholicism. The writer says there is a strong movement among local officials favoring the acceptance of the Roman Catholic religion. The most progressive secular paper in the kingdom has openly advocated baptizing the emperor and a few of the nobles, in order that Japan may be considered a Christian nation.

We give these signs of the times in Japan as observed and noted by an opponent of Catholicity, to enable the reader to appreciate some at least of the circumstances under which Leo XIII. wrote his letter of May 13, 1885, to the mikado.

"Great as is the distance in space which separates us," the letter begins, "we have heard of all that your Majesty is accomplishing in order to increase the prosperity of your states. What your Majesty has done to improve the civil administration and to raise the level of public morality are not only evidences of your provident forethought, but most worthy of the commendation of all men who are desirous of seeing nations make a true progress in prosperity and in the interchange of all the best fruits of civilization. For it is gentleness and urbanity of manners which predispose peoples to listen to the teachings of wisdom and to receive the light of truth. This is why we beseech your Majesty to accept with your great kindness the assurances we give you of our sincere affection.

"Indeed, it is gratitude which prompts us to write to

* See article "Missions (Catholic)" in last edition of the *American Cyclopædia* (Appleton's).

† April, 1886.

your Majesty. The kindly interest which you may take in every one of the missionaries and Christians in your wide empire we shall take as shown to ourselves personally. We know from their own testimony how gracious and kind your Majesty has been to them.

"You could not, assuredly, do anything more in conformity with the principles of justice nor more conducive to the welfare of your states. For you can hope to find in the Catholic religion no little help toward promoting and securing their welfare.

"For the foundation of all states is justice, and there is not one duty which derives from it that is not made obligatory for Christians.

"This is why all who are true Christians are not men influenced by the fear of punishment, but rather by the voice of conscience, in reverencing the majesty of the sovereign, in obeying the laws, in seeking to promote only the public peace and honor. This also is the reason why we so ardently desire that your Majesty should bestow on Christians the greatest possible measure of freedom, and that you should extend to their establishments your continued favor and protection."

As Leo XIII. wrote to these great potentates of the most ancient empires in the world, so wrote he to the king of the Shoa Gallas in Abyssinia, who, in the first years of the Pope's Pontificate, favored the missionaries among his people. Since then, and as we write, this prince's suzerain, the King of Abyssinia, has compelled him to adopt a different policy. The English wars in Upper Egypt and the Italian expedition to Massowah have, not unreasonably, alarmed and irritated both Abyssinians and Gallas. The expeditions of European powers, when undertaken from purely commercial or ambitious motives, are not conducive to the interests of Christian civilization. Italy has started on her new national career with the openly avowed purpose of doing without God and of seeking none of the interests of religion. Even should the new kingdom last a century, we should be curious to peep into the future and know how many col-

onies she may plant in this way and how they are likely to prosper.

Not so did France, and Portugal, and Spain, and England herself attempt to leave God and all religion out of their calculations when they planted their flag and settled their colonies along the shores of the Indian, the Pacific, and the Atlantic oceans.

Leo XIII.'s recommendation to nations and their rulers, both in their home and in their colonial policy, is that of the Master: "Seek ye first the kingdom of God and His justice, and all the rest shall be given to you over and above."

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CHAPTER XXV.

LEO XIII. AND THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING PEOPLES.

WHEN one reflects on the past and present persecutions endured by the Church in countries which were once the glory of the Christian name; on the many restrictions the governments in these countries place on the liberty of the bishops in governing their flocks, and even on the freedom of the Holy See in communicating with the bishops, and in exercising over the local churches the supreme jurisdiction inherent to the Pontifical office; one cannot wonder that Leo XIII. should, like his predecessors, look with grateful affection to the Governments of the British Empire and the Republic of the United States, where so much of true liberty is allowed to the Church, to the Pope, and to the action of the Catholic clergy.

One cannot have conversed at any length with the reigning Pontiff, or with the high prelates in Rome, who are his counselors and coadjutors in the vast administration of a Church comprising more than 200,000,000, and claiming subjects in all lands, civilized and uncivilized, without perceiving how fondly both Pope and prelates turn for consolation to that English-speaking world in which true liberty, religious and political, is so well understood and practised, and in whose social progress and prosperity, based on a deep and all-pervading reverence for religion, and a traditional and enlightened attachment to their laws and institutions, lies mainly the hope of future Christendom.

Let us, therefore, review rapidly the action of the reigning Pontiff on the two great kindred nations.

I.

The British Empire in its relations with the Vatican.

The last half-century (1838–1888) has produced a mighty change in the public opinion of Great Britain with regard to the Catholic Church and her Supreme Pontiff. Among the popular masses the old, anti-papal prejudices have been more tenacious than among the upper and governing classes. The movement of return toward Rome, and the ancient allegiance to the centre of Catholic unity, began among the aristocracy and gentry, leaving the middle classes long untouched. At the same time, the contact in the great cities with the crowds of Irish emigrants flying from their native land in quest of labor and bread, had some influence in softening the bitter hatred of the English, Welsh, and Scotch working-folk against everything that savored of "papistry" and "popery." The surface only, however, of that inveterate crust of ignorant prejudice was slightly touched. The fanatical passions which lurked beneath were as inflammable as tinder, and needed only a spark to set them ablaze.

This was most noticeable on the occasion of the restoration of the Irish hierarchy in 1850. But the furious ebullition of bigotry provoked by the dishonest conduct of Lord John Russell, and which for a while extended to all ranks in Great Britain, suddenly died out, leaving behind in all thoughtful minds a feeling of shame and regret.

And so from 1850 to 1877 the Catholic Church in England grew and prospered. Colleges, convents, monasteries, stately cathedrals, beautiful parochial churches with their schools, hospitals, orphan asylums, homes for the aged, protectories for the young, and refuges for the fallen, sprang up with surprising rapidity. Every one of the newly erected dioceses became a centre of extraordinary religious activity, and it was soon discovered even by the bitter opponents of Catholicism that the revival and the progress of the ancient faith of Alfred and Edward the Confessor, of St. Bede and St. Dunstan, boded nothing but good to the constitution which was the growth of the old Catholic ages, or to that

spirit of manly liberty which had written Magna Charta with a Catholic pen, or to the progress of science and civilization of which Roger Bacon had been the prophet and Cardinal Wiseman was then the exponent.

So, although in political life, in the parliamentary struggles of the present century, English Catholics have never exercised or seemingly cared to exercise any controlling action or influence, Catholic life all over the land, like a beautiful and vigorous undergrowth in one of its own forests, was spreading and waxing strong, and rising steadily and reaching upward to the air and the sunlight. God's appointed time would come for its full stature.

In Scotland, too, that land which Scott's magic pen has rendered classical the wide world over, the wild, beautiful, heroic land of St. Margaret and her husband, Malcolm Canmore, and their son, St. David, the old faith was also spreading and growing. It had held its ground invincibly in more than one part of the ancient kingdom, as among the MacDonalds and the Frazers; and although these clans, whose romantic history has never been written, were forced to migrate to Nova Scotia, Prince Edward's Island, and Upper Canada, the remnants which clung to the native soil, like their own mountain pine and oak, were germs reserved for the glorious revival now beginning. Other germs, from a kindred and well-tried stock within view of their southern and western shores, the storm-winds of misfortune had borne along the track once followed by Columbkille's bark, and they fell on the Caledonian shores, to take root there, and blossom, and bear fruit, also in God's good time.

And time had been, long ages ago, when the apostles from green Erin were welcome on every inch of the soil of Great Britain, and when Britain's greatest and best, like Dunstan himself, were wont to repair to the schools of Erin. How hospitably they were received and entertained there St. Bede himself has attested. Religion and its charities, the knowledge of Christ and the civilization which sprang from it, drew the islands together and all hearts within them. Though the sea ran as now between them,

brotherly love bridged it over. Will the faith which the countrymen of Columbkille carry with them across the Channel, hidden, as it were, in the folds of their garments, not grow up on the land, in its length and breadth, as the promise of the coming age when that faith will unite all once more, as in the days of Bede and Dunstan, and the bitter, unnatural passions of to-day will have passed for ever, as passes the violent delirium of a fevered brain?

It surely is the hope of Leo XIII. It is the hope of every man and woman who loves Christ, and prays for a greater triumph for His Gospel than in the days of Constantine.

With what glad avidity Leo XIII. seized upon the opportunity offered him by the uncompleted work of Pius IX. to do for Scotland what the latter had done for England—give her back her episcopal hierarchy! One cannot help feeling, after weighing attentively the heartfelt expressions which he uses both in the bull *Ex Supremo Apostulatus apice* and in his first consistorial allocution, that the Pontiff is drawn by a special affection toward these Western isles, from whose teeming bosom have gone forth the founders of mighty empires beyond the seas—the founders as well of that new and greater Christendom which is to compensate the Church for the decay of faith nearer home.

This is a happy augury for Leo XIII., that the first solemn act of his Pontificate should be to build up again the ecclesiastical edifice at which St. Margaret and her royal husband had labored so many ages before.

"From the highest summit of the apostolic dignity"*—so he begins—"to which, by no merit of our own, but by the disposition of the Divine Goodness, we were lately raised, the Roman Pontiffs who preceded us were wont unceasingly to survey, as from the top of a mountain, every portion of the field of the Lord, so as to discover whatever was most needful to the actual condition, the beauty, and the stability of all the churches; wherefore their first and princi-

* "Acta Leonis XIII.," vol. i., pp. 1 *et seq.*

pal solicitude was, in proportion to the aid given them from on high, either to erect episcopal sees all over the world or to recall to life such as had perished through the misfortunes of other times. For as it is the Holy Ghost who hath established bishops to rule the Church of God, therefore, as soon as the state of our holy religion in any country permits the establishment or the restoration there of episcopal government, it is proper that all the benefits which naturally flow from such a divinely constituted order of things should be at once conferred on that country.

"Now, our predecessor of blessed memory, Pius IX., whose death a few days ago we all still deplore, having noticed at the very beginning of his Pontificate the progress made by the Catholic missions in the prosperous kingdom of England—a progress permitting the restoration of the regular form of Church government therein as it exists among other Catholic peoples—gave back to the English their regular episcopal hierarchy. . . . And not long thereafter, seeing that Holland and Brabant were in a condition to enjoy the same benefits, he delayed not to restore to them also their episcopal hierarchy. . . .

"Passing over the re-establishment of the patriarchate of Jerusalem, all these restorations were evidently acts of wise forethought; for their results, with God's blessing, fully corresponded to the expectations of the Holy See, for everybody knows what benefit the Catholic Church in all these cases derived from the restoration of the episcopal hierarchy.

"It pained the loving heart of that good Pope that Scotland could not then share in the common benefit. And his fatherly pain was increased by the reflection that Catholicism in former times had made such fruitful progress in Scotland.

"What our predecessor, therefore, was prevented by death from doing, God, so plentiful in mercy and glorious in all His works, hath permitted us to do, in order that we should inaugurate by a happy beginning the Pontificate accepted with fear and trembling in these unhappy times.

Wherefore, having informed ourselves thoroughly of this important matter, we have gladly resolved to accomplish forthwith what Pius IX. had already decreed. . . .

"And now, addressing our prayers to Him in whom it hath pleased God the Father, in the dispensation of the fulness of time, to restore all things, we beseech Him, who gave the beginning to this good work, to perfect the same, to confirm and strengthen it, and to grant to all those to whom it pertaineth to execute our present decrees the light and energy of divine grace, in order that this restoration of the episcopal hierarchy in the kingdom of Scotland may redound to the prosperity of the Catholic religion.

"To this end we also invoke near the Restorer of all things, our Lord Jesus Christ, the intercession of His most holy Mother, of St. Joseph, his putative father, of the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, of St. Andrew, whom Scotland especially honors, of the other saints, and in particular of Scotland's queen, St. Margaret, the glory and bulwark of her realm, that they may all extend to this Church in her newness of life a loving and continued favor." *

And so in the land of the Bruce, to which her sons and daughters cling with unspeakable fondness and pride, the ancient faith and worship of the generations led to battle by Bruce were reviving anew in all the promise of a glorious springtide. Old prejudices are waning fast, and brotherly love—that true charity begotten of truth, of mutual knowledge and appreciation, and blessed of God and man—is fast bringing minds and hearts together. The spirit of St. Margaret is abroad. The Catholics of Scotland cannot yet rebuild or restore from their ruins the beautiful places of the ages of faith; but other convents and monasteries, schools and colleges, with great institutions of charity and beneficence, are springing up and multiplying. The monastery-bell and the ancient chant of the Matins and Vesper office are heard in more than one romantic spot among these

* "Acta," vol. i. pp. 1–16.

nills and along loch and stream, so that, in the words of Leo XIII. in his first consistorial allocution, "the mountains of Scotland are clothing themselves with peace for the people, and her hills are putting on righteousness."

"But the spirit which Margaret had brought with her from her native home on the Thames, that spirit tried and chastened by long suffering, is working powerfully all through her own paternal kingdom, like the vital warmth of sun and earth and atmosphere in May and June. What cannot be hoped of that land and that people when all will once more be governed by that spirit?"

Leo XIII. in 1881 found a fitting opportunity to place on record his opinion of the Catholic England of the past, and the high hopes he entertained for the future of a thorough revival of Catholicism, and of the mighty influence the Three Kingdoms and their vast colonial empire are destined to exercise on the social and religious future of the world.

This opportunity arose from the peculiar relations in which in Great Britain the members and houses of the old Monastic Orders stood with regard to the newly restored hierarchy. These orders, their members and houses, had been subject immediately to the jurisdiction of the Holy See, and only indirectly subject to the ordinary jurisdiction of the bishops. The bishops themselves, ever since the days of Elizabeth down to the middle of the present century, had lived and labored in Great Britain as vicars-apostolic, immediately dependent themselves on the Propaganda, and partaking of the extraordinary and exceptional conditions of a persecuted religion.

The Religious Orders, the Benedictines and Jesuits in particular, had braved suffering and death in every form, and lived among their tried people as best they might dur ing the dark days which seemed to know no end while cen tury succeeded to century. They lived by twos, by threes at most, generally all alone, and wandering about from house to house when the persecution was at its height. Not before the present century did their residences, their schools,

their churches dare to show themselves above the ground, like timid shoots fearful of the frost when the winter has been long and the spring is delayed.

These modest houses and churches and schools of Benedictine and Jesuit throughout the length and breadth of the land had been the sanctuaries and nurseries of the proscribed faith for the heroic generations, who were born and lived and died without seeing any ray of hope brighten for them the western sky as they went down to the grave.

Necessarily these temporáry abodes of the Monastic Orders could not be subject to the ordinary prescriptions of canon law during the days of trial; and when the trial ceased and the hierarchy was restored, questions arose concerning the Monastic Orders so situated, in their relations with the secular clergy and the bishops, now restored to the ordinary status, which it required the authority and all-seeing wisdom of the Holy See to settle once and for ever.

This happened in 1880–81, when a special committee of cardinals, aided by the most experienced jurists in Rome, examined the whole matter in all its bearings, submitted each point to be adjudicated upon to the Sovereign Pontiff, and enabled him to issue the constitution *Romanos Pontifices*, which was at once accepted by all parties as God's own oracle.

"That the Roman Pontiffs who have gone before us," the Pope says, "have cherished a fatherly love for the illustrious English nation we know from the records of history, and from the solid proofs enumerated by Pius IX., of happy memory, in his bull, *Universalis Ecclesiæ*, of September 29, 1850. As that bull restored the episcopal hierarchy in England, he thereby crowned the measure of benefits conferred by the Holy See on that nation. For by this restoration of diocesan government that portion of Christ's fold already called to the wedding feast of the Lamb, and become a member of His mystic body, acquired a fuller and more stable possession of the truth and order through the rule and government of their bishops. . . .

"The subsequent events wonderfully corresponded to

this wise design [of Pius IX.]; for several provincial councils were celebrated, which passed salutary laws for the regulation of diocesan matters; the Catholic faith received thereby daily increase, and many persons distinguished for their rank and learning returned to the unity of the Church. The clergy were much increased in number; so was increased the number of religious houses, not only of those belonging to the Regular Orders, but of those belonging to more recent institutes, and which rendered great services to religion and the state by educating the young and practising works of beneficence. Many pious lay sodalities were founded, new missions were established, and a great number of churches arose, splendid specimens of architecture and magnificently decorated. Then numerous asylums were created for orphans, together with seminaries, colleges, and schools in which a multitude of children and young people are trained to piety and the knowledge of letters.

"The great merit and praise of all this are due to the character of the people of Great Britain, which is one of invincible constancy in misfortune, easily accessible to truth and to reason; so that not undeservedly did Tertullian say of them: *Britannorum inaccessa Romanis loca, Christo subjecta*—'The Britons made their regions inaccessible to the Romans, but subjected them to Christ.' * But what is most to be praised in Great Britain is the unwearied vigilance of the bishops, the ready disposition to obey of the whole body of clergy, and their prompt and diligent activity."

The points in controversy between the bishops and Religious Orders are then exposed, discussed, and decided with a fulness of detail, a clearness, a grasp of the principles and interests involved, and a spirit of moderation, justice, and fatherly love, which made the sentence on every point most acceptable, as it was final.

Few documents in the annals of the Roman Pontificate are more creditable and more deserving of a canonist's study than this constitution.

* "Adversus Judæos," c. v.

"Having thus solved the disputes laid before us," the Pope says in conclusion, "we trust that the care we have bestowed in settling them shall avail not a little to promote the peace and increase of the Catholic religion in England. We have based our sentences carefully and scrupulously on the rule of justice and equity, and we entertain no fear but that the same diligent care and scrupulousness will guide the parties interested in carrying out our decisions. Thus shall it happen that, guided by the authority and wisdom of the bishops, the members of the Religious Orders, who have deserved so well of the English missions, will continue to labor strenuously and cheerfully, and to reap therefrom the most abundant and happy fruits of salvation; and that both bishops and religious (to use the words of Gregory the Great to the bishops of England) *with common . . . accord and united action, shall be unanimous in arranging together what is to be done for Christ's glory, that they shall think aright, and that whatever they have thus thought out they shall carry into effect without differing from themselves.** The fatherly love of the bishops for their fellow-laborers, as well as the reciprocal respect of the clergy for their bishops, alike demand that such concord shall reign. Such concord is also required by the common purpose of both—the salvation of souls, which they have to secure by united zeal and efforts. It is also required by the necessity of resisting those who are the enemies of the Catholic name.

"Concord is a source of strength, and it enables even the weak to accomplish great things; it is also a sign by which the true followers of Christ are known from those who only pretend to be so. To observe this concord we earnestly beseech all and every person concerned, asking them with Paul to fulfil our joy, being of one mind, having the same charity, being of one accord, agreeing in sentiment." †

The fatherly exhortation fell upon docile ears and loving hearts. The constitution was issued on May 16. Ere the

* Apud Bedam, "Hist. Ang.," ii. 29.

† "Acta," ii. 227 and following.

month had passed Cardinal Manning wrote to the Holy Father that he, for his part, cordially acquiesced in the decision of the Holy See. So did the other prelates, and so did the venerable religious whose predecessors had lavished their sweat and their blood on the field they were cultivating. No weeds of discord or uncharitableness could take deep root there.

The Cardinal-Archbishop of Westminster, as well as his friend and colleague, Cardinal Newman, were giving illustrious examples to the rest of the British hierarchy in the all-important matter of education. Cardinal Newman, to whom the Roman purple had come unexpected and undesired, as the supreme testimony of the Holy See to a long life of unsullied purity and unvaried devotion to the cause of truth, had only one wish—to remain buried in his school at Edgbaston, while encouraging his brother-Oratorians to give all their care to the training of youth. No man in England had done more by his prolific and classic pen to educate the generation contemporary with himself than John Henry Newman—none, save, perhaps, Cardinal Manning, whose high position at the head of the Hierarchy of Great Britain, and whose official authority enabled him to direct the zeal and the labors of educators, and the friends of education.

It was a providential favor bestowed on Great Britain, at the time when unbelief and scientific Materialism, under the deceptive name of Liberalism, were possessing themselves of schools of every grade, and giving a baneful direction to public instruction, that such a man as Cardinal Manning should be there to thwart their designs, and animate all true Christians to preserve school and college and university alike from the blight of Agnosticism.

It is to this zeal, as shown in favor of primary schools in particular, that Leo XIII. gives such a glowing tribute of praise in the letter *Spectata fides*, addressed to the Cardinal-Archbishop of Westminster and his brother-bishops on November 27, 1885.

"Your shining faith," the Pontiff writes, "and your

singular devotion to this Apostolic See, are strikingly evident in the joint letter lately received from you. It has been all the more pleasing to us, that it goes far to confirm us in the conviction we had already formed, that you bestowed a great part of your vigilance and your care on a matter which never can be too much cared for. We mean the education of young children, concerning which you have recently met to enact some decrees, afterwards referred to us. It is a great consolation to us to know that in a work of such importance you are not left to struggle alone. We are fully aware what credit is herein due to the entire body of your clergy. They have most lovingly labored, in the face of great difficulties, to open schools for children ; they have, moreover, taken on themselves the task of teaching, and have shown a skill and a constancy alike admirable in training these little ones to Christian manners, while instructing them in the first elements of human knowledge. In so far, therefore, as our voice can stimulate their efforts, or bestow on them well-merited praise, we bid your priests to continue their meritorious labors for the young, and to be sure of our distinguished commendation and affection, looking up for a far higher reward to our Lord God, in whose service they are toiling. No less worthy of praise do we esteem the generosity shown in this cause by your Catholic people. We know how cheerfully they contribute all that is needed toward the support of these schools. Nor is it the rich alone who are thus generous, but those of slender means and the needy. So that it is both most beautiful and most meritorious to find among the poorest classes persons who willingly contribute toward the education of children. In our day and in the present condition of public manners, when so many dangers threaten on all sides the tender age of childhood, nothing could be more opportune than to combine in their education the teaching of letters with instruction in Christian doctrine. For this reason, what are called 'free schools' have been opened, through the zeal and liberality of private persons, in France, Belgium,

America, and the colonies of the British Empire ; and this, as we have often declared, with our fervent approval. Nor is it less our desire to see these schools multiplied and blessed with a number of pupils.

"The first elements and vital germs of all civilization, such as Christ brought down from heaven for mankind, are to be found in the Christian training of early youth. The future state will scarcely have any other citizens than those which early education has moulded. It is a most baneful error, utterly subversive of the maxims of ancient wisdom, and destructive of the fundamental conditions of civil life, to bring up children without any religious training. You may judge from this how carefully parents should see to it that their children should never be sent to literary institutions where they cannot receive religious instruction. With regard to your native Great Britain, we are aware that not only yourselves, but a majority also of your people, are very careful in imparting to children a religious education.

"For, although they do not agree with us on all points of belief, they nevertheless understand how deeply it concerns both individuals and the community at large that they should not permit the total loss of the inheritance of Christian wisdom received by your forefathers from our predecessor, St. Gregory the Great, through the Blessed Augustine, and which the violent revolutions of after ages had not dissipated. We know that there remain, even at the present day, very many persons whose excellent disposition leads them to seek in every way they can to retain their ancestral faith, and who show its fruit in abundant and admirable works of charity. We can never think of all this without feeling ourself deeply moved; for we entertain a fatherly love for that island called, not undeservedly, the Mother of Saints. And in the disposition of mind just alluded to we see the firm hope and the pledge of the salvation and prosperity of the inhabitants of Great Britain."

* There had long been among English Catholics an

* "Acta," v., pp. 162–165.

ardent and often expressed wish to see the heroic men and women who had suffered for the faith in England during the first age of the Reformation solemnly acknowledged by the Church as saints and martyrs. Even amid the progress of religious tolerance and liberal ideas in politics, prudential reasons had withheld both the English hierarchy and the Holy See from urging to a conclusion the proceedings for canonization, long pending before the Congregation of Rites. In 1886 the sagacious mind of Leo XIII. judged that the proper time had come for sanctioning by a solemn decree the honors paid to these confessors of the Faith, not only in England itself, but in Rome, during the last three hundred years. So, on December 4 of that year, sixty of these martyrs, put to death from 1535 to 1583, "in hatred of the Faith," were formally beatified. This glorious band comprises bishops, regular and secular priests, and laymen. Among them shine forth the names of John Cardinal Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, of Lord Chancellor Sir Thomes More, of Margaret Pole, Countess of Salisbury, and mother of Cardinal Pole.

"England," says the Holy Father in the Decree of Beatification, "formerly called the Island of Saints and the Dowry of our Blessed Lady, was glorified in the first ages of the Church by the sufferings of numerous martyrs. Even so, when, in the sixteenth century, a calamitous schism separated her from the obedience and communion of the Holy See, she lacked not the witness of those who '*did not hesitate to give their lives with their blood for the honor of that See and the truth of the Orthodox Faith.*'*

"Nothing is now wanting to the completeness and glory of this illustrious band of witnesses, nor the majesty of the Roman purple, nor the venerable dignity of episcopal rank, nor the heroism of both the regular and the secular clergy, nor the invincible constancy of the weaker sex.

"Foremost among them stands John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, and Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church, whom

* Gregory XIII. : Const. *Quoniam divinæ Conitati*, May 1, 1579.

Paul III. in his letter styles *a man distinguished for holiness of life, celebrated for his learning, venerable for his years, the glory and ornament of that kingdom and of the clergy throughout the world.*

"From him must not be separated a layman—THOMAS MORE, High Chancellor of England—on whom the same Pontiff bestows high and deserved praise, as *one excelling in the knowledge of the sacred sciences, and unflinchingly asserting the truth.*

"Wherefore all the most illustrious ecclesiastical writers are unanimous in affirming that all these persons shed their blood to defend, restore, and maintain the Catholic Faith.

"Moreover, Gregory XIII. permitted in their honor many acts of public and ecclesiastical worship, of which this was the most noted—that he allowed their relics to be used in consecrating altars whenever the relics of the ancient holy matryrs could not be obtained. Besides this, after having caused Nicolo Circiniano (*Pomerancio*) to paint in fresco the sufferings of Christ's martyrs in the Church of St. Stephen on the Cœlian, he permitted the same painter, for the same motive, to represent in the English Church of the most Holy Trinity the acts of both the ancient and the modern martyrs of the English Church, among whom were those who, from 1535 to 1583, under Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, suffered death for the Catholic Faith . . ."

In the same solemn session of the Congregation of Rites the sanction of the Holy Father was given to proceed with the cause of 255 other persons who suffered martyrdom in Great Britain during this era of persecution.

This twofold event was hailed with great rejoicings by the English Catholics. In every diocese there were held solemn celebrations in honor of the martyrs. No opposition was made by the Government or the local authorities. Well might Leo XIII. behold in these peaceful festivities, as in the progress of Christian education and the deeply religious and conservative spirit of the mass of the English people, the augury and pledge of a full return to the centre of Catholic unity.

CHAPTER XXVI.

II.

LEO XIII. AND IRELAND.

THE problem of Irish misery, misrule, and unrest was forced upon the attention of Leo XIII. from the beginning of his Pontificate. As the Common Father of Catholic Christendom, the teacher, guide, and judge of all in things spiritual—in all things, indeed, which touch the conscience or regard the performance of duty in the political as well as the purely religious order—the Pope had to form his judgment on the right and reason there was in the persistent claims of Ireland for justice.

In the British Empire, where the large-minded Pope desires to see the union of all creeds and races as the common bond of national strength, no chronic injustice or oppression weakens any one portion of the great colonial possessions in which an English speaking population predominates. The one cause of division, of discontent, of weakness, lies in the very heart of the Three Kingdoms themselves, which are the seat of imperial sway.

Could the Irish be appeased? Could the two islands be ever bound together in a political, a social, a moral union as strong as that which holds the State of New York welded to that of Pennsylvania as two integral portions of the great Republic?

This could only be on a twofold condition—that England should undo the wrong perpetuated by more than seven centuries of misrule, and do for Ireland what simple justice and common sense demand: treat her as her dearest self-interest demands she should treat Devonshire or Wales or Yorkshire; have one common law for Irishman and Englishman; compel the landlords of Ulster and

Munster and Connaught to have as much care of the productiveness of the soil, and the health and welfare of the tillers, as the landlords of the English counties have ever shown for their estates, their farmers and farm-laborers. Let the development of every resource—agricultural, mineral, industrial, commercial—which Ireland possesses be as great an object of English statesmen's solicitude as are those of Great Britain.

If England persists in doing quite the contrary, then is it manifest that she does not treat the "sister island" as if it were an integral, essential portion of the empire properly so-called—that is, the Three Kingdoms. Where, then, is the real *union* between the two kingdoms?

This, then, is the first condition required, that the legal bond connecting the two countries should mean the same measure of justice dealt out equally to both, and the same careful and kindly economy in developing the resources and promoting all the best interests of each without partiality or distinction.

The other condition must be to appease the feuds of race and religion so industriously and systematically fostered in England against the Irish Catholic, in Ireland among the English colony, whom the British government and British public opinion persist in regarding and acknowledging as the only "Irish nation."

The concession to Ireland of the measure of self-government granted to Canada, and enjoyed by Ireland a century ago, would satisfy the claims of political justice, and, if accompanied by the liberty to cherish their home industries and commerce, it would also have the effect of putting an end to the degrading poverty, the misery, as well as the misgovernment, which are the inveterate sores of that unhappy country. With the contentment arising from Home Rule, and the prosperity certain to follow it, would slowly but surely come the breaking down of the barriers which a bad land system, together with the bitter passions of race and religion, had created between the Protestant minority and the great mass of their Catholic fellow-citizens

In this double *appeasement* Leo XIII., like all true statesmen not born and interested partisans of landlord misrule, like all impartial and enlightened men, saw the only means of cementing a strong, lasting, real union between the two islands and the two peoples. This union, founded on justice and mutual regard, would—so the civilized world thinks—make England all-powerful in her island home, and enable her to cultivate peacefully and surely, in every portion of her vast colonial empire, the best fruits of Christian civilization and material prosperity.

Thus, while the reign of well-ordered liberty, justice, and religion enabled the United States and the Canadian confederacy to make a whole continent populous, prosperous, and happy, the enjoyment of the same blessings would keep Great Britain and Ireland the great conservative force in Europe, while revolution, irreligion, and anarchism were undermining and engulfing the old order of things on the Continent.

Anxious to see this long-desired *appeasement* of the just discontent of Ireland brought about and the power of England thereby increased for good, the Pope was startled, in 1879, to hear once more the periodical cry of famine issue from the Green Isle; and with the fearful distress which such a cry is founded on, the rumors and fears of agrarian or revolutionary violence crossed the Continent to Rome.

It would be a miracle indeed if, in a country where the great mass of the rural population, the tillers of the soil, had been for centuries reduced by the blind antagonism of race and religion, and by the inconceivable unthrift, neglect, and hard-heartedness of the majority of the landlords, to depend for subsistence on a single tuber, the potato, and to live in hovels in which the landlords would not keep their dogs—if rack-renting, and starvation, and eviction aroused a perishing people to resistance and such acts of retaliation as their unarmed condition allowed.

In every country and among every people known to history, oppression, spoliation, the pitiless greed of the wealthy and the powerful, have driven, and must ever

drive, the oppressed and starving into secret associations and dark conspiracies organized against the oppressor.

In Ireland there has been no exception to this rule. There, too, rack-renting, eviction, starvation, and the systematic denial of all redress have ever driven the unhappy people to seek the only means of resistance and of redress within their reach—in the secret societies. From the despair begotten of the extremity of distress sprang Fenianism and the Invincibles and the Dynamiters. To agrarian violence, the dark deeds and threats of the societies, a drastic Coercion Act was deemed the only remedy. This, instead of reaching the root of the disorder, only attempted to quell the symptoms. It was like cauterizing with red-hot irons a deep wound when the poison was raging in the blood and throwing its victim into spasms he could not control.

To be just we are bound to say that the great statesman, the head of the government, did prepare in 1880 a deeper and more efficacious remedy in the shape of a Land Act. This act, "in itself as well as in the designs of its author a magnificent boon far surpassing in importance anything ever bestowed on Ireland by an English Parliament, would have been hailed with rapture and gratitude by the Irish people had it not been heralded by the most odious Coercion Act known in the dark annals of Irish misery. Before insulting the nation with this atrocious measure the prime minister did not stop to ask the Irish bishops and the political leaders of Ireland whether or not the horrible crimes committed in Dublin or elsewhere were the legitimate offspring of the teachings of the former or of the principles of the latter. Both prelates, priests, and politicians would have answered that these deeds of blood were only the natural consequences of a hatred and a despair begotten by an oppression to which there had been, so far, no let-up."

What was needed at that moment in Ireland itself to prevent the organization and growth of these secret societies, to keep the people out of them, and to repress their

deeds of violence and blood, was a cordial union of the bishops among themselves and with their priests, and a thorough understanding with the political leaders who possessed the confidence of the nation. Unhappily, in 1880 and the four following years no such union existed or appeared probable.

We are now describing the social and political condition of Ireland as it would have met the eyes of Leo XIII. had he visited the island in the autumn of 1879, when the cry of *starvation* and the fearful reality appalled the country and startled the world.

We have said that the failure of the crops and the utter impossibility of paying rents where no rent had been produced by the land did not prevent the proprietors from exacting it, and, where it was not and could not be paid, turning the tenants out on the roadside and levelling their cottages before their eyes. It was a cruel thing to do.

Then arose the cry: "Keep your grip on the land!" and the Irish Land League sprang into existence.

It stood between the landlord and the tenant, demanding of the former that he should allow the tiller of the soil to live upon it and by it, co-operating with the latter in making the land productive, and allowing him such a share of the fruits of his husbandry as should make life worth living for. It stood between the rack-renter and his unfortunate and helpless tenant, between the evicter with his crowbar-brigade and the cottage in which the tenant and his fathers before him were born. Irishmen must have means, room, and liberty to live, to labor, and to prosper on a soil which God made fertile, but which man's improvidence and cruelty had made unproductive and barren.

Such was the Land League, soon to be suppressed, only to arise anew and more powerful in the National League and its outgrowth, the Irish Parliamentary Party.

One phenomenon struck sagacious observers from the very beginning of the famine of 1879, from the first appearance of the Land League, and the National League which succeeded it—that wherever its branches existed and

were patronized by the bishop and his priests, there no agrarian crimes were heard of, no secret-society clubs could subsist. Wherever, on the contrary, as in Dublin, as in parts of Munster and Connaught, the bishop would not tolerate the existence and interference of the League, or permit his priests to keep thereby touch and control of his people, there the secret societies had it all their own way, and outrage and murder were committed.

It thus became a fact of experience, an undeniable truth of observation, that to keep the people from violent resistance to oppressive laws, from acts of bloody retaliation on rack-renting landlords and their agents, from all illegal and reprehensible deeds in a word, it was necessary that both the clergy and the political leaders should stand by the people, advise, restrain, and support them in the advocacy of their just claims.

The National party in Ireland—and by that I mean four millions at least out of the five who compose its present population—needed organization. Clergy and people had the same aspirations, the same aims, and put forward one identical claim for justice; but they lacked what peoples on the Continent of Europe possessed. In every country where revolution has upset the old order of things and established a new, the change, whether for good or for evil, has been effected by organization. That enabled the secret societies to use the government and arms of Piedmont, in Italy, to change the political, social, and religious conditions of the Peninsula. That enables the same dread Occult Force to level, piece by piece, the entire framework of society in France. That gave the seventeen millions of German Catholics the strength to baffle and to withstand the most anti-Catholic and destructive legislation of the Culturkampf.

This want of organization is the secret of Poland's ceaseless and bootless struggles for freedom and the restoration of her nationality.

Up to the summer of 1885 this, with regard, at least, to the furtherance of the national cause, was the fatal defect

of the Irish hierarchy and inferior clergy. Now they are morally a unit, and as such they constitute the main element of strength in the present national movement. But with the Land League, the National League, and the Parliamentary party the people and their political leaders found out the secret, the power, and the success of a perfect and compact organization.

Before this salutary twofold union of the clergy among themselves and with the people and the Parliamentary party had been happily consummated, the recurrence of agrarian outrages and deeds of blood in several parts of Ireland had given the bishops much concern and had deeply pained Leo XIII.

Of his opinion and sentiments in regard to the Irish people and the justice of their claims we have very full and satisfactory evidence in the two letters addressed by him to the Irish hierarchy on August 1, 1882, and January 1, 1883, respectively.

"The kindly affection," he says in the former, "which we cherish toward Irishmen, and which seems to increase with their present sufferings, forces us to follow the course of events in your island with the deep concern of a fatherly heart. From their consideration, however, we derive more of anxiety than of comfort, seeing that the condition of the people is not what we wish it to be, one of peace and prosperity.

"There still remain many sources of grievance; conflicting party passions incite many persons to violent courses; some even have stained themselves with fearful murders, as if a nation's welfare could be procured by dishonor and crime!

"This state of things is to you as well as to us a cause of serious alarm, as we had evidence of ere now, and as we have just noticed by the resolutions adopted in your meeting at Dublin. Fearful, as you were, for the salvation of your people, you have clearly shown them what they have to refrain from in the present critical conjuncture and in the very midst of the national struggle.

"In this you have discharged the duty imposed alike by your episcopal office and your love of country. At no time do a people more need the advice of their bishops than when, carried away by some powerful passion, they see before them deceptive prospects of bettering their condition. It is when impelled to commit what is criminal and disgraceful that the multitude need the voice and the hand of the bishop to keep them back from doing wrong, and to recall them by timely exhortation to moderation and self-control. Most timely, therefore, was your advice to your people, reminding them of the Saviour's injunction, 'Seek ye first the kingdom of God and His justice.' For all Christians are therein commanded to keep their thoughts fixed, in their ordinary conduct as well as in their political acts, on the goal of their eternal salvation, and to hold all things subordinate to the fulfilment of their duty to God.

"If Irishmen will only keep to these rules of conduct they will be free to seek to rise from the state of misery into which they have fallen. They surely have a right to claim the lawful redress of their wrongs. For no one can maintain *that Irishmen cannot do what it is lawful for all other peoples to do.*

"Nevertheless even the public welfare must be regulated by the principles of honesty and righteousness. It is a matter for serious thought that the most righteous cause is dishonored by being promoted by iniquitous means. Justice is inconsistent not only with all violence, but especially so with any participation in the deeds of unlawful societies, which, under the fair pretext of righting wrong, bring all communities to the verge of ruin. Just as our predecessors have taught that all right-minded men should carefully shun these dark associations, even so you have added your timely admonition to the same effect.

"As, however, these same dangers may recur, it will become your watchful care to renew these admonitions, beseeching all Irishmen by their reverence for the Catholic name, and by their very love for their native land, to have nothing to do with these secret societies. These can in no

wise help a nation to obtain redress for its grievances; and, all too frequently, they madly impel those whom they have ensnared to commit crimes.

"Irishmen take a just pride in being called *Catholics*—an appellation which, according to St. Augustine, means *the guardians of all honor and uprightness, the followers of all equity and justice.** Let them fulfil by their acts all that this word *Catholic* implies; and let them, while vindicating their own just rights, endeavor to be indeed all that their name suggests. Let them remember that 'the highest liberty consists in being free from all crime'; and let no one among them, so long as he lives, have to undergo lawful punishment 'as a murderer, or a thief, or a slanderer, or one who has coveted other people's property.'†

". . . We deem what you have decreed concerning your young priests to be proper and timely. For if ever there were circumstances when priests should be zealous and energetic in maintaining public order amid popular excitement, such are the present circumstances with you. And just as the estimation in which each one is held by the public is the measure of his influence over others, even so should priests endeavor to win this public esteem by self-respect, firmness, and temperate word and deed. They should do nothing that prudence could condemn, nothing that can fan the flame of party strife. . . .

"In this way, and by following such rules of conduct, we do believe that Ireland shall yet attain to the prosperity which she seeks, and that, too, without wronging any one. As we have already declared to you, we trust still that the government will conclude to grant satisfaction to the just claims of Irishmen. This we are led to believe from their acquaintance with the true state of things and from their statesmanlike wisdom; for there can be no question that on the safety of Ireland depends the tranquillity of the whole empire.

"Meanwhile, sustained by this hope, we shall lose no

* "Liber de Vera Religione," n. 9. † "Acta," iii. 129–133.

opportunity of helping the Irish people by our advice, pouring forth to God for them prayers filled with the warmest zeal and love, beseeching God to look down with kindness on a nation made illustrious by the practice of so many virtues, to appease the present storm of political passion, and to reward them at length with peace and prosperity."

Such were the noble words of fatherly love and advice sent to Ireland at a time when superhuman efforts were needed on the part of the religious guides, as well as on that of the political leaders, to prevent a people driven to despair from having recourse to the most violent and hurtful measures.

There is the outspoken acknowledgment of the justice of the nation's claims and of their constitutional right to seek redress by legal means.

Not in vain was the strong appeal made by the Pope to Irishmen's pride in being called "Catholics," and in the prayer that they would fulfil in their conduct the meaning of the word. Still the agitation continued, the working of Coercion Acts only serving to irritate and inflame where the united efforts of all men of order, of all who loved Ireland truly, should have been used to soothe the angry passions of the masses.

In the autumn of 1882 the difficulties in the path of the bishops seemed to multiply, and again they had recourse to the Sovereign Pontiff for light and guidance (October 4).

"Your letter," he says in reply,* "is a new proof of your respect and affection, as it is an evidence of the gratitude you and your brother-bishops feel toward us for our concern in the welfare of Ireland, and for the counsels given in our letter of August 1 last past. . . .

"We cannot help congratulating you . . . on the zeal displayed in calming the existing agitation. . . . We also congratulate these children of the Church, who have lis-

* "Acta." iii.

tened so obediently to your admonitions, and who, enduring with Christian fortitude the sufferings of adversity, knew how to keep their sense of wrong within the bounds imposed by duty and religion.

"Still, although Irish Catholics continue to give splendid proofs of their zeal for religion and of obedience to the Supreme Pastor, the condition of public affairs requires that they should bear in mind the rules of conduct which our affectionate solicitude for them induced us to lay down for their direction. The secret societies, as we have learned with pain during these last months, always persist in putting their hope in the commission of crime, in kindling into fury popular passions, in seeking for the national grievances remedies worse than the grievances themselves, and in pursuing a path which will lead to ruin instead of to prosperity.

"It is, therefore, imperative that you inculcate deeply in the minds of your beloved people, as we have already said, that there is but one rule for what is right and for what is useful; that the just cause of their country must be kept separate from the aims, the plots, the deeds of criminal associations; *that it is both right and lawful for all who suffer wrong to seek redress by all rightful means*, but that it is neither right nor lawful to have recourse to crime for redress; that Divine Providence enables the just to reap at last a joyful harvest from their patient waiting and their virtuous deeds, whereas the evil-doers, having run their dark course to no purpose, incur the severe condemnation of both God and man.

"While we remind you of all these truths, impelled to do so by our ardent desire to secure some solace, quiet, and prosperity to Ireland, we are also filled with confidence that you, acting in concert and bound together by brotherly love, will continue to bestow your best care in preventing your faithful people from having anything to do with men who, carried away by their own passions, think they are doing their country service when they commit the worst crimes, and who, by urging others to like wickedness, bring shame and dishonor on the cause of the people."

It was worthy of the great heart of the Pontiff, tried as he then was by many sorrows, and burdened by an intolerable load of care, to utter his sentiments regarding Ireland with such solemn emphasis and such fatherly tenderness, while the struggle in Ireland was growing in intensity, and every effort to coerce only increased tenfold the power of resistance, and intensified in the same measure the hatred of laws, law-givers, and law-courts, which to the people meant only the administration of injustice.

No doubt the words of Leo XIII., repeated and commended from every pulpit in Ireland, went far to assuage the public resentment at the passing and enforcement of the "Crimes Act," and still further to prevent many from joining the dark societies which always spring from national misery and thrive on national discord.

The Land League was suppressed and its members imprisoned by the hundred; but this repression only left the secret societies a free field to work, and murders and outrages increased apace. The prison-doors were opened by the government, and it became at once apparent that the Land League, instead of being a source of agitation, outrage, and crime, was the only effective barrier against them.

Then arose the National League, which grew and grew until it counted among its members or its fellow-workers the whole body of the clergy, nine-tenths of the Catholic laity, and not a few of the most enlightened and influential among Protestant clergymen and laymen.

An incident occurred soon after this which chilled for the moment the warm feeling of gratitude and veneration felt in Ireland and among Irishmen everywhere for the Holy Father. We allude to the famous Propaganda circular. But the see of Dublin becoming vacant in February, 1885, by the death of Cardinal McCabe, the Sovereign Pontiff reserved to himself to confirm the choice made of Very Rev. Dr. Walsh, President of St. Patrick's College, Maynooth, to succeed to the deceased cardinal.

The election of this distinguished man was in itself re-

markable, as indicating among the clergy of the metropolis an almost unanimous impulse to join the national movement, and thus reverse the policy followed by the two last archbishops. The intrigues, authorized or unauthorized, which thereafter occurred, to have the nomination of Dr. Walsh set aside by Rome, proved ineffectual. The Irish hierarchy had been summoned to Rome before the death of Cardinal McCabe. They repaired thither in May. The Sovereign Pontiff had, therefore, ample opportunity to ascertain the wishes of the Irish episcopate on the subject of this important election, and to be made acquainted with the true significance of the national movement.

In June Dr. Walsh's nomination was confirmed. Thenceforward this prelate was both the organ of his brother-bishops in all public and national matters and the spokesman of his fellow-countrymen. From that moment, too, there was unity of thought, purpose, and action between the clergy and the Parliamentary party.

The passing cloud which had in the Propaganda circular for a moment darkened and chilled the Irish Catholic heart was now forgotten, and Leo XIII. became to Ireland and her sons the *Lumen in Cœlo* of their own St. Malachy.

In dealing with the British cabinet the Pope, while considering the interests of Catholic subjects in Great Britain and in Ireland, as well as throughout the colonies, had also to have a regard for the feelings of the Irish race both inside and outside the British dominions. As the settled gloom on the material prospects of the Emerald Isle deepened with every decade that passed, leaving the Irish agriculturist less of resources and hope, and Irish labor no remunerative field or market within the compass of the Irish seas, the best and most religious men in the nation found increasing difficulty in restraining the outbursts of mingled despair and righteous wrath arising from wrongs easy of redress, but to which the government only applied homœopathic doses of relief, coupled with intolerable coercion.

English statesmanship, Orange fanaticism, and hatred

ST. ALBERT'S COLLEGE LIBRARY

of race cried aloud: Let them starve or emigrate! What could the religious guides or the wise political leaders of a starving and oppressed people say or do to prevent an armed uprising, which would have justified the accusations and the demands of the exterminators? And what could the fatherly heart and the unpurchasable justice of the Roman Pontiff do to save the sufferers, to inspire the misgoverning with a sense of equity and humanity, to refuse to the oppressor a sanction of any of his schemes for redressing the wrong, but what, in the preceding pages, as we can judge from his own letter, he has done?

He has set the seal of his sanction on the justice and righteousness of Irish claims for self-government; he has recommended to the nation and its leaders, churchmen and laymen, obedience to the laws, peaceful and constitutional methods, and he has expressed his hope and uttered his prayer *that justice may be done to Ireland.*

While the election of Dr. Walsh to the vacant metropolitan chair of Dublin was still unconfirmed by the Holy See, the Gladstone Ministry was defeated in Parliament at an unguarded moment, and by the votes, mainly, of the Irish members. Lord Salisbury, who was surprised to find himself in power without the support of a parliamentary majority, sought to conciliate the Irish Nationalists, without whom he could not carry on the Government. The Earl of Carnarvon, a man whose moderation and conciliatory temper fitted him rather for a member of the Liberal party than for an instrument of Lord Salisbury's stern coercion policy, was appointed Viceroy of Ireland. He appeared in Dublin unattended in his rides through the city, without the armed military escort which his predecessor, Earl Spencer, had, unwisely, deemed necessary for his own protection. Lord Carnarvon, in his visits to the provinces, also trusted himself to the people. He was safe in their keeping.

During the short Tory interregnum before the general elections, it is certain that advances were made, by some of the Ministers, at least, both to the Irish Bishops and to

Mr. Parnell, and promises held out, not only of a greater measure of justice to Irish Catholics in the matter of education, but of concessions looking toward Home Rule.

Meanwhile, also, Mr. Gladstone, Lord Spencer, Sir William Harcourt, and others among the leaders of the Liberal party, frankly and publicly acknowledged that their views on the policy pursued toward Ireland had undergone a total change. They condemned coercion, advocated conciliation, and proclaimed to the world that the claims of Irishmen to self-government were just ; and that in the full and generous satisfaction of these claims lay the only effective means of binding the two islands and the two races together in a strong and permanent union.

With these declarations, Mr. Gladstone and his party sought the suffrages of their electors. That both political parties were now anxious to secure the support of the Irish Parliamentary party, is unquestionable. That the Tory Government made promises to Mr. Parnell which they did not intend to keep, has been affirmed by the latter, and is probable from the circumstances in which the Cabinet found itself. Certain it is that at the most critical moment the Irish electors in England were instructed to vote for the Tory candidates. This secured the return of more than one of Lord Salisbury's followers, and lessened the majority of the Liberal leader in the new parliament.

He was, nevertheless, at the head of a large majority. It was the misfortune of Mr. Gladstone, in bringing forward early in the session, his scheme of self-government for Ireland, that he failed to obtain for it the support of some of the most influential members of his Cabinet, and of seeking to repeal virtually the Act of Union between Great Britain and Ireland, before public opinion in the former country had been enlightened and prepared for the change.

The great Liberal statesman, who risked his reputation,

his popularity, and the very existence of his party on this venturous scheme for doing justice to Ireland, was at once accused of imperilling rashly the unity of the Empire. The cry of the Union in danger, of the disruption of the British Power, was raised with well-calculated effect. Mr. Gladstone and the supporters of his proposed Irish policy, whether in Great Britain or among the Irish parliamentary party, were held up as "Separatists," and, as such, as the worst enemies of the Crown and country.

The Orange faction in the north of Ireland was at once aroused into the most violent opposition. Members of the late Tory Government, who had been known to court openly an alliance with Mr. Parnell and with the Irish Catholics, did not scruple to urge the Orangemen of Ulster and the Protestants of all Ireland to resist even by force of arms the restoration of a Parliament to Dublin. Mr. Gladstone had announced his intention of introducing, immediately after his bill for self-government in Ireland, a land-bill, which was so far favorable to the Irish landlords as to amply indemnify them for all losses suffered in the proposed changes. It was declared, and not without reason, that this was a landlord bill aiming to secure the support of the proprietary class for the legislative scheme of self-government.

But already, as the latter was discussed in detail, article after article, in the House of Commons, it became painfully evident that the Prime-Minister was forsaken not only by some of his own colleagues, but by a large section of the Liberal members. He found himself in a hopeless minority, in spite of the support of Mr. Parnell and his followers. The Irish landlord class, who belonged, with few exceptions, to the Tory party, rejected blindly the new land-bill, and set themselves like one man to resist the whole plan of Mr. Gladstone.

Defeated in his magnanimous purpose, he appealed once more to the country. But the cry of "Separation!" and of "The Union and the Empire in danger!" had gone forth. No denial of the calumnious imputations so largely

dealt in during the electoral canvass, no explanation of the avowed loyalty of the great majority of Liberals still attached to Mr. Gladstone, or of the Irish Nationalists with their bishops and priests, would be listened to amid the tempest of prejudice and passion so skilfully let loose and kept up by Lord Salisbury and his associates.

These returned to Parliament with a clear majority of more than a hundred, thanks to the defection of the Liberals who clung to the Marquis of Hartington, and of the Radicals misled by Mr. Chamberlain and John Bright. These, false to the principles and professions of their party, and false as well to their own political past, now found themselves committed to the illiberal policy of the Tory leader. He had allowed himself to say that what Ireland needed to settle her chronic difficulties was "twenty years of a drastic coercion government." He now introduced and passed a permanent Coercion Act, so worded and astutely devised that those charged with enforcing it might confiscate mercilessly every liberty of subject, without allowing to the oppressed any effective appeal to the higher Irish courts, any redress from the English Judiciary. It was treating Ireland worse than ever dismembered Poland had been treated by her Russian masters.

Disguise their real purpose as they might, it was clear that Lord Salisbury and his party simply meant to make of his permanent Crimes Act an effective and permanent means of compelling the tenants of Ireland either to pay an impossible rent or to fly the country, or to take refuge in the workhouse. The knowledge of this secured him the support of the entire landlord class, whether Protestant or Catholic, and bound the Orange faction firmly to the Tory fortunes.

There had been devised by some of the Irish leaders, who were well aware of Lord Salisbury's purpose, what is now famous as "the Plan of Campaign," a scheme by which the tenants were to combine, and offer to the local landlords a just and reasonable rent, such as the calamities

of the season and the depreciation of all agricultural produce enabled them to pay. Should the landlords refuse, then the tenants were to fund the proffered rent and pay nothing till the proprietors came to a compromise.

It was a desperate device in a desperate extremity. Unhappily it laid the great mass of the Irish peasantry, and of the Nationalists, priests as well as laymen, who encouraged them, open to the accusation of violating contracts binding in justice. The cry of "Socialism!" and "Communism!" was raised. The agents of England in Rome found means of calling the attention of the Pope to what the Tory journals characterized as a conspiracy against property and the good faith on which all contracts are based. Leo XIII., unwilling to take any public action on a matter which had apparently obtained the support of the majority of the Irish clergy, sent Archbishop Persico, formerly Bishop of Savannah, as Pontifical Commissary to Ireland. Mgr. Persico was to inquire carefully into the troubles between landlord and tenant, into the right or wrong of the Plan of Campaign, and to inform the Holy See of the true state of affairs. It was confidently hoped that the presence and mediation of the Commissary would bring about a good understanding between the great landed proprietors and their tenants, and thus render useless the rigors of coercion.

No foreigner, however, who had not previously acquainted himself thoroughly with the history of Ireland, and the historical causes of the inveterate evils of which the Irish Catholics and the Irish agricultural population had to complain, could understand in the space of a few weeks or months the complicated political and social conditions of the Irish people. Mgr. Persico's mission of conciliation would have been very difficult under any circumstances. In the year 1887 it had no chance of success. It could only make four-fifths of Irishmen at home, and the great mass of the Irish abroad, assume toward the Holy See and its envoy an attitude of distrust and suspicion.

The campaign carried on in Great Britain by Mr.

Gladstone and his lieutenants, aided by the most eloquent members of the Irish parliamentary party, was fast winning over in favor of Home Rule the English people. Scotland and Wales had already pronounced in favor of the Sister Island. Constituency after constituency in England itself was electing Gladstonian representatives instead of Conservatives. English, Scotch, and Welsh members of Parliament, gentlemen of wealth and position, and journalists, were traveling through every part of Ireland, studying the condition and sentiments of her people, witnessing the inhuman scenes enacted at wholesale evictions, and returning home fired with a holy indignation at atrocities disgraceful to the English name.

The cause of Home Rule for Ireland was like the rising tide; while the Salisbury Government, elected amid a national storm of anti-Irish prejudice and passion, only held power through the precarious support of Liberals acting against their own conscience and the known truth.

Ireland felt assured of success, and did not desire that the Holy See should interpose its authority. She only begged to fight her own battle with the aid of the English Liberals and the ever-increasing sympathy of public opinion.

The conviction felt by the quick-witted Irish peasants that the Tory rule could, at most, be only of short duration, and that from the fall of the Salisbury Cabinet was to date for themselves the end of coercion, and for their country the new era of Home Rule, were preternaturally patient. It needed neither the exhortations of their bishops and priests, nor the fatherly counsels of the Pope, to induce them to endure all the hardships and cruelty to which they were hourly subjected. Theirs, they knew, was a winning cause. They had only to stand together firmly, and endure all that the Government could inflict to enforce a bad law, and their spirit of endurance and invincible constancy must be soon crowned with the richest reward ever won by a nation.

Such was the situation when the Imperial Parliament met in February, 1888. Lord Salisbury had vainly tried to obtain from the Pope any official declaration which could tend to discourage the Irish Nationalists, or sanction in any way the oppressive measures of their enemies.

CHAPTER XXVII.

FUNERAL OF PIUS IX.—SITUATION OF THE POPE IN ROME.

THE summer of 1881 in Rome was rendered sadly memorable by an incident of which the civilized world heard with equal astonishment and indignation. This was the savage riot got up by the anti-clerical clubs of Rome on the occasion of the translation of the remains of Pius IX. from their temporary resting-place in St. Peter's to his own chosen burial-place in the basilica of San Lorenzo outside the walls of Rome. As Leo XIII. states in his narrative, the government and the municipal authorities had been duly informed of the intended removal. That they deliberately appointed an insufficient military guard for the funeral procession, knowing that it would be attacked, is now a matter of which no statesman in Europe doubts. That they were glad to see the lifeless remains of the man they had persecuted, despoiled, and hated with an intensity proportionate to the greatness of the wrong they did him, outraged in death, who will gainsay?

It is a pity to strip the allocution which Leo XIII. delivered on August 4 following of its own native diction. His pen was inspired by a righteous anger at the inhuman outrage thus committed in the city of the Popes against one who had been beloved by the Catholic world as Pope had never been before.

But let us listen to his solemn recital of occurrences:

"Pius IX., as you know, Venerable Brothers, gave instructions that he should be buried in the basilica of San Lorenzo outside the walls. Wherefore, the time having come for the execution of his last will in this regard, the authorities charged with guarding the public peace were

informed, and it was resolved to take the remains away from the Vatican basilica in the silence of the night, at the time when all is wont to be most quiet. It was also determined that the funeral procession should be, not what the dignity of the pontifical rank required or was demanded by the ritual of the Church, but what the present state of the city permitted to be carried out.

"But the tidings having spread all over the city, the Roman people, not forgetful of the benefits conferred by the great Pontiff, as well as his virtues, showed spontaneously that they intended to give a last testimony of their regard and love for their Common Parent. This surely was only a mark of gratitude and piety worthy of the Roman people's dignity and religious feeling, all the more so as they purposed doing nothing more than to follow the procession decorously, or to show themselves reverently and in large numbers wheresoever it passed.

"On the appointed day and hour the funeral train left the Vatican, amid a great multitude filling the square and the adjoining streets. There was a large body of pious men around the funeral car; a still greater number followed it. These, reciting the prayers becoming the occasion, had no thought of uttering a word or a sound offensive to others or calculated to incite in any way to disorder. But from the very beginning of the march a well-known band of bad men set about disturbing the performance of the solemn office by unseemly cries. Then, as their numbers and audacity increased, so they went on increasing in their efforts to create tumult and terror; they uttered the most atrocious blasphemies, hailed with hissing and insults the most respectable persons. The funeral cortége was hemmed in by crowds of angry men, whose looks and voices threatened them at every step, while again and again they attacked the procession with volleys of stones or with blows.

"Worse than all, what no savages would have done, they did not even spare the remains of the holy Pope. They loaded his name with opprobrious epithets, again and again hurled a shower of stones at the hearse, crying

out repeatedly that the unburied body should be cast forth.

"This shameful scene lasted all through the long route, during the space of two hours.

"If the last extremity of outrage was not reached it is due to the self-restraint of those who, subjected to all kinds of violence and insult, preferred rather to bear everything patiently than to suffer that worse things should happen during the discharge of so sacred a duty.

"These facts, known to all and attested by the public records, cannot be denied by those interested in doing so, all their efforts to the contrary notwithstanding. Spread abroad by public report, they have everywhere filled Catholic hearts with grief, excited the spontaneous indignation of all men who still have a regard for the name of humanity. From all parts we daily receive letters expressing the execration of the writers for the foul shame of the deed and its atrocious savagery.

"But to ourselves above all others this serious and criminal outrage has been a source of equal concern and anxiety. Our duty impels us to guard the dignity of the Pontificate and to defend the memory of our predecessors; we, therefore, in your presence denounce and deplore this outrage, and cast the blame on those to whom it belongs, who failed to defend against the rage of impious men the sacred rights of religion and the freedom of the citizens. From what has occurred the Catholic world can see how little security there is for us in Rome.

"It was before a matter of notoriety that our situation was for many reasons one of intolerable suffering. The facts which have just happened have made more evident still that, if the present condition of things be bad enough, what we have to expect in the future must be still worse.

"If the remains of Pius IX. could not be borne through the city without giving occasion to shameful disorders and violent rioting, who will guarantee that the same criminal violence would not break forth should we appear in the streets in a manner becoming our station—especially if a

pretext were taken from our having, as in duty bound, censured unjust laws passed in Rome, or any other notorious act of public wrong-doing? Wherefore it becomes more and more a thing well understood that we can now only live in Rome by remaining a prisoner shut up in the palace of the Vatican.

"Furthermore, if one only reads carefully the signs of the times and remembers that the secret societies have conspired to destroy Catholicism, one can reasonably affirm that the enemy is maturing still more pernicious designs against the Church and the Sovereign Pontiff, as well as against the ancestral faith of the Italian people."

Signor Mancini, then Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Depretis cabinet, felt called upon to write to the representatives of his government at the various courts. Not one fair-minded person on either side of the Atlantic believed his statement, bungling, blundering, and palpably untruthful as it was. He and the men whose spokesman he was flattered themselves that they held undisputed possession of Rome, and could, any moment they pleased, turn the Pope out of the Vatican. Even we in America believed that European diplomacy, speaking in the name of all the Great Powers, had for ever set the seal of their approbation on the usurpation of the Papal States and the occupation of Rome. But Signor Mancini and Prime Minister Depretis knew right well, in August, 1881, and remembered with unspeakable bitterness, that at the Congress of Berlin, on the conclusion of the Russo-Turkish war, the proposal of Count Corti, the Italian plenipotentiary, to obtain then and there a solemn and final sanction of the "facts accomplished" in Italy and in Rome by Victor Emmanuel and the revolution, was indignantly repelled by Prince Bismarck and the other members of the Congress.

So the *facts accomplished* have not been solemnly recognized and sanctioned by the only court in the civilized world to which it appertains to do so. And as the years pass on the chances are continually lessened for obtaining such a sanction.

The day will surely come in Rome when the memory of Pius IX. will be honored by a solemn pageant, a procession through the streets of Rome, from the Vatican to San Lorenzo, of representatives of every Catholic country under the sun.

It is impossible that the Popes, the Common Parents of all humanity, should not have their own again, and be masters in that Rome where, after the downfall of the Roman Empire and the last invasion of the barbarians, they established the focus of that new, that glorious Christian civilization which their missionaries and their authority extended to every continent and every people.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

LEO XIII. AND THE UNITED STATES.

THE first official act of Leo XIII.* in 1884 was the issuing of the bull *Rei Catholicæ incrementum*, convening at Baltimore, in the November following, a Plenary Council of the Church in the United States. The twelve archbishops had been summoned by the Sovereign Pontiff to meet in Rome in the preceding November (1883), there to receive from himself and the Congregation of the Propaganda the necessary instructions concerning the new matters to be discussed, and the perfecting in every way of Church organization and discipline within the limits of the Republic.

As the venerable Cardinal McCloskey, Archbishop of New York, was prevented by ill-health from being present in the council, the Holy Father appointed Archbishop Gibbons, of Baltimore, Apostolic Delegate and president of the council. The archbishops returned from Rome as soon as their consultations were ended, and began, in conjunction with their respective suffragans, the examination and discussion of the manifold important matters to be decided in the approaching assembly.

The labors of the prelates, the progress of religion among their flocks, and the prospect of the coming council afforded Leo XIII., amid his many cares, incessant labors, and bitter trials, a subject of unspeakable joy. He had presented to the archbishops before they left Rome a full-length portrait of himself, to be hung in the hall where they were to deliberate, so that, as he said to them, he might, in a manner, preside over this great national council —the greatest till then ever held in the New World.

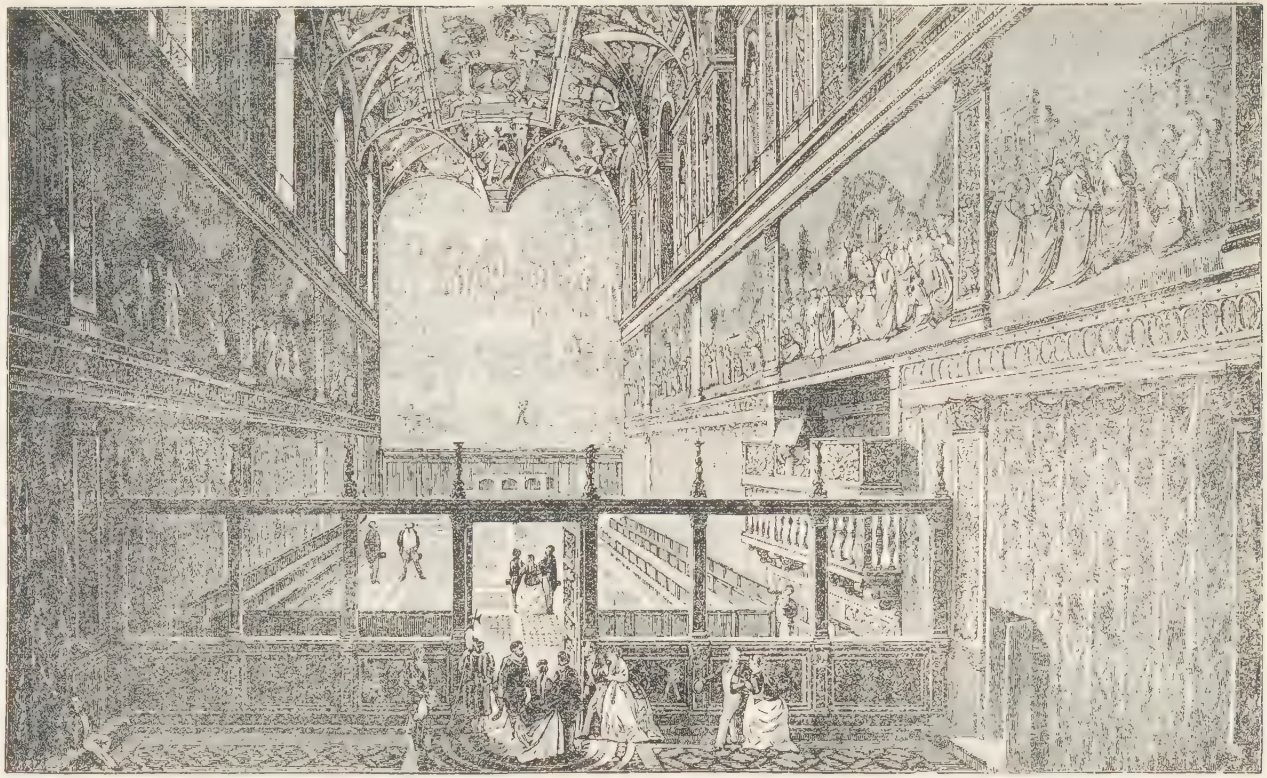
* "Acta," iv. 1.

It will not seem to the reader to be here out of place to review briefly the history and condition of the great Western Republic and the marvellously rapid growth therein of Catholicity.

While Joachim Vincent Pecci was still in his childhood, the Republic of the United States, though its independence had been formally recognized by Great Britain, had still to contend against the arrogant ill-will of this power. British men-of-war had but little respect for the stars and stripes, asserting and mercilessly using, on every sea, the right of searching American vessels, and the right as well to press their crews into the military service of England. He was still a child when an English fleet could ascend the Potomac and destroy all that it pleased in the nascent capital of the Union, and when a British force could possess itself of Baltimore and hold the citizens absolutely at its mercy.

During the two first decades of the century the government of Washington had scarcely less cause to be dissatisfied with the rulers of France. It required no little moderation and no small degree of tact to prevent a rupture of intercourse between the two countries and the breaking out of open war.

But no external adversity could long or effectually check the development of a free people amid the unbounded resources of a country which embraced a great portion of a mighty continent, and was destined soon to extend its limits from the Atlantic to the Pacific. For at the bottom of that people's unparalleled prosperity lay a twofold fact—*they were a religious people*, among whom, though divided into various and hostile denominations, there reigned a deep religious sense, pervading not only private life but influencing and regulating public life; and they were a practical people, to whom the fatherly Providence who had in the mother-country watched over the birth and growth of all their social institutions had also in the New World inspired them with a deep love of the same, and thereby preserved them, from the very beginning of their separate national existence, from the revolutionary changes which



INTERIOR OF THE SISTINE CHAPEL IN THE VATICAN

have been the bane of the Latin races on Continental Europe, as well as in their great colonies beyond the seas.

Americans themselves, who wonder at the decadence which has fallen, like a blighting frost on a fruit-tree in the glory of its full bloom, on Spain, Portugal, and their colonial empires at their highest pitch of power and pride, have never accounted to themselves for the difference between their own progressive prosperity and the rapidly progressive decay of countries once so prosperous, the utter downfall of peoples once so mighty and so enterprising.

The Anglo-Saxon race in the United States were given the conservative instincts which arose from their thorough knowledge of the laws and institutions which had been in the old country the outcome and expression of their whole social life—a life continued in the new, and there expressed by the same institutions, the same laws, the same forms of government, in so far as the altered circumstances of a new existence permitted their doing so.

The laws, the manners, customs, and governmental forms of a nation, from its early birth to its adult state—if *these are hallowed by religion* and in conformity with the deep moral sense of the people, as well as the circumstances of clime and soil and geographical surroundings, are as much the creation of Nature—that is, of Him who made this world for mankind, and who directs man in his progress and destiny—as the tree is the growth of the soil, and its fruit the joint product of earth and air and sun.

God gave the Anglo-Saxon race at home, in what, in the fullest comprehensiveness of the word, we may call the British Constitution, this full embodiment of the character, the tendencies, the needs of the race; He gave them with that an enlightened love and a deep attachment to these forms of their social life.

In America these forms, with the very important exception of the feudal proprietary system imported into England by the Normans, were planted and cherished by the early British colonists. It was an invasion of the most sacred constitutional rights of the people of the colonies by

the British Parliament which led to the War of Independence in 1775. The war, miscalled a revolution, was entirely conservative. Americans fought to defend their rights, to preserve from usurpation or infraction the dearest privileges of British freemen and citizens. The war over, and even from their solemn Declaration of Independence, their governmental forms, their laws, the entire framework of their social life, remained what they had been. After the war the Constituent Assembly which drew up the present Constitution only tried to adjust the existing forms of State governments to the exigencies of a Confederation or Union, bound together by a strong federal bond, while leaving to the component States or sovereign communities all the freedom competent with the existence, the unity, the undivided strength of one national life.

The Union sacredly preserved everything compatible with the condition of the people in a country where no king, no lords, no landed aristocracy, no privileged classes, no feudalism had ever existed. Thus all the precious elements which belonged to the public and private life of the race had been integrally transferred to its American home; all the best features of the English Constitution and government were sacredly preserved or modified with a reverent hand in the political edifice which arose after the War of Independence. This inborn knowledge of American laws and institutions, this attachment to the customs and usages of the fireside and the forum, this deep-seated reverence for authority and order wedded to freedom, the American citizen and his sons take with them to every part of their native continent covered by the flag of the Union.

Leo XIII. watched with deep interest the development of these conservative institutions. Every new territory organized from out the wilderness by these hardy and intelligent pioneers was modelled on the time-honored forms of the State and Federal constitutions, every new State which asked for admission into the Union, was, he observed, carefully constructed on this same plan. This nation is a beehive, made up of cells built symmetrically on one type, as

if the workmen, like the bees, were guided by an instinct antecedent and superior to the mere agency of reflective intelligence.

They have been directed, guided, protected by a Power which looked far beyond the present age and the needs of even a continent or an epoch. They have been inspired, impelled to build for all time, for the benefit, the instruction, the happiness, the elevation of the human race in the era which is now dawning, and in that other era which must come for the human family when the Eternal God will think it time to realize the ideal of His own Son, the God-Man, Christ.

We have been, therefore, preserved in the United States from the frightful convulsion of 1789, which, in destroying from its very foundations the very structure of French society, unsettled in the minds of men the very intellectual principles on which all truth depends, and deposited in men's hearts and men's lives the germs of a moral licentiousness commensurate with the libertinism of thought and judgment inculcated by Voltaire, Jean Jacques, and the French Encyclopædia.

How strange, but how striking, that while the French statesmen of 1789 were thus blowing up the social edifice reared by their fathers, and inoculating all the Latin nations with the virus of their own political and religious madness, the assembled representatives of the American Union should have been laying simultaneously the foundations of a system which preserved all that was best in the political life of their forefathers! French principles and practices have been a social plague spreading over a continent, depopulating cities and country places, and leaving behind desolation, ruins, death, or despair. The principles and practices of the American statesmen of 1789 were like the planting the Sacred Tree of India, which, spreading wide its branches and sending its shoots into a congenial and blessed soil, has covered the land from sea to sea with communities of law-abiding, God-fearing, and ever-progressive freemen.

Of the original thirteen States which formed the American Union, Leo XIII. could see that one only, the State of Maryland, contained the nucleus of a Catholic population. The colony which bore that name had been founded by Catholic emigrants, with a small admixture of Protestants. This is not the place to speak of the perfect freedom of conscience proclaimed by Leonard Calvert and upheld by the men who shared his fortunes; nor of the persecutions to which these Maryland settlers were afterwards subjected. In the Three Kingdoms at home intolerance reigned supreme: it was one of those social epidemics which arise among a people, are fed by the ambient air and the qualities of soil and water around, preying equally upon men of all classes. The epidemic crossed the seas with the ships of the mother-country and the colonies, and raged along the Potomac, the Wycomico, and the Chesapeake, as along the shores of Narragansett and Massachusetts Bays.

It lasted, with periodical outbreaks of fiercer violence, till the War of Independence, and the alliance with the France of Louis XV. and Louis XVI. acted like a thunderstorm which clears the overclouded skies and purifies the atmosphere of mephitic vapors.

Among the men who were foremost in devotion to the Union at its birth were the ill-treated Catholics of Maryland. Charles Carroll of Carrollton pledged the largest fortune to the cause of liberty; his cousin, the Jesuit John Carroll, was Benjamin Franklin's associate in a fruitless embassy to the Catholic colonists of Canada, and he it was whom, at Washington's own request, Pius VI. appointed first Bishop of Baltimore.

So began, in 1789–90, to spring up the Catholic hierarchy, which was destined ere a century had elapsed to have its goodly branches in every State and Territory of the Union. As the very names of Carroll and of Baltimore *

* Leonard Calvert, Lord Baltimore, took his title from the then Parliamentary borough of that name situated near Cape Clear Island, in south-western Cork, destroyed by Moslem pirates about 1635, and now restored to

indicate, the children of the Emerald Isle were amongst the first precious seeds of Catholicism cast into the virgin soil of free America. Catholicism, coming principally in the persons of Irish exiles, would add new strength to the religious element furnished by both Cavalier and Puritan. The easily-accounted-for hatred of all civil authority and law begotten in the Irish heart by long centuries of administrative oppression and organized judicial injustice would, when a quarter of a century later the great tide of emigration from Ireland set in steadily, be changed into love of American institutions and a law-abiding spirit all the more lasting that they are founded on conscientious conviction.

And so in the New World, as the radical and anti-Christian revolution progressed in the Old, the Christian religion was casting such deep roots; faith in the Redeemer worshipped by our fathers, and the loving practice of His precepts, bearing, in the pure air and bright sunshine of freedom, fruits unseen before on earth—fruits such as to gladden the hearts of every successor of the sixth Pius and the seventh, from Leo XII. to Leo XIII.

No less important an element to the population of the great Republic of the Western world has been contributed by the Teutonic races of the European Continent. The socialistic and radical notions imbibed at home by non-Catholic Germans die out after a few years of sojourn in the free and healthy air of a country where there is room for all, and where the fear of God and respect for established law and order are inculcated at every fireside. So perish in a great measure the Socialist theories brought over from France by the comparatively few Frenchmen who come to the United States to better their fortunes and then return. These retain their flippancy, their scepticism, and their attachment to the baneful theories learned from their *doctrinaire* masters. But whereas this last fraction of the quicksand population of the United States contribute little to the hopeful religious future of

life, industry, and prosperity by the noble munificence of the Baroness Burdett-Coutts.

the Republic, the German-Catholic citizens show in the country of their adoption the same admirable qualities displayed in the Fatherland: intelligence, industry, and habits of organization for all purposes of beneficence, education, and religion, which render them one of the most progressive, as they are one of the most conservative, elements of the new nation.

Religion, therefore, in its teaching and its practice, and in the two great races which are its professors in the United States, is a principal factor in the estimate which the Christian historian and statesman must form of the great future that lies before the nation founded by Washington.

The month of November came at length, and before its first week was ended a number of prelates and priests were to be seen around the cathedral and the archbishop's residence. The metropolitans had been summoned a few days in advance to consult with the apostolic delegate on the rules of procedure and other matters. Two of these preliminary conferences were held on the 6th and 7th, the latter in the Seminary of St. Mary's, where the Sulpicians placed the house at their disposal during the council. It was in the great hall of this institution, which, together with the Jesuit College of Georgetown, is the most venerable seat of learning in the Union. For John Carroll, on returning to Baltimore as its first bishop toward the close of the last century, brought with him a band of Sulpicians, the parents of a long and venerated line of apostolic men, the educators and models of the clergy of Maryland and the neighboring States.

On Sunday, November 9, the great council opened, a wonderful spectacle even to the citizens of Baltimore, who had been accustomed to these periodical assemblages of the Catholic hierarchy and clergy. On the Saturday Leo XIII., without waiting for the message which the council intended to send him, telegraphed: *The Holy Father sends his blessing to the fathers of the Plenary Council which begins to day.*—LOUIS CARDINAL JACOBINI. To which Archbishop

Gibbons answered: *Eighty-three prelates assembled in council return thanks to your Holiness and assure you of their dutifulness and devotion.*

Was not this great ocean cable a type of that Catholic faith and love which bind continent to continent and unite the most distant peoples in constant and loving intercourse with the Holy See, the Chair of Peter, and the fatherly heart of the Pontiff?

Then there was a telegram sent to the Archbishop of New York, the first prelate on the American continent on whom the Roman purple had been conferred: "The prelates of the Third Plenary Council, by unanimous vote, salute your Eminence, and tender to you the expression of their most profound respect and sincere attachment." To which the cardinal replied, through his secretary, that "though absent in body, he is present in spirit, and ceases not to implore the benediction of Heaven on their labors."

Foremost among the eighty-three prelates, the fathers of the Church in the United States, after the apostolic delegate, was the venerable Archbishop Kenrick, of St. Louis, consecrated coadjutor to Bishop Rosati in 1841, and Bishop of St. Louis since 1843—most venerable for his age, his learning, his virtues, and his great labors in the cause of religion. What a retrospect was his, as he looked back over nearly half a century of episcopal toil in that great West, to remember how what was one immense desert fifty years before, traversed only by the wild Indian, the trapper, or the herds of buffalo, was now covered by flourishing States with large cities and an ever-increasing population! And then he could remember the Councils of Baltimore held before 1840, when the United States had only one archbishop, and California still belonged to Mexico and was buried in the slumberous obscurity of the Pacific coast.

There, too, was Monsignor Osouf, Vicar-Apostolic of Northern Japan, who seemed to have come there to read in the marvellous growth of that young Church of America the prophetic forecast of what would be, ere another cen-

tury had elapsed, the already flourishing Church of Australia and New Zealand, together with his own church in Japan and the persecuted churches of Cochin China and China.

Of the proceedings of the council we need not say much to the reader. All the matters therein discussed had been printed beforehand, carefully discussed by the archbishops and bishops, assisted by a body of theologians and canonists summoned from all points of the Union. In the decrees thus prepared only certain amendments and corrections were introduced. But as all this was to remain as the law of the American Church, every item, every iota was a thing maturely to be weighed. Then the work and the workmen for every session and private assemblage had been distributed before the council opened, so that everything fell at once into its own place, and the great living organism began its functions without hesitation or jar from the first hour to the last.

The council was closed on the 7th of December. It had thus lasted a month. One remarkable circumstance connected with this solemn event in the history of Catholicism in the United States was, as the historian of the council relates,* "the courtesy, the kindness, and the hospitality extended by the citizens of Baltimore, even by such as were not Catholics, to the fathers of the council and to the clergymen summoned to attend it, and who were not few in number. Nor were these sentiments manifested by private citizens only, but by the city authorities, who showed in various ways their respect for the members of the council. The public recorder was especially kind, placing one of his deputies entirely at the service of the prelates. For all this attention the delegate apostolic failed not to make grateful acknowledgment at the end of the council."

The joint pastoral letter issued by the prelates, and prepared with extreme care, is in every way worthy of the

* "Acta et Decreta," lviii.

source from which it proceeds. Should the reader judge that what we have said in this chapter about the institutions and character of the American people, or about the wonderful progress of Catholicism in their midst, is exaggerated, we beg him to peruse the following extracts :

"Full eighteen years have elapsed," so this pastoral letter begins, "since our predecessors were assembled in Plenary Council to promote uniformity of discipline, to provide for the exigencies of the day, to devise new means for the maintenance and diffusion of our holy religion which should be adequate to the great increase of the Catholic population. In the interval the prelates, clergy, and faithful have been taught by a wholesome experience to appreciate the zeal, piety, and prudence that inspired the decrees of those venerable fathers, and to listen with cheerful submission to their authoritative voice, whether uttered in warning, in exhortation, or in positive enactment. And the whole American Church deeply feels and cordially proclaims her gratitude for the treasures bequeathed to us by their wise and timely legislation. Its framers, in great part, have gone before us with the sign of peace, and now sleep the sleep of peace. But their work, besides following them to the dread tribunal of the great Judge to plead in their behalf and insure their reward, has remained upon earth as a safe guide and a rich blessing for the clergy and people of their generation.

"Since that time, however, the body of our clergy and religious has grown to wonderful dimensions, our Catholic institutions have been multiplied tenfold, with a corresponding increase in the number of our faithful laity. The territory, likewise, over which they are spread has been greatly enlarged. The land of the far West, that once was desolate and impassable, through God's providential mercy now rejoices and flourishes like the lily. Under His guiding hand it has been taught to bud forth and blossom and rejoice with joy and praise. The wilderness has exchanged its solitude for the hum of busy life and industry; and the steps of our missionaries and Catholic

settlers have invariably either preceded or accompanied the westward progress of civilization. Forests have given way to cities, where Catholic temples re-echo the praises of the Most High. . . . In view of this great progress of our holy religion, . . . it has been judged wise and expedient, if not absolutely necessary, to examine anew the legislation of our predecessors. . . .

"Such, too, has been the express wish and injunction of our Holy Father Leo XIII., happily reigning, to whom, as Supreme Pontiff and the successor of the Prince of the Apostles, by inherent right belongs the power of convoking this our Third Plenary or National Council, and appointing, as he has graciously done, an apostolic delegate to preside over its deliberations."

Speaking of the religious errors against which the council has to provide the safeguards and remedies, the pastoral letter says:

"We have no reason to fear that you, beloved brethren, are likely to be carried away by these or other false doctrines condemned by the Vatican Council, such as materialism, or the denial of God's power to create, to reveal to mankind His hidden truths, to display by miracles His mighty power in this world, which is the work of His hands But neither can we close our eyes to the fact that the teachers of scepticism and irreligion are at work in our country. . . . Could we rely fully on the innate good sense of the American people, and on that habitual reverence for God and religion which has been so far their just pride and glory, there might seem comparatively little danger of the general diffusion of these wild theories which reject or ignore Revelation, undermine morality, and end not unfrequently by banishing God from His own creation. But when we take into account the daily signs of growing unbelief, and see how its heralds not only seek to mould the youthful mind in our colleges and seats of learning, but are also actively working amongst the masses, we cannot but shudder at the dangers which threaten us in the future. When to this we add the rapid growth of that false civiliza-

tion which hides its foulness under the name of enlightenment—involving, as it does, the undisguised worship of Mammon, the anxious search after every ease, comfort, and luxury for man's physical well-being, the all-absorbing desire to promote his material interests, the unconcern, or rather contempt, for those of his higher and better nature—we cannot but feel that out of all this must grow heartless materialism, which is the best soil to receive the seeds of unbelief and irreligion. . . . The first thing to perish will be our liberties. For men who know not God or religion can never respect the inalienable rights which man has received from his Creator. The state, in such case, must become a despotism, whether its power be lodged in the hands of one or of many."

This is very forcibly stated. How truly it applies to what is happening at this moment in France and in Italy! Coming to the iniquitous and hypocritical war made in Europe on Catholics because of the definition of Pontifical Infallibility, the letter says:

"The governments by which, three centuries ago, the new tenets of Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin had been imposed on reluctant peoples by the sword, were the first, indeed the only ones, to again unsheathe it against Catholic believers. . . . It was their purpose to exterminate by degrees the Catholic hierarchy, and to replace it by a servile priesthood. . . .

"But the Catholics of Prussia, clergy and people, while proving themselves most devoted and faithful to their country's laws, stood up like a wall of adamant against the tyranny of its rulers. . . . The struggle has now lasted fourteen years, but the very friends of this persecuting legislation have been driven at last to acknowledge that it has proved to be a miserable failure; . . . they have had to fall back on the patriotism of the Catholic body to stay the threatening march of Socialism and Revolution. In Switzerland, too, the persecution has yielded to the policy of mildness and conciliation adopted by our Holy Father Leo XIII.

"... A Catholic finds himself at home in the United States, for the influence of the Church has been constantly exercised in behalf of individual rights and popular liberties. And the right-minded American nowhere finds himself more at home than in the Catholic Church, for nowhere else can he breathe more freely that atmosphere of divine truth which alone can make him free.

"We repudiate with equal earnestness the assertion that we need to lay aside any of our devotedness to our Church to be true Americans, and the insinuation that we need to abate any of our love for our country's principles and institutions to be faithful Catholics.

"To argue that the Catholic Church is hostile to our great Republic because she teaches that '*there is no power but from God*' (Rom. xii. 1); because, therefore, back of the events which led to the formation of the Republic, she sees the providence of God leading to that issue, and back of our country's laws the authority of God as their sanction—this is evidently so illogical and contradictory an accusation that we are astonished to hear it advanced by persons of ordinary intelligence. We believe that our country's heroes were the instruments of the God of nations in establishing this home of freedom. To both the Almighty and His instruments we look with grateful reverence. . . .

"No less illogical would be the notion that there is aught in the free spirit of our American institutions incompatible with perfect docility to the Church of Christ. The spirit of American freedom is not one of anarchy or of license. It essentially involves love of order, respect for rightful authority, and obedience to just laws. There is nothing in the character of the most liberty-loving American which could hinder his submission to the divine authority of our Lord, or the like authority delegated by Him to His Apostles or His Church." *

Coming to speak of Leo XIII., the assembled prelates show that they can appreciate his great qualities:

* "Acta et Decreta Conc. Plen. Balt. Tertii," pp. lxviii.–lxxvi.

"While enduring with the heroism of a martyr the trials which beset him, and trustfully awaiting the Almighty's day of deliverance, the energy and wisdom of Leo XIII. are felt to the ends of the earth. He is carrying on with the governments of Europe the negotiations which promise soon to bring peace to the Church. In the East he is preparing the way for the return to Catholic unity of the millions whom the Greek schism has so long deprived of communion with the See of Peter, and he is following the progress of exploration in lands hitherto unknown or inaccessible with corresponding advances of Catholic missions. To the whole world his voice has gone forth again and again in counsels of eloquent wisdom, pointing out the path of truth in the important domains of philosophy and history; the best means of improving human life in all its phases, individual, domestic, and social; the ways in which the children of God should walk, *that all flesh may see the salvation of God.*

"But in all the wide circle of his great responsibility the progress of the Church in these United States forms in a special manner both a source of joy and an object of solicitude to the Holy Father. With loving care his predecessors watched and encouraged her first feeble beginnings. They cheered and fostered her development in the pure atmosphere of freedom when the name of Carroll shone with equal lustre at the head of her new-born hierarchy and on the roll of our country's patriots. . . .

"In all this astonishing development, from the rude beginnings of pioneer missionary toil, along the nearer and nearer approaches to the beauteous symmetry of the Church's perfect organization, the advance, so gradual and yet so rapid, has been safely guided in the lines of Catholic and apostolic tradition. . . ." *

Among the subjects on which the Council expended most care and thought was that of education—education in its widest and most comprehensive sense: the education

* Ibidem.

of the clergy and that of the laity in all their grades. This was also the Holy Father's chief care. The creation of a great National University for Catholics, like the Laval University for the Canadian confederation—a great school where the Catholic youth of the Republic, young clerics and young laymen alike, should find, together with the surest safeguards for faith and morality, the very best masters in every department of knowledge which the country could supply or who could be tempted to come from abroad—such was the *ideal.* It was no sooner known to the public than a noble Catholic young lady, Miss Mary Gwendoline Caldwell, of New York, at once gave $300,000 toward the divine work contemplated. Her friend and banker, Mr. Eugene Kelly, gave $50,000. Others all over the Union gave generously. In the future, we doubt not, there will be no lack of generosity. As we write upwards of a million of dollars has already been subscribed.

A spacious property has been purchased not far from the city of Washington, and the foundations of one great branch of the future University have been laid—a high-school for clerical studies, to which young candidates for the priesthood who have finished the ordinary curriculum in the seminaries, and who unite superior talent with superior virtue, can come, there to spend some three or four years more in perfecting themselves in mental philosophy, theology, and their kindred sciences, as well as in such of the physical and mathematical sciences as may enable the students issuing from this school to take their place anywhere by the side of the most accomplished scholars, or to consecrate their acquired knowledge to teaching and training others.

It is a noble beginning. May God prosper it and bless all those whose benefactions forward its progress!

This is the place to state more explicitly than we have done that the Holy Father himself took especial pains in elaborating the preparatory *schema* of all matters to be treated in the council. This *schema* was discussed with the

archbishops in Rome during the preceding November, 1883. The matter of higher education Leo XIII. particularly insisted on.

He, therefore, took a warm personal interest in this council and its labors, as in a work with which he was identified. Even now he reads and studies with the greatest care all that pertains to the great National University.

While the archbishops were in Rome during the autumn of 1883, the Holy Father had strongly pressed upon their attention his project of creating for the higher education of Eastern Catholics a great school in Athens and another in Constantinople. They had promised him to make an appeal to their people in favor of this apostolic enterprise.

During the council, however, Archbishop Gibbons was requested by the fathers to write to the Pope and obtain fuller information regarding these two proposed schools or universities. We here give that part of Leo XIII.'s answer which relates both to the American National University and to the proposed schools at Athens and Constantinople:

"It was a great satisfaction to us to learn that you and your brother-bishops have undertaken the noble work of building as soon as possible a Catholic University in America. Carried out by the initiative, the advocacy, and the watchful care of the episcopal body, this work will render great service both to religion and to your country; it will shed lustre on the Catholic name and will conduce to the advancement of literature and the sciences.

"We are well aware what great expense you must incur in order to carry out your design, and have, therefore, abstained from urging you, Venerable Brother, to send us the pecuniary help which we so earnestly besought of you last year while you were in Rome, and that for an object which is also of great importance. We mean the purpose we entertain, and which we press on you with the greatest insistance, of bringing back the Eastern peoples to the Catholic fold. We think that the establishment of schools

both in Athens and in Constantinople would help more than anything else [*maxime*] to hasten this result.

"Now, if the other matters already mentioned so naturally fill your mind and employ your care, Venerable Brother, we desire, nevertheless, that you do not altogether forget this other subject we have been just explaining, and that you be convinced, should our purpose come to have a happy result, that it will greatly contribute to the glory of God, to the honor and increase of the Catholic Church, and that it will redound not a little to the credit of your own generosity and that of the American people." *

Americans will understand the fatherly solicitude which the Supreme Shepherd of Christ's flock entertains for the conversion of these Eastern peoples who have strayed away from the fold; they will help him to create these great Catholic schools at Athens and Constantinople. Their charity will only bring a greater blessing on their own National University, the nursery of all true learning for the America of the future.

The American Church has just contracted another debt of gratitude toward Leo XIII. In the consistory of June 7, 1886, he raised to the Roman purple the Archbishop of Baltimore, who had so worthily represented the Holy See in the Third National Council. In him and in Archbishop Taschereau, of Quebec, American scholarship thus receives a supreme acknowledgment.

* "Acta et Decreta," lxiv. lxv.

CHAPTER XXIX.

LEO XIII. AND GERMANY.

OF all the enormous difficulties inherited from his predecessor, no one was of such magnitude as that which resulted from the position of the Church in Germany. It has been generally believed among non-Catholics that Prussia and the newly-constituted German Empire (1871–73), in enacting the rigorous "May Laws" and other proscriptive measures against Catholics, and in suppressing Monastic Orders, fining, imprisoning, and banishing bishops and priests, were only acting in self-defence against the machinations of the Jesuits, and protecting the national government and authority against the practical assumption of supreme and unlimited jurisdiction supposed to be implied in the Pontifical Infallibility decreed by the Council of the Vatican in 1870 (July 18). That no such assumption of jurisdiction was implied in the doctrine of infallibility is now recognized by all scholars, by all educated persons, indeed, who have taken the trouble to examine the doctrine itself. That there never existed any machinations of Jesuits, or any sort of organized opposition among German Catholics to the creation of the empire or against its security or permanence, is an unquestioned and unquestionable fact of history.

This bugbear of "*Infallibility*" was just the very thing to create alarm and excitement in the minds of non-Catholic rulers and statesmen, who had only very confused notions of doctrinal matters, but who were very decided in their hatred of anything that threatened the supremacy of the state, the omnipotence and infallibility of the civil power.

It was so held up to the governmental and the popular minds as to excite the national and anti-papal feeling also. We all know how mighty a part the natural dislike of foreign interference or jurisdiction of any kind had in gaining to Luther the support of the German princes, and in obtain-

ing for the tyrannic measures of Henry VIII. the approval of his English Parliament.

From 1868 till long after 1873 the most powerful organs of public opinion in Germany, following in the path opened by the *Augsburg Gazette*, inspired by Dr. Döllinger, began a journalistic crusade against infallibility, the Papacy, and the Jesuits. It is a sad story. But to those who have studied carefully the events of the last fifty years, none of the startling moral phenomena of the age will be more familiar than the fatal facility with which public opinion is created by journalism on any given topic, even when the current thus set in motion is one which runs contrary to truth and to justice.

The Franco-German war came to add its astonishing and tremendous catastrophes to the excitement of political and theological passions caused by the definition of the doctrine of Papal Infallibility. The Jesuits and the Monastic Orders had been sedulously painted in Germany as the causes of the temporal decay and spirtual ruin which it was said and believed had fallen on Italy and rendered necessary the occupation of Rome by Victor Emmanuel and the deposition of Pius IX. from even his little remnant of temporal power. The Jesuits and the Monastic Orders were assiduously held up by the anti-Catholic press of Germany as opposed to the new empire, as the foes of German unity, as those who, having given to the youth of Catholic countries a wrong, unprogressive, and anti-national education in the past, should in the future be deprived of all faculty of training youth and placed outside the pale of the common law.

Dr. Döllinger and his followers—and he had very many powerful friends and disciples in Germany, men whom he had educated and who looked up to him with veneration—now formed themselves into what is known as the "Old-Catholic" church, which allied itself with the Jansenists of Holland, with the Church of England, and sought, but sought in vain, to obtain from the schismatic Greeks the right hand of religious fellowship. As these lines are writ-

ten it is known that this movement has ended in utter failure.

But in the enthusiasm with which the Protestant world hailed the birth of the new empire, in the dense mist of the prejudices and passions evoked by the definition of infallibility and the downfall of the Pope's temporal power, this "Old-Catholic" church, assembled in council with the Jansenist prelates and priests of Utrecht, with the representatives of the Protestant Church of England and of the old Eastern heresies, loomed up to the eyes of sympathizers like something very great, very portentous, if not prophetic of the utter ruin, spiritual as well as temporal, of the Church of Rome.

At any rate, in Germany, and in particular within the kingdom of Prussia, the campaign begun against the Catholic Church and the Papacy soon after the inauguration of the empire and the close of the war with France was represented as one begun in the name and with the forces of civilization against the unprogressive and reactionary forces of Catholicism. This was the way that the conflict inaugurated in Prussia against the Church and the principles supposed to be involved on both sides was described by the one famous term *Culturkampf* ("civilization-conflict"), used by Prince Bismarck, and thenceforward applied to his long struggle with the Church and the Holy See.

The crusade of the German press against the Religious Orders, against the Jesuits particularly, had been growing ever in fierceness all through 1871 and up to June, 1872, when a law was passed suppressing the Society of Jesus and "other affiliated orders." It was mercilessly carried out. On January 9, 1873, Dr. Falk, the Prussian Minister of Public Worship, who was, whether unconsciously or knowingly, in all this and the subsequent proscriptive legislation, really doing the work of the secret societies, introduced into the Prussian Chambers a more comprehensive law, made still more so in the following May.

These laws, suppressing all the Religious Orders except those engaged in hospital work, and banishing their members from the kingdom, were called "the May Laws." Dr.

Falk added to and completed his code till it left not one vestige of religious liberty to nearly nine and a half million Prussian Catholics out of a total population of between twenty-seven and twenty-eight millions. The laws were a despotic code of Cæsarism, asserting the omnipotence of the state both in the civil and the ecclesiastical order. They regarded not only the Catholic Church but the Protestant Evangelical Church of Prussia, aiming at securing to the lay members of the latter greater liberty from the control of their clergy, while proposing to substitute, in the case of Catholics, a national training and a national organization to the "Ultramontanism" so hateful to German rationalists and radicals. This was intended, according to the law-makers, to free German Catholics from the despotism of Rome. Episcopal authority was also to be reduced to a minimum under the pretext of giving the inferior clergy their due share of freedom. And the education of candidates for the priesthood, like that of all Prussian youth, was to be laicized, taken away from episcopal and clerical hands. The state was made the sole judge of the fitness of priests for any ecclesiastical office whatsoever; and the very candidates for holy orders were bound to pass a state examination and obtain a state certificate as a necessary condition before ordination. The seminaries were all closed.

We might omit further details, and have only given the foregoing to enable the reader to appreciate what we stated in beginning this chapter, that nothing in the crushing burden of care transferred in February, 1878, from the shoulders of Pius IX. to those of Leo XIII., equalled in magnitude the difficulties inherent in the Prussian and German question. But it is instructive to learn more of this terrible conflict.

During the seven years which preceded his own elevation to the Papal Chair, Cardinal Pecci, from his watch-tower in Perugia, had followed with intense and sympathetic interest the noble struggle of the German Catholics —bishops, priests, and laymen—against the overwhelming power of a state wielding the mightiest military host of

modern ages, and backed in its warfare against Catholicism by the combined forces of the secret societies and the influential and unscrupulous press controlled by the lodges or salaried by the state.

It was a spectacle which was all the more interesting to the sagacious mind of the prelate-statesman of Perugia that he saw on the side of the German Catholics one great element of resistance, endurance, and final success which his own Catholic Italy lacked in her death-struggle with the Revolution—*organization*.

The tendency to organize, and the faculty for doing it thoroughly, seem innate in the Teutonic race; this time they proved the salvation of the Catholic Church in that empire. Both in the Prussian Chambers and in the Imperial Parliament the Catholic members formed, from the beginning, a body so numerous and so compact, so well led and disciplined, that they made themselves felt as a third power between the government party and the opposition. Their able and eloquent leader, Von Windthorst, compelled all along the admiration and respect of all sections of the legislature. But the Catholics of Germany had not waited for the stormy years following 1870 to assemble and organize and cheer each other on in every path that could lead them to a perfect union of minds and hearts, to a real progress in intellectual and moral culture.

When bishops and priests were imprisoned, disfranchised, banished, the Catholic laity were true to themselves and to God, without ever doing an act or saying a word which might lay them open to the suspicion or accusation of disloyalty or disaffection toward their country or its institutions. They held their yearly Congress, calmly, resolutely surveying together the situation in which the "May Laws" left each diocese, each parish, and devising the most effective means which patriotism and religion could suggest for keeping their suffering brethren together, for providing a remedy to every ill their zeal could reach, for keeping faith and hope and trust in Providence alive in the hearts of their countrymen.

We resume the thread of our narrative, and return to 1872–73.

To the protestations made in the Prussian Chambers by the Catholic members of Parliament, that the laws of the kingdom guarantee expressly and solemnly the full liberty of the Catholic religion, the government and the Parliament answered by at once repealing these laws. Pius IX., for whom in preceding years the Emperor William had professed an esteem full of reverence, remonstrated with his Majesty against acts which were not only violations of the Prussian law but of the treaties concluded with the Holy See; the emperor replied, in terms doubtless dictated to him by the stern chancellor, that the Prussian Catholics were only required to obey the existing laws, and *that obey they must.*

The Archbishop of Cologne, Primate of Prussia, the bishops of Münster, Breslau, and Paderborn, together with Archbishop Ledochowski, of Gnesen and Posen, became the special objects of the prime minister's severity, as they were the foremost in resisting the passing and execution of the obnoxious laws. And so things went on from bad to worse, and from worse to the very extremity of ill among the Catholics of Prussia, till in the Catholic Congress held at Würzburg on September 9, 1877, it was said that "the churches of Germany all along the Rhine Valley, from Constance to Rotterdam, had not a single bishop left!" Every one of them had been removed by death or by the hand of the persecutor. In 1873, when the "May Laws" began to be in full operation, the nine millions* of Prussian Catholics had 8,439 clergymen engaged in ministering to their spiritual wants. In 1881, of that number 1,125 parish priests and 645 assistants had either died or been imprisoned or banished the country, while their places remained vacant. Add to these 1,770 secular priests the members of the Monastic Orders, who in peaceful times are the zealous and efficient helpmates of the parochial clergy, and the reader will be able to judge of the religious destitution thus created; 644,697 souls in 601 parishes had

not a single clergyman left to them, while 584 parishes with 1,501,994 souls were in a great measure destitute of all priestly ministrations.

While the Falk legislation was as yet in its preparatory stage, it was sought either to obtain the tacit acquiescence of the court of Rome to the proposed measures, or to find a specious pretext for a diplomatic rupture. Cardinal Hohenlohe was appointed ambassador of the German Empire near the Holy See. Doubtless the cardinal accepted this mission in the hope of preventing greater misfortunes; the Pope, at any rate, refused to receive him. And so all diplomatic intercourse ceased between the Vatican and Berlin. In the consistory of December, 1872, Pius IX. animadverted severely on the suppression of the Monastic Orders in Germany, on the harshness and downright cruelty to which their members had been subjected, on the violation of laws enacted with the formal and solemn concurrence of the Holy See. This allocution, if an incentive or a pretext were needed for further and extreme measures of spoliation and persecution, very opportunely served the purpose of Prussian statesmanship. All the blame was cast on the unyielding and unconciliating temper of the Vatican by what had begun to be called "the reptile press" of Germany—that is, by the most powerful journals in the pay of the government, and slavishly devoted to the advocacy of all its measures. It was, in reality, the Culturkampf press, whose sole aim was to hold up the Papacy, the Catholic Church, and their institutions to hatred and scorn, and to make them responsible for the very wrongs done them in the persons of the Catholic millions of Germany.

And the non-Catholic world, for the most part, espoused the views of the "reptile press," and sided with the all-powerful oppressor.

Dr. Döllinger and his associates in the "Old-Catholic" movement lost no time in profiting by the favorable opportunity thus created for them; the Catholic body in Prussia and elsewhere had indignantly and unanimously spurned every threat or seduction used to induce them to become

a "national" church independent of the centre of Catholic unity. The "Old Catholics" at once demanded to be recognized as the legal Catholic body, as the national Catholic Church of the empire. In October, 1873, Prussia recognized the legal title of Dr. Reinkens, lately consecrated as bishop of the "Old-Catholic" church by the Jansenist schismatics of Holland. He was appointed to receive a regular salary from the state.

It is known what active sympathy the Church of England gave to the Old-Catholic faction, which, in the minds of representative men in Great Britain, promised to separate from the Papacy the great body of German Catholics. In London, as in Berlin, those who were most hopeful of such a result forgot that our age has seen many would-be imitators of Martin Luther, every one of whom has ended in ignominious failure.

This is the age for reunion, not for separation; for reconciliation among Christians, not for further division.

"The coercion by force of a clergy conscientiously and irrevocably pledged to resistance is not justifiable, and is still less likely to prove possible." So wrote the greatest of British newspapers. "It may be necessary for the German government to make the experiment of reforming the Roman Catholic Church within their country; and if they could succeed it would be an admirable achievement. But, for our part, we think it more likely that they will fail." *

Of course the forcible education of all the Catholic youth of Prussia during the seven last years of the reign of Pius IX. must have had most disastrous effects. And these must have gone on increasing over another generation of young people during the seven first years of the reign of Leo XIII. No man could more surely calculate these results than one of his cultivated intelligence and long experience.

But finding himself helpless to bring about a sudden change in Prince Bismarck's baneful and (even to Germany) suicidal policy of persecution, he showed invincible patience

* The London *Times*, Wednesday, December 11, 1873.

and consummate tact in accepting the advances of the all-powerful high chancellor, as well as in conducting the negotiations begun. But while waiting and winning every possible advantage offered to him, the wise and enlightened Pontiff, from the very first months of his reign, set about the slow work of surely winning the confidence and respect of both the emperor and his chancellor by a masterly series of encyclical letters, containing the fundamental lessons of social wisdom so needful to Germany in face of Socialism, Rationalism, and Naturalism; so necessary to all governments and peoples in the present age of revolution.

It is certain that, when the first news of his election was announced, it was asked whether Leo XIII. would not succeed in settling the "German difficulty." His reputation as a diplomat, a statesman, and a scholar greatly favored him in Germany.

It is a most instructive lesson to hear from Prince Bismarck's own lips an account of the advances made by him to the new Pope. As we already know, one of the first acts of the Holy Father was to write to the Emperor William, notifying his Majesty of his election and expressing his deep regret at the rupture between Germany and the Holy See. Now, what says the German chancellor?

"Never did we lose sight of the fact that the 'May Laws' were 'laws of conflict,' but that, nevertheless, their object was to lead to peace. Now [in April, 1886] the public journals tell me that since the battle of Olmütz no such a disgraceful concession has been asked of Prussia [as the revision of the 'May Laws' and the closing of the Culturkampf]. They cast up to me that I am going to Canossa. But in the same discourse [of 1875] in which I said we would not go to Canossa—and this I repeat to-day—I explained clearly what should be understood by going to Canossa. . . .

"I added that the government owed it to their Catholic subjects to persist in seeking a means, a way of regulating in the most conciliating manner the borders which separate the domain of the temporal from that of the spiritual

power, the limits necessary for the interior peace of the realm.

"The hope entertained meanwhile that a Pontiff more disposed to peace might appear was realized three years after this last discourse of mine; and I remember what Leo XIII. said, soon after his accession, in one of his encyclicals* in 1878:

"'Thus we shall continue to labor for the German nation in the midst of obstacles of every kind; nor shall our soul ever know rest until peace be restored to the Church in that country.'

"I believe, my lords, that the passages I here recall are sufficient to show how baseless is the assertion that we ever considered these laws of conflict against the Church as a basis on which to build up the durable future of the Empire or of Prussia.

"In pursuance of the purpose I was just explaining to you, I began, as soon as the present Pope ascended the

* No such words are found in the encyclicals of 1878. But in the letter addressed by the Pope, on December 24 of that year, to the Archbishop of Cologne are these eloquent words: "As it was . . . our purpose from the beginning of our Pontificate, so we endeavored to induce both sovereigns and nations to live at peace and friendship with the Church. As to you, Venerable Brother, you are aware that we at an early day bent our mind on obtaining for the noble German nation, after settling all their differences, the blessings and fruits of a lasting peace; nor is it less known to you that, in so far as we are concerned, no pains were spared to attain an end so glorious and so worthy of our care. Whether, however, what we have undertaken and are trying to bring about shall have a successful issue, He knoweth from whom cometh every blessing and who hath given us this ardent zeal and wish for peace.

"But, no matter how things turn out, we must yield to the divine will, continuing as long as life lasts to cherish the same intense zeal and to persevere in the fulfilment of the duty put upon us. . . . Wherefore none of the obstacles opposed to us on every side shall divert us from the purpose of seeking the salvation of all, and therefore of your nation. *For our heart shall never be able to rest* so long as, to the great loss of souls, we shall see the bishops of the Church condemned (as if guilty) or banished from their country, the priestly ministry surrounded by a network of difficulties, religious communities and pious congregations dispersed, and the training of youth, not even excepting young clerics, withdrawn from the authority and watchfulness of the bishops" ("Acta," ii. 167, 168).

throne, to open *publici juris* negotiations with Monsignor Masella [the Nuncio in Munich] which gave hope of a good issue, and which lasted till Cardinal Franchi became Secretary of State [March 9, 1878], and were afterwards suspended." *

It is evident from this extract not only that Prince Bismarck was anxious for peace and more than willing to withdraw from the untenable position "on the domain of the spiritual power" in which the May Laws placed the Prussian government—the Imperial government of Germany, in fact—in the eyes of the civilized world. Further on in the same memorable discourse he frankly admits that the results of the Kulturkampf were, if not disastrous to the state, at least unworthy of the conflict itself: "When the action of the government and the administration on the clergy is limited to our becoming the rivals of the ecclesiastical authorities and of the Pope himself, then we fall into the chief blunder of the May Laws, which vitiated this entire system of legislation. We began a great strategic movement with mighty forces and very trifling results; we only created strife and opposition, because, in my judgment, we aimed at achieving what was impossible. This strategy against the clergy will always bring about unpleasantness and leave the government in the rear among the ranks of the minority."

Thus, then, we know that in the war against the Catholic Church, as in that against France a few years previously, Bismarck had pushed into the enemy's territory with overwhelming forces, occupying the very heart of the country, and compelling peace at any price, in so far as he could make the Church surrender everything but what the divine law alone forbade to yield. But he found that in ravaging the "domain of the Church" he was ruining the dearest interests of the monarchy. And, wise man as he is, he only wished for a safe and honorable means of retreat-

* Translated from the full report of Prince Bismarck's speech in the Prussian House of Lords, April 14, 1886.

ing from a position it was a crime in morals and a blunder in politics to have ever occupied.

At any rate, in 1880 the very political and financial necessities of the German chancellor compelled him to make some steps toward conciliation. Concessions were made in the parliamentary sessions of 1880 and 1881. In January of the latter year Von Windthorst introduced into the Lower Prussian Chamber a bill relieving priests from all punishment for saying Mass or administering the sacraments. Both the law thus introduced and the penal law it modified remind one forcibly of the legislation of the two first Stuarts in England and Ireland, as well as of the unrepealed Penal Laws which weighed on Irish Catholics just a century ago. Englishmen at present are rather ashamed of this unchristian and barbarous code; and one may well wonder that in the last quarter of the nineteenth century a man of Prince Bismarck's enlightened mind and liberal professions should not have hesitated to employ such weapons as the Falk Laws, or that a nation like the Prussians, so proud of their culture and their rank in Europe, should have applauded or even tolerated such a policy. It was taking up the antiquated, blood-stained, and rusty instruments of coercion and persecution used by Elizabeth and the Stuarts, by Cromwell and his Commonwealth, and by the successors of William III. down to our own times. But as these weapons failed in Ireland in their immediate purpose of conversion or perversion of a people —failed, indeed, in everything excepting in exterminating an ancient race and sowing their hearts with bitter memories—so did they and must they fail in Germany. And so must they in Poland.

As the pacific and conciliatory policy of Leo XIII. gained ground in Germany, and the power of the Catholic party, the Centre, both in the Prussian and in the Imperial Parliament, became more necessary to the government, the tendency to measures of greater leniency became more apparent. But the European press, the so-called liberal press especially, had early asked the question whether the Ger-

man emperor and his chancellor would not go to Canossa, as had done the Emperor Henry IV. in the time of the seventh Gregory. The question was repeated as a watch-word and must have had no little influence on a man of Bismarck's temper.

Be that as it may, on June 5, 1883, a very important law called the Church Bill was introduced by Herr Von Puttkamer, who had taken Dr. Falk's place in the Prussian ministry. The bill contained six clauses modifying the most odious and oppressive features of the existing legislation. It was passed by 224 votes against 107.

The very partial mitigation thus obtained was accepted by Catholics only as some slight evidence on the part of the government of a disposition to yield. But although Dr. Falk had resigned, and some of the laws which bore his name had been, nominally at least, repealed, the May Laws remained like a sword suspended over the head of every Catholic man, woman, and child in Prussia, nay, in all the German Empire.

We have seen, by the letter of the Archbishop of Cologne quoted above, and dated two years after the passing of this law, how deplorable in 1885 was the condition of Prussian Catholics. The testimony of the Catholic Union of the Rhineland, assembled in congress in May, 1884, leaves no room to question the sad condition of their Church. "The Archbishops of Cologne and Posen have been superseded," the Union state in a brief summary of their grievances, "and the other Prussian prelates are liable at any moment to be dealt with in like manner. Upwards of one thousand parishes are bereaved. In the archdiocese of Posen priests are still deprived of their salaries. . . . All the seminaries for priestly education have been closed. The Royal Ecclesiastical Court continues to exist, as a monument of the oppression of Catholics. Priests are still liable to be expelled from their country at a moment's notice. Most of the Religious Orders have been suppressed. The few remaining are oppressed." *

* Quoted from "Chair of Peter," p. 406.

In September of the same year, and on the eve of the Parliamentary elections, the Catholic members, led by Von Windthorst, issued an address to the electors, in which they say among other things: "The so-called *Culturkampf* is by no means ended. It is true that the flood has somewhat subsided, but the current is still running high. Let Catholics beware when these waters become still and stagnant; their poisonous exhalations would be much more fatal to the national life than when the furious flood was at its highest. This is the real evil, the most formidable evil, from which Germany suffers. To counteract it, to extirpate it, is our chief and most patriotic task." *

One great disturbing element contributing not a little to prejudice the cause of the German Catholics, to nourish the hostility of Prince Bismarck and the National party, and to prevent the progress of negotiations with the Holy See, was the Polish question. The Poles were Catholics, and, as such, fell under the same proscriptive legislation. But their unquenchable yearning for a restoration of their own nationality, the calamitous attempts to raise aloft the standard of their lost cause, the covert or open agitation which evermore stirred the populations of the Polish provinces annexed to the kingdom of Prussia—all these sacred feelings and aspirations of a dismembered country with a glorious past constituted, in the eyes of the founders of the German Empire and the assertors of Teutonic supremacy, a permanent danger to the Fatherland and its newly established unity.

The one unpardonable sin in the Catholic Parliamentary party in Germany was, all along, their sympathy with the suffering Poles; this community of religion threw upon all Prussian Catholics the shadow of suspicion that they were not the well-wishers of the empire. This prejudice met the Pope at every turn in his unremitting labors for the religious pacification of Prussia.

Even at our present writing, when the last vestiges of

* Ibidem.

the Culturkampf are being removed one after the other, like a terrific thunder-storm retiring beyond the Vosges and the Alps to devastate other lands, the noble band of men led by Von Windthorst are to the Prussian government an object of fear and suspicion because they will not give up their generous sympathies for their Polish brethren.

It is a pity that Prince Bismarck cannot learn the truth which has taken possession of Gladstone's great mind and greater heart in his latest but most glorious years, and see that conciliation is more powerful to bind people to people and race to race than coercion; and that the Pole can be made the generous friend and the devoted ally of the German by equal and just laws, by a large-minded share of religious freedom, by that practical brotherly love and equality which Christianity teaches. Make Prussian Poland the happiest portion of the German Empire, and it will be the most faithful. It will be like an impassable barrier between Germany and Russian aggression.

If you would make the Poles forget their lost nationality, then treat them as a privileged and favored portion of your subjects, so as to convince them that they have found in your government something better than they could hope for under a separate and independent nationality.

At any rate, we do not believe, after the long and sad experience of Ireland, in the policy of expropriating, directly or indirectly, an ancient and proud race. Their native land is their own. God has given them a right to it. It would be wisdom in their rulers to make life in it prosperous, contented, happy for all its inhabitants. Sow their souls with justice and kindness, and you will reap a rich harvest of love, of gratitude, of eternal fidelity.

The new religious law in Prussia, virtually cancelling the existing anti-Catholic legislation, was finally voted by the Prussian Chamber on May 9, 1886, and sanctioned by the king on May 21.

It was a splendid triumph for Leo XIII.

CHAPTER XXX.

LEO XIII. AND HIGHER STUDIES.

EVERY one who had known the extraordinary zeal shown by Cardinal Pecci, as Bishop of Perugia, for the advancement of education and the promotion of the highest Christian philosophy as the basis of all true learning, was prepared to see him, when elevated to the Pontifical throne, lend his supreme authority and influence to the fostering of a solid and complete education in every diocese within the Church. We have already seen what he undertook and accomplished in Rome, from the very beginning of his Pontificate, for the benefit of the laboring classes. Not one portion of the children or of the youth of Rome, not even apprentices and young artisans imperfectly educated, escaped the fatherly solicitude of the Pope. Knowing how determined the governmental and municipal authorities were on possessing themselves of every existing school to which they could lay claim by any legal artifice, or of which they could obtain the direction by the utmost stretch of power, the Pope endeavored to be beforehand with them in establishing day and night schools with teachers on whose religious principles he could rely. In that way he succeeded in saving thousands of Roman children, and numbers of boys and young people in need of instruction and eager to obtain it, from being swept into the nets of the anti-Catholic and anti-Christian proselytism spread in every street of Rome.

We have already mentioned the admirable letter written to Cardinal Monaco la Valletta, his vicar-general in Rome, on this very matter. We shall presently see another brief but pregnant and no less admirable letter to Cardinal Parocchi, who succeeded Cardinal La Valletta in his charge. The letter to Cardinal Parocchi, however, entirely relates to

the higher *literary* studies of the Roman clergy. And this brings us to see what Leo XIII. undertook and accomplished in the matter of higher studies.

What all who knew Leo XIII. especially expected of him, in the matter of higher studies, was to see him carry out through the universal Church the design so happily conceived in Perugia, and partially executed there, of restoring to its ancient splendor the *Christian philosophy* which had its birth in the very first age of the Church, receiving its form and developments from the early Apologists and Fathers, and attaining under St. Thomas Aquinas, in the thirteenth century, its scientific maturity.

The reader who in the preceding chapters has followed with any attention the logical sequence of Cardinal Pecci's pastoral letters must have seen that he traces all the moral aberrations and political disorders of our age and of modern times to the introduction, in the sixteenth century particularly, of a false and anti-Christian philosophy, which ignores any authority superior to individual reason, eliminates all the supernatural order from the domain of the intellect and of private and social life, and enthrones naturalism, rationalism, and individualism as the law-givers in thought and action of human society.

While, in his first encyclicals, he clearly warns not only his brother-bishops, but governments, the entire Catholic flock, and all civilized peoples whom his voice may reach, of the necessity of returning, if society would be saved from imminent ruin, to obedience to the Church, to the docile acceptance of the teaching of the one divinely appointed authority on earth, he affirms that the false wisdom or philosophy which the last three centuries have followed must be set aside and Christian wisdom and philosophy made the light of all education.

A false and fatal education, in conformity with the naturalism and rationalism above mentioned, has, like the flickering of a "will-o'-the-wisp" in a dark night, led modern society into the marshes in which it is floundering. Religion, Christianity, *Catholicism* must now come with the

steady, unfailing lamp of her divine philosophy, extricate social order from its mortal peril, and lead it back to the old paths.

This false education, this anti-Christian training of more than three hundred years has misled and ruined the Christendom reared by the Church; the old educational methods must be put in use again.

And Thomas Aquinas must once more be enthroned as "the Angel of the Schools"; his method and doctrine must be the light of all higher teaching, for his works are only revealed truth set before the human mind in its most scientific form.

Let there be no misunderstanding in this Leo XIII.'s teaching. He is not for setting aside as pernicious, or useless, or hostile to revelation what Christian theologians, philosophers, and scientists acknowledge and accept as true science. Writing on February 24, 1880, to the Archbishop of Cologne, he clearly expresses the value he sets on such science, while affirming the necessity of the counter-education we are here describing:

"The pest of Socialism, . . . which so deeply perverts the sense of our populations, derives all its power from the darkness it causes in the intellect by hiding the light of the eternal truths, and from its corrupting the rule of life laid down by Christian morality; it can never be extirpated till the minds of its dupes are brought back to a clear knowledge of the supremely true and supremely good. . . . To bring them thus back . . . is our duty. . . . For, albeit in our age such wonderful and incredible progress—as all confess—has been made in the arts pertaining to the comfort of life as well as in the natural sciences, nevertheless the corruption of public manners goes on daily increasing. And as the history of past times has taught us that what brings erring nations back from the wrong path and preserves them from ruin is not progress in the arts or natural sciences, but their fervor in learning and fulfilling the law of Christ, we therefore ardently desire that the Church should everywhere be in the full enjoyment of her liberty,

that she may bestow on the nations the benefits of this saving doctrine." *

There is in the Pontiff's mind and purpose no antagonism to true progress and the legitimate developments of all the arts and sciences; for these follow naturally, inevitably on the increase in Christian knowledge and Christian morality in all communities. But what he aims at is to make the fulness of truth, natural and supernatural, the very life of the mind by setting both the one and the other before it stripped of all doubt and error, like the pure light presented to the sound bodily eye, entering it of its own accord and giving that organ its life by placing it in the full enjoyment of its proper object. And not that only, but the Pontiff aims at giving to the will, in this perfect light of the natural and supernatural world made known to it, the moral law of Christ, embracing not only what God has written on our hearts in the law of nature, but the supernatural law of love and divine self-sacrifice which the Father has written for us in luminous letters in the words and actions of Christ, His Incarnate Son.

The philosophy of St. Thomas, the philosophy of Christianity, does but place every follower of Christ in the heart of these concentric worlds, the natural and the supernatural orders, and enlighten him perfectly on his relations and his duties to both.

Leo XIII. entertained the most firm conviction that all education should be reformed on Christian principles; that all the appliances of modern progress should be used to make Christian truth and Christian morality lovely to the young; that the Christian home should be like that of Nazareth in which Christ was brought up, parents there considering themselves bound in conscience to regard and to rear each child of theirs as "a child of God," whose life was to be modelled on that of the Incarnate Son. What his ideas about instruction and education in elementary and intermediary schools are we know already. What they

* "Acta," ii. 43–46.

should be in the university or professional stage he informs us in his encyclicals on St. Thomas Aquinas and the numerous letters written to men of every nation to encourage and stimulate them in their efforts to restore Christian philosophy by making the great works of St. Thomas the basis of their studies and teaching.

Not before the 4th of August, 1879, could Leo XIII. find time to complete and publish the wonderful document by which he authoritatively declared that the Thomistic philosophy should in all Catholic schools be the source from which the professors should borrow their doctrine and their method. To the non-Catholic world this encyclical was represented as an attempt to make the modern intellectual world retrograde to the scholasticism of the middle ages, and to put on the mind all the fetters of the old unprogressiveness. This could only be said by the thoroughly ignorant or the deeply prejudiced. Theodore Beza and Bucer were wont to say that if the works and method of Thomas Aquinas were taken from the defenders of Catholicism, its doctors would soon be driven from the field of controversy and their Church itself overturned.

But Leo XIII.'s purpose was not to arm the controversialists of the Church of Rome with victorious weapons against Protestantism; the needs of the age go far beyond that. In our day it is the whole structure of revealed truth, the whole body of religious truth as such, and as distinguished from a godless, spiritless materialism, that the teachers and preachers of Catholic doctrine have to defend and to hold up to the admiration of the educated intelligence of the age.

"The Eternal Father's only-begotten Son, who appeared upon earth to bring down among men salvation with the light of divine wisdom, conferred upon the world a truly great and admirable benefit when, about to reascend to heaven, He bade His apostles 'to go forth and teach all nations,'* and thus left the Church which He had founded

*St. Matthew xxviii. 19.

to be the common and supreme teacher of all peoples. Mankind, freed by truth, must be preserved by truth; the fruits of heavenly teaching in which man found his salvation should have been but short-lived unless Christ, our Lord, had instituted an everlasting teaching authority to convey faith to all minds. The Church, therefore, thus strengthened by the promises of her Divine Founder and imitating His charity, so fulfilled His commands that she always had for sole purpose and chiefly sought this one thing, to have His religion observed and to make a perpetual war on error. Toward accomplishing this purpose bishops bestow their vigilance and their labors; toward this councils make laws and decrees; and this is the subject of the daily care of the Roman Pontiffs, to whom, as to Peter's, the Prince of the Apostles, successors in the primacy, belongs the office of teaching and confirming in the faith their brothers."

Such is the beginning of this encyclical, the appearance of which marks what may be called a new era in intellectual philosophy, at least in so far as the Catholic Church is concerned. The Pope, after demonstrating the utility of philosophy, "on which all the other sciences depend in a great measure for their own right constitution," insists on the circumstances of the present age, which requires "a philosophical doctrine that has an equal regard for the rules of faith and the dignity of all human science." "If the intellect is sound and firmly based on solid and true principles, its light will become the source of manifold benefits both to the individual and to the community. . . . It is quite in conformity with the order of Providence to ask human science to lend its aid in bringing the nations back to faith and health. This was the wise and clever method of which the most illustrious Fathers of the Church frequently made use, as antiquity attests. These same Fathers considered that reason played a manifold and an important part, which the great St. Augustine defined in these pregnant terms: *attributing to this* [*philosophic*] *science . . . the reason why*

*salutary faith . . . is begotten, is fostered, is protected, is strengthened.**

The encyclical goes on to show how philosophy (that is, a right and scientific use of reason) prepares the way for faith, demonstrates by her own native power many fundamental truths of religion—such as the existence of God, His creation and government of the world, etc.—the nature and attributes of the Deity, and others which "are proposed for our belief by revelation, or which are closely connected with the supernatural order." The early Fathers made use of this method to show the reasonableness of Christianity.

This scientific use of reason, or of the pagan philosophy in so far as it was based on true principles, so common among the early Christian apologists, is compared by the Pope "to the gold and silver vessels and rich vestments borrowed by the Hebrews from their Egyptian masters. . . . These spoils, which till then had been used in shameful rites and vain superstitions, were devoted to the service of the true God." So did Gregory of Neo-Cæsarea praise Origen for employing the intellectual armor of the heathen in combating their errors. So did a host of others among the early Christian writers.

"If natural reason could produce so plentiful a crop of good fruit before Christ came to bestow on it fecundity, how much richer will the harvest be when His saving grace restores and increases the native powers of the human mind!

"Is it not, then, evident that this manner of philosophizing opens up a level and easy road to faith?"

Continuing this line of argument, the encyclical goes on to show what truths of the religious order natural reason is capable of attaining to and proving—the existence of God, His perfections and attributes; the miraculous and supernatural origin and character of the Gospel doctrine; the foundation of the Church by Christ, "because (as the Vatican Council has decreed) of its eminent propagation, its surpassing holiness, and its exhaustless fecundity in all

* St. Augustine, *De Trinit.*, lib. xiv. 1: *huic scientiæ tribuens . . . illud quo fides saluberrima . . . gignitur, nutritur, defenditur, roboratur.*

places; because of its Catholic unity, its unshaken stability, it produces a great and perpetual motive of credibility, and an irrefragable testimony to its own divine mission.

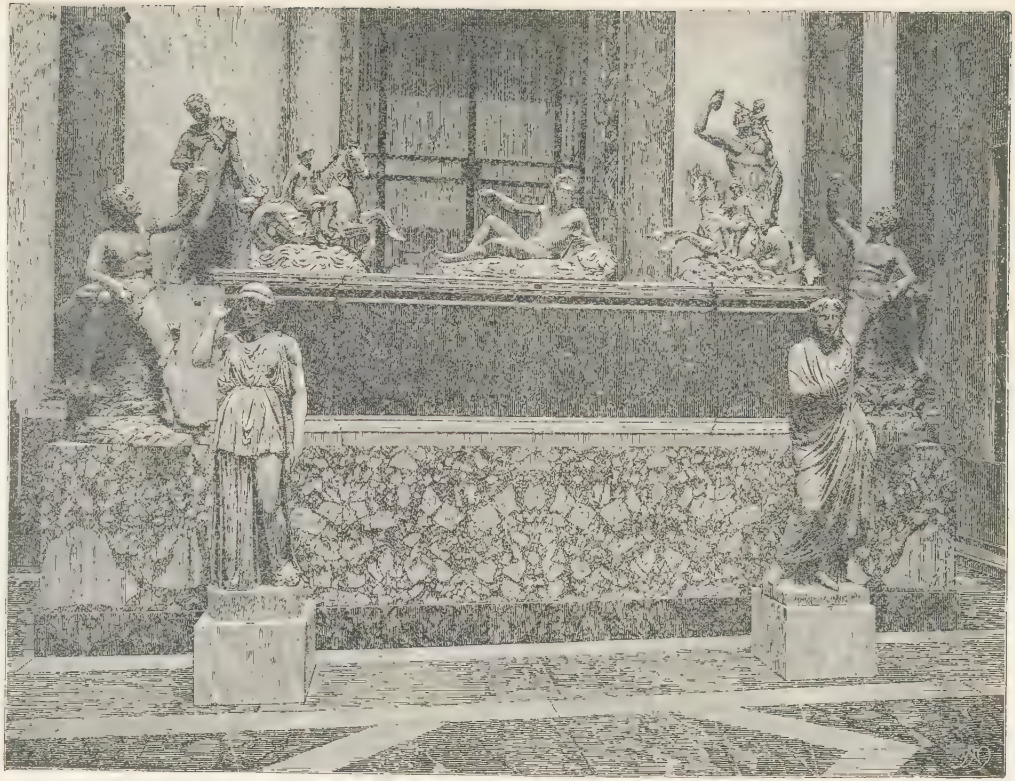
"Based on these firm foundations, philosophy is called into frequent and perpetual use, in order to impart to theology the nature, the condition, and the character of a true science. The whole body of revealed doctrines must be bound together in its various parts, each fitting in its own place and deriving from its proper principles, so that their coherence and connection may be evident; and, finally, all and each must be supported by respectively proper and irrefutable arguments."

This—passing over the history of Christian philosophy—brings us to the last complete and perfectly scientific form which Thomas Aquinas gave to it in his two great works, the "Summa Theologiæ" and the "Summa contra Gentiles," which are the most wonderful treatises of natural theology in existence. In the first chapters relating to Joachim Pecci's labors in Perugia we described the peculiar method of St. Thomas. Here we merely add what Leo XIII. says of his eminence as a scholar and teacher:

"Among the doctors of the [mediæval] schools St. Thomas stands forth by far the first and the master of all. As Cajetan has remarked, *because he had a sovereign veneration for all the ancient doctors, he seems to have united in himself the intellectual powers of them all.*

"Their teachings, which were like the scattered members of the same body, he put together and completed, arranging them in a marvellous order, and giving them such wonderful increase that he is justly held to be the great defender and glory of the Catholic Church.

"A man by nature fond of learning and quick-witted, with a ready and retentive memory, of irreproachable virtue, a devoted lover of truth, with a mind enriched with all human and divine knowledge, as the sun he warmed the earth with the vital power of his sanctity and filled it with the light of his doctrine. He wrote on every part of philosophy with equal penetration and solidity. His disputa-



BRACCIO NUOVO: STATUARY COLLECTION, VATICAN MUSEUM.

tions embrace the laws of reasoning, God and incorporeal substances, man and all things accessible to our senses, human acts and their principles. And in all these you have never to regret the absence of abundance in the rich accumulation of subject-matters, or of a fit arrangement of parts, or excellence in the method of proceeding, or solidity of principles, or cogency in the arguments, or clearness and propriety in the diction, or facility in explaining what is most difficult.

"To this we must add that the Angelic Doctor extended the sphere of his philosophical conclusions and speculations to the very reasons and principles of things, opening out the widest field for study, and containing within themselves the germs of an infinity of truths, an exhaustless mine for future teachers to draw from at the proper time and with rich results. As he used the same intellectual process in refuting error, he succeeded in combating single-handed all the erroneous systems of past ages, and supplied victorious weapons to the champions of truth against the errors which are to crop up in succession to the end of time.

"Besides this, while very properly distinguishing reason from faith, he binds them both together in friendly accord without violating the rights of either or forgetting what is due to their respective dignity. In this way reason, in St. Thomas, rises to such sublime heights that human nature can fly no higher, nor can faith hope from reason greater or more powerful aid than she receives in the pages of St. Thomas.

"This it was which, in past ages especially, impelled men most eminent as theologians and philosophers to collect together the immortal writings of St. Thomas, and to devote themselves not merely to study his angelic wisdom but to feed their souls upon it."

The supreme honor paid to this great man's incomparable merit was the homage paid to his works and authority by the œcumenical councils held since the thirteenth century, from that of Lyons to that of the Vatican. In the Council of Trent the "Summa" of St. Thomas was placed

on the altar by the side of the Gospels, as being the most perfect and scientific exposition of revealed truth.

This encyclical created great enthusiasm among Catholic scholars in every land. The intellectual activity which it called forth and promoted in all Catholic schools of philosophy and theology was accompanied by increased efforts to make the accord between reason and faith, so beautifully praised by the Pontiff, still more effective in modern Catholic universities, where Science, in the fullest acceptation of the term, should be shown to be the able and willing auxiliary of revelation.

The Holy Father hastened to establish in Rome an Academy of St. Thomas Aquinas, in which the very best scholars the Church can boast of and her foremost scientists should labor side by side to build up the magnificent edifice of philosophical science as Thomas Aquinas conceived it and as modern times require it. The Sovereign Pontiff commissioned some select scholars to prepare a perfect edition of the works of the saint.

Meanwhile, by the orders of His Holiness, the high schools of philosophy and theology in Rome were so enlarged as to accommodate select youths from the dioceses of Italy, who would receive in Rome the very best culture the capital of the Christian world could afford, and would return to their own dioceses to elevate the intellectual standard there, and to form in their turn superior men, thoroughly grounded in true philosophy, and thereby enabled to rise themselves and to lift up others with them to the highest sacred science.

But the Holy Father's chief zeal was bestowed on the clergy of his own diocese of Rome. Just as he was laboring to make the students belonging to the nationalities of the Greek rite accomplished Greek scholars, writers, and orators, in order to insure greater success to their apostolate among their countrymen, so would he have the Roman secular clergy accomplished men of letters, wielding with the most perfect skill their own native Italian and the purest Latin diction of the ancient Romans, as well as

that exquisite Greek idiom which Demosthenes, Sophocles, and Plato made the most perfect vehicle of noble thought ever used by man.

He therefore founded for his seminarians a course of higher literary studies in Italian, Latin, and Greek, to which the most distinguished for talent should be admitted at the end of the ordinary college curriculum. They were to be provided with the very best professors to be found, the execution of the whole project being entrusted to that excellent scholar, writer, and orator, as well as model priest and bishop, Cardinal Parocchi, the Pope's vicar.

The letter in which Leo. XIII.'s will in this regard is made known is dated May 20, 1885 :

"You understand perfectly," the letter says, "what we have often said, and not without good reason, that serious and continual efforts should be made to have the clergy distinguish themselves in all branches of knowledge. The needs of the present age imperatively require it. Intellectual culture advances so rapidly, and the appetite for learning is so insatiable, that the clergy would find themselves at a disadvantage for the proper and fruitful discharge of their duties if they did not merit for their order the same reputation for intellectual culture of which other professions are so ambitious.

"This is why we have bestowed so much care and thought on the best methods of culture for our young seminarians. Beginning by the most serious matters of study, we have endeavored to revive the doctrine and method of St. Thomas Aquinas in philosophy and theology.

"But since literature occupies so large a space in college studies, and contributes such large stores to our knowledge for all the purposes of social life and all its humanities and graces, we have resolved to lay down certain lines on which letters have to be cultivated."

After showing at length the advantages to be obtained from high literary culture, Leo XIII. continues: "It is on account of these practical advantages that the Catholic Church, which truly values all that is honorable, all that is

beautiful, all that is praiseworthy, has always attached to the culture of letters a due importance and has encouraged it in every way. We see that the Fathers of the Church were adorned with all the graces of the literary culture of their respective times. And there are some of them whose native genius and acquired literary art place them almost on a level with the most classic Greeks and Romans.

"Let us also say that the Church can claim the enviable merit of having saved from destruction the greatest part of the masterpieces of the ancient Greek and Latin poets, orators, and historians. Besides—a thing which every one knows—in the ages when the culture of letters was neglected or impossible, when literary fame was drowned amid the clash and tumult of arms all over Europe, letters found a refuge in the community-homes of the monks or the secular priesthood.

"Nor should we forget that among the Popes who have gone before us there are many who acquired distinguished fame in letters." *

Leo XIII. mentions last among these cultured Popes Leo X., who was rather a patron of learning and literary men than a man of letters himself. He omits all mention of the glorious names of cultured Pontiffs who came after Leo—men, in our judgment, far more accomplished than even their own great predecessors before the sixteenth century.

Cardinal Parocchi was in his element when occupied in promoting advancement and excellence among the youth entrusted to him.

The *Seminario Romano*, the great school for the diocesan clergy, is organized on the highest level of culture. There is a department or college for Oriental philology, with a faculty of rare excellence. The dean is the illustrious Monsignor Ciasco, the light of the Augustinian Order, who is professor of Hebrew. The chairs of Greek, Arabic, Armenian, Syriac, and Copt are filled by men of the highest fame.

* "Acta," v. 61–65.

But the "Pontifical Institute of High Literature," which the Pope officially founded by the letter just mentioned, is already in full operation. The students have given to the public specimens of their ability and progress.

The fact is that the very name of Leo XIII. is an incentive to the acquisition of literary excellence. His example, his unceasing labors and generous patronage, have diffused throughout the entire body of the clergy a noble spirit of emulation and industry.

292
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CHAPTER XXXI.

LEO XIII. AND FRANCE.

[1878–1886.]

NO people, among all those who were the more special object of Leo XIII.'s pastoral solicitude during the first eight years of his Pontificate, occupied a greater place in his mind and his heart than the French Catholics—no, not even the populations of Italy, his own flesh and blood, and so closely connected with the name, the glories, and the very existence of Catholicity.

France, in spite of the tremendous changes effected by the Revolution of 1789–93 in the whole framework of French society, and in the very habits of thought, the very language, feelings, and conduct of the people; in spite even of the confiscation by Napoleon of the States of the Church and the imprisonment and exile of Pope and cardinals, was still, in the eyes of the whole civilized world, the foremost Catholic nation, as she continued to be, down to 1870–71, the leading nation in the political world.

But the change in the brilliant capital of France from what it was during the Universal Exposition of 1868–69 to what the government troops found it on wresting it from the Commune in 1872 was not more appalling than the change effected throughout the length and breadth of the country from 1878 to 1886. In the capital of the empire and in the empire itself, its institutions and government, the woful transformation was not effected by the terrible war through which the country had passed, nor by any foreign might upsetting, destroying, and then rebuilding after its own caprice; the forces which had been at work destroying and removing what the first Revolution had spared of the fair and glorious edifice reared by twelve centuries of

Christian civilization were forces from within, not from without—they were the fanatical anti-Christian, anti-social passions of Frenchmen themselves.

Why do we solicit the reader's attention to this unique spectacle in all history of the foremost of Christian nations laying violent hands on herself and extinguishing the very sources of her own life?

Simply to make American and English readers understand what a task Leo XIII., on ascending the papal throne on February 20, 1878, had to undertake in his endeavor to save religion in republican France.

From the days of Pope Stephen III. (752–757), who first called in the Franks under Charles Martel to save Rome and the independence of the Pontifical office from the tyranny of the Lombards, down to the last years of Pius IX., the devotion of Catholic France to the Papacy was a traditional virtue. For one among her rulers who was harsh or tyrannical in his dealings with a Pope, there were ten at least who deemed it their duty and their glory to protect against all external violence the sacred principality which the sword of the great Charles Martel and that of his greater son, Charlemagne, had won for the Roman Church, and which their solemnly recorded acts and the jurisprudence of all Christendom guaranteed to the Holy See as the bulwark of its independence.

Leo XIII. knew that if the wine of Jacobinism, with which the French Revolutionary armies were drunk in 1798–99, made them and their leaders commit such impious excesses, that they did not represent Catholic France. There was a Catholic France, oppressed by the Revolution, which survived, and its love afterward overflowed and flooded Rome, and that missionary world so dear to Rome, with its benefactions and heroic devotedness.

But Leo XIII. on his accession found France in a worse and more hopeless plight than the seventh Pius found on his election in 1800. That gentle and saintly Pontiff's conciliatory spirit was able to prevail on Napoleon Bonaparte to set up anew the altars torn down by the Revolution.

But could Leo XIII. prevent that same Revolution which was in 1878 a living, mighty, overmastering spirit in France, from tearing down these altars anew, and making of the work of destruction this time a work as thorough as ungodliness armed with political omnipotence could effect?

All intelligent readers know that I am stating in its simplest terms *the Problem*—one which is still unsolved, while all Europe and all civilized peoples are anxiously watching if even Leo XIII.'s prudence, skill, and eloquence will be able to solve it in favor of religion.

And now will the reader be patient with us while we give a brief retrospect of that Catholic France, and endeavor to account for the existence of that mighty problem which at this moment religion and irreligion are both trying to solve, each in its own favor?

No Pope had ever to face such a difficulty as this French one, whose phases are still succeeding each other like the terrible scenes in Wagner's epic dramas, where all ends in the setting for ever of the sun of the old-time religion.

We Americans preserve glorious recollections of French missionary zeal on our continent. The French heralds of the Gospel had been at work among the native tribes in our forests before the *Mayflower* had touched the shores of New England. Our own Protestant historians have told the story of their sufferings and labors and have glorified the laborers.

How account for this twofold life, so contradictory in its principles, its aims, its deeds? We must, however, account for it if we would understand what is now passing before our eyes, what perplexes the ordinary superficial observer, what is the most wonderful, if not the saddest, spectacle in the history of nations, and what is the heaviest cross which Leo XIII. has to bear.

When in 1846 Joachim Pecci, on his way from London to Rome, paused awhile in the French capital, he was much struck by the amazing progress religion seemed to be making in the kingdom in spite of the strong Voltairean scepticism which survived the first Revolution, the First

Empire, and the Bourbon Restoration, and had gained in intellectual predominance and social influence what it had lost in its early fanaticism and violence.

It is a lesson to be learned by all Christian peoples, the working of these two adverse principles, whose final struggle now claims all the pastoral care, all the preternatural wisdom and patience, that Leo XIII. can bestow upon it.

Whatever mistakes Louis Philippe's government committed in its relations toward the Church from 1830 to 1848, it is certain that, both at home and abroad, the deep religious spirit of French Catholics displayed extraordinary zeal in creating institutions of every kind for education, charity, and beneficence. The religious revival which had begun under the first Napoleonic Empire and had continued under the restored Bourbons produced marvellous results under the Orleanist monarchy. It was like an arctic springtide, the whole land bursting forth into a miraculous bloom of apostolic fecundity. Religious orders of men and women sprang up everywhere, and the old missionary spirit of the French—one of the mightiest forces at the command of the Church to spread the Christian name—covered Asia and America with bands of heroic men and women solely devoted to the propagation of the faith among the heathen or its extension on the unoccupied territories of the New World.

This admirable missionary spirit was only a new form of the living faith which sent Godfrey de Bouillon to Palestine, St. Louis to the plague-stricken Delta of the Nile, and again to his death among the Saracens. It filled all classes in France during the crusading ages, from the royal family and the highest nobility down to the peasant and the artisan. All were the soldiers of Christ. And this glorious spirit was not confined to one sex: Frenchwomen had caught the sacred flame as well as the men. St. Louis had his young queen by his side all through that first African campaign when pestilence annihilated his army and left the feeble and sickly remnants with their sovereigns in the hands of the Moslem. The spirit of French womanhood

in the following centuries found no unworthy representative in the heroic and saintly Joan of Arc, to whose virtues and true character even English scholars are now beginning to do full justice.

The early colonial history of our own North America is the history, principally, of the heroic missionaries of France. Robertson, Bancroft, Parkman, Kipp have vied with each other in describing the expeditions, the sufferings, the successes, the heroic lives crowned by a still more heroic death, of Jesuits, Franciscans, Dominicans, of the Sulpicians of Montreal and of the priests of the Seminary of Quebec, the advance-guards of Christ and civilization on all the mighty continent between the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the long line of the Pacific coast. And if the Christian manhood of France was worthily represented in these far-off times by Jogues and Goupil, by Lallemand, Brébeuf, and Rasles, by Champlain and La Salle and Marquette, French womanhood blossomed forth in such glorious names as Marie de l'Incarnation, the foundress of the Quebec Ursulines, and Marguerite Bourgeoys, the foundress of the Sisters of Notre Dame of Montreal.*

There was no intermission in that wonderful apostolic fervor which glowed in French bosoms down to the dreadful days of the Reign of Terror. What sublime heights of heroism the Christian men and women of France displayed all through that period of massacres and persecutions every school-boy and school girl knows at present. Their supernatural virtue shone at home in France while the guillotine was *en permanence* and mowed down its harvests night and day, and when the prisons were full of the noblest, the purest, the best—the hecatombs whose blood washed away the sins of the three preceding generations. And abroad the exiles who found their way to the shores of Great Britain and of America, were not their very lives the Gospel law in practice? All along our Atlantic seaboard and in the interior, all through the vast regions

* See "Heroic Women of the Bible and the Church," last chapter.

drained by the Hudson, the Susquehanna, the St. Lawrence, the Ohio, the Mississippi, and the Missouri, the exiled priests of France labored fruitfully everywhere, leaving behind names revered alike by Protestant and by Catholic, names to be ever blessed by those who have succeeded to their labors and glory in being their spiritual children: Cheverus in New England, Dubois and Bruté and Maréchal in our Middle States, Flaget and his noble associates in the West, Dubourg and Odin in New Orleans—these are only a few among a host of great and good men who brought with them from France the inextinguishable fire of apostolic zeal and priestly virtue to our shores. In Canada, too, these saintly fugitives found a refuge, a home, and a congenial field. He who writes these lines treasures as one of the dearest recollections of his boyhood the memory and friendship of these French refugees.

The scepticism popularized in France by Voltaire and the Encyclopédists, and the fearful moral corruption implanted in court and castle, in city and country, by the example of Louis XIV. and Louis XV., had not quenched in the France of St. Louis the living faith and the chivalrous zeal of the crusader-king.

Yes, truly, the Church of France, much as it had suffered in the great Revolution, profoundly as it had been modified by the changes which the First Consul had exacted from Pius VII., and fiercely as it had been assailed and thwarted and restricted by political parties, by the formidable sceptic press, and by unfriendly governments, was in 1846, when Monsignor Pecci visited the splendid capital of the Orleans monarchy, a majestic edifice with its foundations solidly resting on the reverence and devotion of the masses, and doing its work with an enlightened and exemplary clergy, and through the instrumentality of institutions which had not their equal in numbers nor their superior in excellence in any Catholic country, save, perhaps, in Italy and within the Papal States.

And everything in the Church of France went on progressing in excellence after the downfall of Louis Phi-

lippe, during the short-lived Republic of 1848–52, and even under the corrupting and demoralizing reign of the last Napoleon—everything: Religious Orders, establishments of education, charity, and beneficence, schools of every grade, from the infant-asylum schools up to the numerous Jesuit colleges which rivalled on every point of France the lyceum-colleges of the French University, and confessedly surpassed them in literary and scientific efficiency, as they most assuredly did in the religious training their great schools gave to Catholic youth. Look back and remember how admirably organized was, in every diocese of France, the methods of pulpit and catechistical instruction devised by the bishop and his clergy for the mental training of all classes of their people. We, who were brought up among a people where Sunday preaching and Sunday-schools and Christian Doctrine Societies were standing and flourishing popular institutions, cannot recall without wonder what we beheld in France during well-nigh eight years spent there, mixing with all ranks of her people as a missionary, speaking their own tongue, and laboring among them in the capital as well as in the provincial cities and country parts. Every bishop vied with his brother bishop in devising every possible method for conveying religious instruction to young and old. Think of the great names which adorned the French pulpit under the last Bourbons, Louis Philippe, and Napoleon. And those whose eloquence shone in the cathedrals outside of Paris were men who must have shone anywhere by their superior gifts. Add to this the glorious Catholic literature which addressed itself to the quick French intelligence in every walk of life, and which aimed at counteracting the terrible propaganda of error, corruption, unbelief, socialism, and revolutionism, of which the French University, independent of the Church and supported by the treasure and the influence of the state, was only one mighty ally, and not by any means the mightiest.

The official teaching in the French University was, as is notorious, leavened by scepticism when at its best in the present century; it always combated the Church, discre-

dited Christianity, ridiculed the clergy, and held them up to hatred or suspicion when it did not hold them up to contempt. The French medical schools taught the baldest materialism; the French law schools a rampant Erastianism; the French scientific and military schools laughed at all religion and turned out practical atheists. French novels and the French theatre, aided by all the charms of exquisite elegance of diction and the fascinations of the stage and the opera, taught and sang but one thing—the triumph of vice. Think of Eugène Sue, and Alexandre Dumas, and Balzac, and George Sand, and a host of others who only lacked a little of the pre-eminence in evil of those we have named. And the French daily and periodical press! With the exception of the few excellent journals which defended the cause of religion, journalistic literature in France, the ablest, cleverest, most fascinating in the world, was in the hands of scepticism, unbelief, and all those then secret and mighty organizations which, by various methods, were working out one purpose—the overthrow in France of the Church and of social order.

Such were, on both sides, the antagonistic forces at work as Joachim Pecci had beheld them on the spot, and continued to watch ever at Perugia. It is in the moral world as in the physical—a tyro can construe what is known as the parallelogram of forces, and deduce from the figure, by a very simple calculation, the *resultant*. On which side, in France, was arrayed the mightiest sum of moral force? On that of irreligion and revolution. All the power and influence of government, legislature, of the University and the army of professors and teachers in its pay, of the press, the theatre, the clubs, all the training of the great schools which fed the army, the navy, the various departments of engineering in a great manufacturing and commercial country, were on the side of irreligion; on the other there was a sum of active forces far inferior to those controlled by unbelief. The numerical majority, made up of the popular masses *in the country*, were indeed on the side of religion; but they were mere inert and inactive matter.

When, after thirty-two years, Joachim Pecci became Leo XIII., what saw he?

In what were the leading classes, as well as among the laboring population of *the cities*, there was a sum of active forces on the side of unbelief which far outbalanced those of religion. The former would hesitate at no violence to carry their ends. The latter could only use moral means; *armed resistance, for them, was out of the question.*

This was well known to the men who overthrew the MacMahon government and placed Jules Grévy in the presidential chair. They knew that if they could make up their minds to set aside all the laws which protected or favored religion in France, even the Concordat, and suppressed, one after the other, all the institutions of Catholicism, and set up the state, as in Italy, to be the absolute and irresistible master of property, of liberty, of life, that no leader would stand forth to bid Catholics arm and defend their homes, their altars, and their schools.

And, knowing this, they have acted on it, progressing year after year in their career of disfranchisement, confiscation, and oppression.

What could the Pope do? In France—let us say it openly—it was the secret societies which elected M. Grévy, as it was they who had upset Marshal MacMahon. Consequently the Church found itself, under the new régime, absolutely in the power of its deadliest foe. Was it to be thought that the foe who had been striving ever since 1816 to gain this very victory over the Church would forego his advantage? There could be no treaty of peace and amity between the two powers. One must perish, and that was Catholicism, in so far as human might can kill it.

And what was Leo XIII. to do? What counsels could he give the French bishops, the French Catholic laity, Catholic journalists, and organized Catholic bodies in France? There was no alternative, since armed resistance was out of the question, but to be patient, to be united, to keep together, to help and sustain and cheer each other in a pas sive resistance which should make use of all the means of

persuasion and all the force of public opinion won by putting all the wrong on the side of the enemy, and leaving it in the power of no man to censure justly word or act of the oppressed majority.

1880 came, and the Church of France found herself and all her glorious institutions, rights, and liberties at the mercy of Jules Ferry and Paul Bert.

Gambetta, the sworn enemy of the Church of his country, had risen to be prime minister, and had fallen; and then came his sudden death. His war-cry had been, Down with the clergy! He had made the term *clérical* as odious, as hated as ever the name of Jesuit had been. But *cléricalism*, with him, meant more than the priest; it meant the religion, the belief, the worship of which he was the minister.

But even Gambetta, it was thought when he took the reins of administration in his hands, would be more conservative than his principles and former professions. So the propelling force behind him—the blind, pitiless, relentless force of the secret clubs—pushed him out of the way, and then came, after his death, the sweeping measures of suppression, confiscation, and persecution devised by the Ferry ministry.

The French bishops in this emergency were not to be silenced by the fear of state prosecutions or by the withdrawal of their salaries. The venerable Cardinal Guibert, Archbishop of Paris, sent to the government an eloquent and energetic protest against the suppression of the Religious Orders in France. It had no more effect, nor had the protests of his colleagues, in shaming the ministers and the legislature into a sense of right-doing than shouting at the rushing waters of Niagara or shaking one's fist at the mighty cataract could arrest for an instant the steady downpour of the great river.

What the nuncio in Paris, Monsignor Czacki, attempted or effected to second the resistance of the French hierarchy we need not detail here. His conduct was the theme of adverse and conflicting criticisms.

But in October, 1880, while there still remained some faint hope of making the French government pause in their proscriptive measures, Leo XIII. wrote to the French bishops, through the Cardinal-Archbishop of Paris, one of those stirring letters which are at one and the same time an appeal to the calm reason of statesmen, based on the highest principles of national self-interest, social order, religion, justice, and equity, and a plea addressed to the deepest sentiments of the heart—gratitude for past services and respect for the loftiest convictions and the noblest deeds of self-sacrifice.

The Religious Orders of both men and women had, the government pretended, arisen and taken root in France without the sanction of the law or in spite of its prohibitory statutes. The weakness of this plea—a shallow pretext which everybody saw through—was demonstrated by the fact that, when the edict of suppression was brought before the law-courts for their sanction and as a preliminary to immediate execution, upwards of five hundred magistrates resigned their position on the bench rather than sanction even by silent acquiescence the illegal and monstrous iniquity contemplated by the party in power.

To their solemn and indignant protest Leo XIII. added his own.

He cannot accept the practical premise on which Jules Ferry and Paul Bert base their action—that the Church, in the full integrity of her vital organism and the full liberty of her action, has not a right to exist in France. She was there before the arrival of Clovis and his Franks; her influence and action were the civilizing and organizing forces which built up the nation; they helped mainly to give it the foremost place among those of Christendom and the world.

"Wherever the Catholic Church freely exists," Leo XIII. writes, "there Religious Orders spontaneously grow up; they spring from the Church as the branch from the trunk of the tree. They are the auxiliaries whose help the bishops find to be especially necessary in our days, helping

by their skill and industry the secular clergy in their ministrations, and relieving by Christian charity the needs of the poor."

He praises the cardinal for showing, in his eloquent letter to the government, "that there is no form of civil constitution to which Religious Orders are adverse or inimical; that it is for the interest of public order and peace to allow so many inoffensive citizens full freedom to lead a quiet and orderly life; that it does not beseem men who wish well to their countrymen to break in appearance with the religion which all profess, and to persecute the faith received from their parents and ancestors."

The great pretence of the men who are either opposed in theory to the existence of Monastic Orders in the Church, or who, in practice, are in favor of their extinction, is that they are only excrescences on the organism of the Church, and that she is better without them. To this the great teacher of Christendom replies:

"The distinguished men against whom the sword of the law was thus sharpened were the lawful offspring of the Church, carefully trained by her to all that is honorable in virtue and in literary culture. Civilization is immensely indebted to them in more than one respect, for their holy lives were to the people a perpetual exhortation to virtue, and their learning shed a lustre on the spheres both of sacred and of profane knowledge; their immortal works have enriched every department of the fine arts." *

The mind of the Pope travels back to those ages when France was troubled by no religious divisions, when the entire mass of her people were of one religious faith and the laborious zeal of their clergy was taxed to the utmost.

"Whenever," he says, "there was a scarcity of secular

* In the France of the nineteenth century it is needful only to mention, in sacred oratory, the names of Lacordaire and Monsabré among the Dominicans, those of De Ravignan and Félix among the Jesuits; in general learning and scholarship the names of Dom Guéranger and Cardinal Pitra, Benedictines, of Fathers Cahier and Martin, the authors of the grandest work of descriptive art of our times, "Les Vitraux de Bourges."

priests, from the cloister issued bands of holy laborers, whose extraordinary wisdom and skill helped the bishops to foster piety among the people, to train youth to the knowledge of letters and the practices of a virtuous life.

"Of the missionaries sent to preach the Gospel to barbarous countries, the majority have been furnished by the monastic communities in France. Their labors in the cause of Christianity have spread the name of France with the light of the Gospel to the remotest nations of the earth.

"There is no sort of misery which can befall our common humanity that these religious men and women have not alleviated, no form of calamity known to us that they have not remedied—in hospitals, in asylums for the poorest of the poor, during the periods of peace and leisurely enjoyment in civil communities as well as amid the heat and turmoil of war. And all these ministrations they performed with that pitying gentleness which can only spring from divine charity. Of this charity you have before your eyes illustrious examples in every province and city and village."

The Pope then enumerates the testimonies given by leading men of every class to the merits and services of the Religious Orders. It was all in vain. Vainly also did the magistrates resign their seats upon the bench of justice. Equally vain were the remonstrances and protests of the French bishops. Nothing could save the doomed communities. The Jesuits, the Pope says, were the first expelled. "The nuncio in Paris was ordered to protest, and to declare that the Society of Jesus is not only guiltless of any crime, but deserving of all praise on account of the exalted merit of its members, for their learning, their charity, their zeal in educating youth. All France bears witness to their worth by entrusting its children to their care."

The nuncio's protest having produced no effect on the government, the Holy Father was about to raise his voice in remonstrance, condemning the acts of the persecutor, when it was proposed to him that the Religious Orders might be saved from suppression and dispersion if they

would only unite in drawing up and signing a solemn declaration and pledge to the effect that they had no part and would have no part in political movements, and adhered to no political party.

This, the Sovereign Pontiff thought, violated no principle of Catholic doctrine or morality, while it would avert from the Church of France a measureless calamity. It would also wrest from the enemy a ready and powerful weapon of attack.

The proposal of such a pledge, however, fell like a bombshell among the justly alarmed and excited French Catholics. Their organs in the press discussed its opportuneness, its necessity, and its consequences with extreme warmth, the result of strong and sincere convictions.

The Holy See, anxious to save the mighty religious interests so seriously threatened in France, did not look with disfavor on such a united declaration. As a basis on which should repose this profession of neutrality as between mere conflicting political parties and opinions, the Pope sketches the nature and aim of monastic life. Their utter unworldliness in the midst of the world, and the sublime services which their spirit of detachment enables them to render, ought to protect them from the suspicion of worldly passions or political partisanship.

"A thing well and familiarly known to this Apostolic See," he says, "is the purpose for which, in the Catholic Church, men or women unite together to form religious societies. There is, first of all, the desire to promote in the members themselves the practice of spiritual perfection in the highest degree. As to the outward form of active life selected for itself by each order, their only aim is to help to secure the eternal salvation of their fellow-men or to aid in relieving the various forms of human suffering. This twofold course of activity is daily pursued in each order with marvellous assiduity and cheerfulness."

So much for the character of Religious Orders as such. Now, what should or might be their attitude toward the civil constitution and the political parties in the state?

"The Catholic Church neither blames nor condemns any form of state constitution. The institutions of the Church herself, deriving their origin from purposes of public utility, can flourish under any government, whether the executive or judiciary power be exercised therein by one or by more. As to the Apostolic See, which has to maintain relations with governments in the midst of political changes and revolutions, its sole purpose is to secure the interests of the Christian religion. It never intends, nor can intend, to violate the rights of any government, no matter by whom administered. It is, therefore, certain that in all things where we do no injustice to others we should obey those in authority. Nor by so obeying do we sanction whatever is wrong, either in the constitution or in the administration.

"Such being the rules of public conduct enjoined on all Catholics without distinction, there could be no objection to the declaration demanded of the Religious Orders.

"But it is not a little surprising that a proposal of this kind, entertained at a moment when the very weightiest interests were at stake, and for the purpose of saving both Church and state, should have found little favor with men otherwise estimable and known for their talent and zeal in defending Catholicism."

The controversy raised on this point was a sore matter on both sides of the Alps. What rendered the opposition of the journalists alluded to most distasteful to the Holy See was the fact that the declaration in question had the sanction of the French bishops.

It turned out, nevertheless, that this negotiation was only a trap laid by the government to create dissension in the Catholic ranks, to elicit expressions of opinion and sentiment that might enable MM. Ferry and Bert to strike with more visible grounds of justice such communities as would prove to be unyielding.

The Holy Father confesses the failure of this sort of compromise. "It is most sad to say," the letter goes on, "that the French government pursued its intended course. Every day brings us sad news from that country. The re-

maining Religious Orders are scattered and suppressed. The fresh calamity thus befallen France, and which she herself keenly feels, fills us with the deepest concern, the most intense anxiety. We detest and deplore the wrong done to the Catholic religion."

There was just cause for all the fears of the Pontiff. Nothing could arrest the progress of the *decatholicizing* spirit in France—nothing but the fear of a civil war. Of this, however, there was no danger. The Catholics—the nominal Catholics at least, who were in overwhelming majority—allowed every constitutional agency for asserting their own will to be taken from them by their determined, sleepless, unscrupulous, and energetic enemies. The public offices, from the highest to the lowest in the state, the ballot-box, the parliamentary representation, the command of the army and navy—all was taken away from them by degrees, and that *because they lacked union and organization.*

It is one of the saddest spectacles of modern times to see thirty millions of French Catholic citizens virtually disfranchised, oppressed, and deprived of their most precious religious liberties by a small minority, because they did not know how to forget their political dissentiments, to unite like one man to assert their rights, and to use every means allowed by the constitution and by conscience to withstand the usurpations of a godless minority.

What is most saddening in this condition of a nation which had played so glorious a part in Christendom is to see the downward progress of Socialism and Anarchism keep a steady pace with the legislative and administrative measures which, step by step, dechristianize every one of the public institutions of France, and bring the Church within the jurisdiction of the republic to a worse state, in many respects, than it was in 1794 and 1795.

What intellectual and moral poison has perverted the judgment of Frenchmen, naturally so quick and penetrating, or so deadened their naturally noble disposition as to make them form so false a notion of freedom, and to mis-

take its dictates in practice for an injunction to oppress all who differ from themselves in opinion?

It is a problem. And it is a pity. But it is none the less all too true. And this intolerance, this unnatural, fanatical intolerance, of all that is religious or godly, or morally fair and noble, is at present the bane of France. Liberty interverted into meaning, in practice, the freedom for one's self to think and act as one pleases, but to strangle free thought and free action in others, is bringing on—has, rather, already* brought on—Communism in France, and will soon bring on anarchy and a second division of France.

If the nations round about had combined and sworn to divide France, ungoverned and ungovernable, as was once done with unhappy Poland, they only have to wait patiently for the outcome of the present mad race to destruction. If things go on, within another decade the former kingdom of St. Louis will be without a single form of tolerated public worship, without a single cathedral devoted to religion; the country which, under Napoleon I., dictated laws to Europe, will have neither an effective army to defend her frontiers nor a fleet to guard her coasts.

That is what the "party of action" in the government and the legislature are bringing the country to, as certainly as the yellow waters of the Tiber will find their way to Ostia and the Mediterranean.

And this is what we Americans—and we Irish-Americans in particular—pray God with all our heart to avert from misgoverned France, so dear to us for many reasons.

Leo XIII. has been and is still severely blamed by many French Catholics for what they consider his policy of unwise and fatal conciliation. It is a strange censure, seeing that the Holy See, in the circumstances which we have been describing, must choose between firm remonstrances, representations, and endeavors to conciliate, or band all French Catholics together in a great and com-

* March, 1886.

pactly organized national league, showing to the government and the radicals behind them a solid and unbroken front, resisting every measure of suppression, of confiscation, of encroachment on religious liberty by determined, united, and constitutional action. But would French Catholics have so united at his bidding?

Who among the Catholic leaders of France, lay or clerical, suggested or initiated the formation of such a league? Now that the mischief has been done, and that all constitutional safeguards possessed by the Catholic Church in France are being swept away one by one, till the very cathedrals are allowed to fall into ruin previous to their being confiscated, it is too late to look back and say what should have been done, when all men knew what MM. Ferry and Bert meant, and what was really intended by the parliamentary majority behind them.

It was for the French Catholics themselves, constituting the great mass of the nation—for bishops, priests, and laymen—to come together, to take counsel, as they did in Germany at the approach of danger. It behooved them in presence of the enemy to forget all private or local differences, all party feuds; to forget that they were Legitimists, Orleanists, Bonapartists, or Republicans, and to remember only that they were Christians. It behooved them, speaking in the name of a Catholic nation, to draw up a declaration of rights, every line and word of which should commend itself to the approbation of Rome and the applause of every civilized man all over the world in favor of liberty of conscience and the sacred laws which guard the family, the home, the school, and the Church.

They should not have waited for any invitation from the Sovereign Pontiff to do so. It was their acknowledged right, and it was the sacred duty of the hour, to do so. There is no use in denying it, the fatal dissentiments and bickerings which had so long divided French Catholics among themselves, and which still found vent in the religious press, kept minds and hearts and men asunder, while the common foe, the enemy of religion and social order,

was storming the outworks of the citadel of faith. When these had been swept away, did the Catholics unite like one man to defend the very heart of their position?

But after the elections of 1885, when every priest who dared to advise his parishioners to vote for a Catholic candidate in opposition to a Radical or government man was punished by losing his salary, and when a new school-law was passed disqualifying all persons belonging to religious communities for teaching in primary schools, the venerable Cardinal Guibert, Archbishop of Paris, broke silence, and wrote to the President of the Republic the following letter, which describes the exact situation of the Church in France with regard to the so-called Republic:

"PARIS, March 30, 1886.

"*To the President of the Republic:*

"MR. PRESIDENT: The Church of France is passing through a period of painful trials. She complains of being made the object of rigorous treatment by the state; and the state accuses her of having called forth such rigor by setting herself in opposition to the government which the country has chosen for itself. As the conflict grows daily in bitterness you will not be surprised if the oldest among the French bishops, he in whose diocese the government has its seat, addresses himself to you as the chief executive, and conveys to you, together with his respectful protestations, the just complaints, which are, I doubt it not, in conformity with the general sentiment among my brother-bishops.

"How can we allow the public to give credit, through our silence, to accusations which entirely misrepresent our attitude and can only lead public opinion astray? Up to this moment the French clergy have given proof of a patience and moderation that deserve higher praise than that of being called exemplary. Wishing before all things to maintain peace, and thereby to obey the wise directions given by the Sovereign Pontiff, they have uncomplainingly endured much injustice. They have only raised their voice

to defend the spiritual interests of their flocks, the teaching of religious doctrine, the necessities of public worship; and in so doing they have shown temper and moderation, demanding only of the public authorities that they should be shown the same justice and kindness so honorably granted them by preceding governments.

"They have been reproached with having, during the last elections, been favorable to the opposition candidates. If there be truth in this accusation, we can affirm that politics had no influence on the minds of the electors, who, in voting, only thought of the result the ballot-box would have on the interests of religion.

"There were two classes of candidates—one class composed of persons who wished to preserve religious instruction, to protect freedom of worship, and to favor Christian good works; the other class were those who announced openly their intention of extinguishing at once, or in the very near future, the Catholic faith among us. Who would hold it to be a crime in priests to show a preference for the former? It was a conscientious duty to do so, and a fulfilment of the mission received by them from the Church, and, one might say, from the state itself.

"No; the clergy never have made in the past, nor do they make at present, a systematic and hostile opposition to existing institutions. If they show either coldness or uneasiness, these dispositions so loudly complained of only became manifest when the representatives of the government joined hands openly with the enemies of religion. If the republic would only accept the obligation incumbent on all governments of respecting the belief and the worship of the immense majority of our countrymen, nothing in the teaching of the Church or in her traditions could have justified a priest in distrusting the republic or in opposing it. But if the men who have taken on themselves to establish these political forms in France have at the same time made it their task to wound all men's consciences, if every year of their sway has been remarkable for some blow aimed at one or other of our Catholic

institutions, how, I ask again, can churchmen be blamed for preferring those who protect them to those who plunder them, those who respect their ministry to those who vilify it, those who favor the influence of religion on men's minds to those who labor to destroy it?

"To the prejudiced, who still wonder at the conduct of the clergy, I would say: Read over the records of the last five years. In 1880 the Religious Orders are dispersed on the authority of contested laws and without having obtained judgment from the courts. At the same time treasury laws, which impose a heavier burden every year, fall oppressively on communities of religious women, regardless of the immense services they render to the poor, to the sick, to the youth of the country. In 1882 a school-law blots out religion from the programme of public instruction, and inflicts on Christian France, under the name of *neutrality*—a name hitherto unknown—the stigma of official atheism. Year after year the budget of public worship is cut down. In the space of five years there is a reduction of seven millions of francs. The salary of the bishops is diminished, those of the cathedral canons are threatened; the burses in the seminaries are stricken out of the estimates; the cathedral churches are refused the subsidies necessary for the dignity of public worship and the repair of their buildings; the assistant pastorships are suppressed by the hundred. In every locality where the municipal officers become the tools of anti-religious passions, the government follow in their wake, tolerating or sanctioning the most unlawful usurpations.

"Thus it is that the ministers of religion are excluded from the hospitals which depend on the state or on the municipality; the funeral of a celebrated writer, who had refused the prayers of the Church, serves as a pretext for profaning a Christian temple bearing the name of the patron saint of Paris; and, lastly, the parish priests, those lowly servants of the people in our villages, are treated with no less injustice. The poor salary which represents the sacred debt of the nation toward the Church ceases to

be assured to the priest who faithfully discharges his obscure duties. To denounce him to the authorities—an act mostly inspired by hatred or by private interest—suffices to make him lose it. He is visited by an excessive punishment which no law authorizes, and which is preceded by no trial.

"Five years have sufficed to heap up all these violences. The present year had in store for us a reserve of no less sorrowful surprises. While people are expecting the repeal of the law which dispenses the clergy from military service, we are made to follow in Parliament the debates on another law taking away from public instruction every Christian characteristic.

"During these debates we heard the Minister of Public Worship attacking, in his speeches, the fundamental doctrines of Christianity.

"Ten years ago it was said, 'Clericalism is the national enemy,' and beneath the ambiguity of the term the man who used it purposely veiled the intention which he did not dare to avow openly. At this moment such a precaution is needless. The objects of direct attack are the honor paid to the Blessed Virgin and the doctrine of Original Sin. To justify the perpetual exclusion of teachers belonging to communities from all public schools, the government declare that these teachers, precisely *because they are Catholics*, would teach doctrines which the state cannot tolerate from the lips of masters paid by it.

"In very truth, Mr. President, I cannot help asking myself what we are come to. Has the Concordat been abrogated, or is it still in force? It is easy to see that the Minister of Public Worship favors the separation of Church and state, but that he dreads the consequences for our existing institutions, and wishes to prepare public opinion for it. Doubtless it is because he wishes the better to prepare people for the breaking up of the compact that he begins openly to violate its clauses and its spirit.

"The seventeenth article of the Concordat foresees the case in which the First Consul might have a non-Catholic successor, and stipulates that in this case *the rights and the*

prerogatives mentioned in article sixteen and the nomination to bishoprics should be regulated by a new convention. So, in the thought of the two parties to the Concordat, the prerogatives granted to the chief of the French government were subordinated to the condition that he should profess the Catholic faith. And now here is a minister of this government, the very personage who, on his own responsibility, exercises the prerogatives granted by the Concordat, and he makes speeches against the Catholic belief! If he is to be believed, the state owes it to itself not to permit in its schools the teaching of the dogmas of our faith; and yet the state continues to nominate our bishops, who are the guardians of that faith!

"Mr. President, I appeal to your reason and your impartiality. Have I, in what I have just said, done anything but note facts well known and official? And can any one dispute the conclusion to be drawn from them, and which may be thus formulated: The Catholic clergy have not made any opposition to the government, which, during these last six years, has never ceased to persecute the clergy, to weaken Christian institutions, and to prepare for the suppression of the Christian religion itself?

"It is certain, Mr. President, that the constitution which frees you from responsibility leaves you the full enjoyment of your moral influence. Your age, your great experience, your old devotion to the republican cause, the confidence again pledged to you by the National Assembly —all this, by heightening your authority, seems to ask of you to interfere in the difficult situation which has arisen. It is your right to warn those who share with you the burden of power, and to point out to them the consequences of their dangerous policy; they could not, without betraying levity or rashness, help yielding to your wise counsels and having a regard for your serious observations.

"Allow, then, an old bishop, who has seen, during his own lifetime, the political forms of his country changed seven times in succession—allow him to say to you for the last time what his long experience suggests.

"By continuing on the path it is now pursuing the republic can do religion great harm; but kill it it cannot. The Church has known greater dangers and has passed through worse storms, and yet she lives in the heart of France. She will be present at the burial of those who flatter themselves with the belief that they will annihilate her.

"The republic has received no promise of immortality either from God or from history. If your influence could induce it to respect men's consciences, to apply the Concordat honestly both in its letter and in its spirit, you would do much to restore public peace and to unite men's minds. If you fail in this attempt, or if you think it cannot be made, then it is not the clergy nor the Church that can be charged with laboring to ruin the political establishment of which you are the guardian; you know that rebellion is not one of the weapons that we use.

"The clergy will continue to endure patiently; they will pray for their enemies; they will beg of God to enlighten these and to inspire them with more equitable sentiments. But those who are the authors of this impious war shall work their own destruction by it, and great ruins will be heaped up in our beloved country before it can see once more happy days.

"The subversive passions which give many signs of their near awakening will create in your path dangers far more formidable than any of the pretended abuses cast up to the clergy. And God grant that in this fearful storm, where the appetites let loose shall find no moral barrier on their road, we do not see go down together the fortune and even the independence of our native land!

"Arrived at the extreme limit of a long career, I resolved, before having to go before God to give an account of my administration, to remove from my own conscience any share of responsibility in the coming disasters. Still, I cannot close this letter without expressing the hope that France will never permit herself to be robbed of those sacred beliefs which constituted in the past her strength and her glory, and secured to her the foremost rank among nations.

MUSEO CHIARAMONTI,

VATICAN GALLERY OF ANCIENT SCULPTURE.

"I confide, Mr. President, these weighty reflections to your wisdom and your lofty intelligence, and beg you to accept the homage of my respectful consideration.

"J. HIPPOLYTE CARDINAL GUIBERT,

"*Archbishop of Paris.*"

Here is a prophetic voice from Paris forecasting the near future of France. It is a description of the imposing ceremony in the cathedral of Notre Dame on Easter Sunday morning, April 25, 1886, in which some five thousand men received together Holy Communion:

"The Communion *of the men*, as it is called, in the church of Notre Dame, was as imposing on Sunday last as in the best years of the past. The four or five thousand faithful men who follow the Lenten lectures and receive Communion on Easter Sunday are not of the class who are influenced in the profession of their faith and the accomplishment of its duties by the fluctuations of public opinion. Hence the nave and side-aisles of the cathedral were filled. The singing of the *Credo*, and of the psalm *In Exitu*,* and of the hymns drowned the mighty notes of the great organ. Need we say that there was deep recollection among this multitude, and that, assembled there for the most part long before the hour for Mass, these men never permitted themselves to speak of politics?

"Nevertheless a feeling of uneasiness betrayed itself in the throng, a feeling with which the state of things outside had something to do, and which was also observable last year. One might think that Father Monsabré gave an answer to this secret thought of every man there when, in the farewell address after Communion, he spoke of persecution and the priesthood, and foretold the dark future in store for a people without priests! What a parallel was that between the brave and generous nation whose warlike epic could be entitled 'Gesta Dei per Francos,'† and that same people lowered, degraded, without God or priests,

* Psalms cxiii., cxiv.

† "The Doings of God through the Franks."

whom the heel of the barbarian would come to crush in the mire of their own corruption! . . .

"Everybody felt it; the truth of these forebodings is all too certain, and this degradation will come sooner than we think, if France continues to countenance the war—a war as disgraceful to the French name as it is impious in its nature—which the Revolution is waging against God!" *

* *L'Univers.*

CHAPTER XXXII.

"THE CHURCH FREE IN THE FREE KINGDOM OF ITALY"—LEO XIII. AND THE SPOLIATION OF THE PROPAGANDA.

LEO XIII.'s passionate love for higher studies would not permit him to overlook the glorious missionary school of the Propaganda—that *Collegium Urbanum*, so called from its great-souled founder, Pope Urban VIII., to which the select youth of all countries and races are sent to receive gratuitously the highest education, and from which they return to their native land to be the apostles of their fellow-countrymen and the promoters of Christian civilization.

Never since Christianity itself began to gather the nations into the fold of Christ was any institution so admirably devised as this Urban College to typify, realize, and foster the great idea of the brotherhood of all men in Christ, and to propagate this great doctrine and its benefits among every tribe of mankind.

Before the occupation of Rome by the Piedmontese in September, 1870, it was the custom in this great school of practical brotherly love to hold yearly, on the Feast of the Epiphany—regarded as the anniversary of the conversion of the Gentiles—an "academy," in which the students, young men of every race and tongue, were wont, in presence of the Sovereign Pontiff, his court, the Sacred College, the diplomatic corps, and all that was most distinguished in Rome, to give specimens of their proficiency. It was a rare spectacle.

As, however, Leo XIII. could no longer go to the College of Propaganda, as in the days when Rome was the free

city of the entire Christian world, he resolved that the annual academy should be held in the most magnificent apartment in the Vatican, the Consistorial Hall.

We give the following account from an eye-witness of the proceedings on January 6, 1880:

"The Consistorial Hall was arranged with a throne at one side, . . . and with seats for the cardinals and ambassadors placed in a circle, with rows of chairs extending at either side for the prelates and privileged persons permitted to be present. Mustafa and the gentlemen of the Sistine choir occupied part of the upper end of the room, and sang some beautiful pieces of music with exquisite skill.

"Leo XIII. entered the hall at a quarter-past ten, attended by Monsignor Cataldi, prefect of Pontifical ceremonies, his major-domo and master of the Camera, his private chamberlains, Boccali and Castrocane, the Marquis Serlupi and Prince Antici-Mattei, and several cardinals. The seats for the *corps diplomatique* were occupied by the ambassadors or ministers of France, Spain, Portugal, Monaco, Bolivia, and other states.

"The proceedings commenced by the reading in Italian of a prolusion by the Rev. Michele Camillieri, of Smyrna, and then followed the recitation of poetical compositions in *forty-nine* different languages, including Hebrew, Chaldaic, Coptic, Arabic, Turkish, Kurd, Cingalese, Tartar, Armenian, Persian, Syriac, Ethiopic, and Akka. *Twenty-one* languages of Asia and Africa were spoken in the first part of the accademia by young men of color, ranging from the pale yellow of natives of the Lebanon or Mesopotamia to the sooty black of the Nubians and Central Africans. The recitations were interspersed with popular songs in Chaldee, Arabic, Kurd, Cingalese, Armenian, and Syriac.

"The second part comprised recitations and songs in twenty-eight languages of Europe, including Greek, Georgian, Keltic, Bulgar, and Roumanian. The accademia was closed by the benediction given by the Holy Father, and at half-past twelve P.M. the assemblage broke up. To this

disputation were admitted deputations from the students of the ecclesiastical colleges in Rome." *

Of course this academy, intended to represent the great family of all nations and languages belonging to Christ's fold, does not give any idea of the severe course of sacred and secular studies which the pupils of the Propaganda have to follow during their training in Rome. But the above description affords the reader a glance at the truly Catholic composition of the school itself, and hints at the large and practical humanitarian spirit which presided at the foundation of such an establishment and still continues to watch over and direct its progress.

This is not the place to speak of the Propaganda Library, nor of its presses, which print books in the principal languages of every continent. We were only anxious to place before the general reader's eye one of these great nurseries of the apostolic spirit which have contributed immensely to the Christianizing and civilizing so many barbarous nations, and toward spreading and maintaining, wherever the English language is spoken, the Catholic faith in its purity and integrity.

Non-Catholics, indeed, are not expected to view with sympathy these great seminaries for Catholic missionaries. But Protestants have been most generous in their praise of the Propaganda and its dependent colleges, as well as in

* Letter in the Dublin *Freeman's Journal*, dated Rome, April 18, 1880, quoted in the "Chair of Peter," p. 139.

The "ecclesiastical colleges" here mentioned, and maintained by the Propaganda, are: the Germanic College, the Teutonic College, the English College, the Collegio Pio-Inglese, the Irish College of Santa Agata, the Irish Franciscan College of St. Isidore, the Scotch College, the Polish College, the Illyrian College, the Collegio Pio-Latino for Spanish America, the North American College for the United States, the Greco-Ruthene College of St. Athanasius, the College of St. Gregory, the College of St. Pancratius for the Discalced Carmelites, the College of St. Peter in Montorio for the Observantines, that of San Bartolomeo on the Island for the same, the College of St. Anthony of Padua for the Minors-Conventual, the College of Capuchins, and that of the Armenians founded by Leo XIII. Add to these a college in course of foundation for the Canadian confederacy.

acknowledging the extraordinary results produced by the labors of an administration which disposes of less than one-fifth of the pecuniary means at the command of the Bible and missionary societies of England and the United States.

At any rate, London or New York would be proud to own such an establishment as the Urban College, although only one of the colleges directed by the Congregation de Propaganda Fide. For the very assemblage of these young students, representing all the tribes of earth, is a something which appeals to our Christian affections and our brotherly sympathy for all the descendants of Adam.

One would also think that the Italian Revolutionists, who are so loud in prating about progress, culture, civilization, humanity, and universal brotherhood, would feel some pride in possessing in the city of the Popes such a cosmopolitan institution as the Propaganda with its glorious schools.

It would seem a liberal, a large-minded, and a wise policy in the men who wish to restore to Rome and to Italy something of the moral, if not of the political, supremacy of former ages, to encourage and foster this missionary spirit and the institutions which embody it, because every one of these sons of Asia, Africa, America, Oceanica, and Australia carries with him to his native land the memory and the name of Italy and of Rome.

If anti-Christian hate did not blind the present rulers of Rome and the Peninsula to the incomparable means of influencing the nations of the earth which they have in the Papacy left sovereign, independent, and free as an integral portion of an Italian confederacy! If they could be made to understand that Italy would be far more powerful, more united, more respected, more secure against all foreign aggression and all intestine divisions if the Papacy were left, as it was hitherto, to represent to the world the divine influence of Christian truth and morality, and if the Pope were allowed to be the teacher of all mankind and the supreme director of consciences, without being trammelled by the action or authority of any rival secular power!

What was happening in 1880 under Leo XIII., and what had happened under Pius IX., to mar the labors of the Propaganda and to interfere with the prosperity of the great missionary schools?

In 1874, just when all these youths of the Urban College were working hard to undergo creditably their severe yearly examinations, the *Giunta Liquidatrice*, a board established by the new Italian government to carry out the laws sequestrating all ecclesiastical property and securing the proceeds of their sale to the state, seized upon the Villa Montalto at Tusculum, the country-house of the Urban College, and put it up for public auction.

It was a terrible disappointment to these young men, who could not return to their native homes to spend the yearly vacation, and who had always enjoyed their well-earned repose among the cool and breezy solitudes of the Roman hills, instead of being cooped up within the sultry, sunburned circuit of Rome itself.

One would think that, even if the right of the government to seize and sell the villa be conceded, consideration for these foreign youths, who could bring back home with them either hatred of the oppressors of religion and the Papacy or admiration for a large and enlightened appreciation of Catholicism and its power in the world, should have made the *Giunta Liquidatrice* pause or have induced the government to interfere.

The Propaganda were taken by surprise, for they did not imagine that the new laws of suppression and sequestration were meant for them, and the king, Victor Emmanuel, had solemnly declared that the Propaganda and its property were safe from the operation of these laws.

On August 6, 1874, the Propaganda brought the matter before the Roman courts of justice to test the applicability of the law to their property, while the Sovereign Pontiff appealed to the European powers against this invasion of his spiritual mission in favor of the heathen. But the Giunta, secure of the support of the government, and well knowing that the law-courts would be made to sanction the

confiscation, sold out the Villa Montalto without waiting for the issue of the suit.

The Congregation of Propaganda, knowing that it was useless to contend for justice when this act of spoliation was accomplished, did not push their suit. But the Giunta, sure of the decision of the courts, demanded that it should be proceeded with. The king, however, interfered, not to cancel the sale and to repair the wrong, but simply to stop the suit. But the government and their subordinates, who, in the interest of the Revolution, were loud in honoring the king as a hero, a great man, "the father of his country," made very little of his wishes or his orders in practice. He was only a tool, which could be laid aside or used as the occasion required.

Things were allowed to remain quiet till after his death. But on June 12, 1881, Signor Morena, a royal commissary, set up to be sold at public auction a number of farms in the country and of city lots belonging to the Propaganda. Both the Propaganda and the commissary applied to the civil courts in Rome, and on July 5 a decision was given against the former and condemning the Congregation to pay three-fourths of the expense. It was a hard judgment.

The Propaganda appealed on September 22. This time the court would not even allow the necessary delay to obtain evidence, and affirmed the sentence of the inferior court, besides condemning the Propaganda to pay all the expenses.

It is not to be thought that public opinion in Italy was so utterly perverted, or that Italian lawyers had so entirely lost all sense of justice and all honesty and independence in interpreting the laws, as not to utter any remonstrance against so glaring an iniquity. Many generous protests were heard, but they were of little avail.

The Propaganda this time had recourse to the Supreme Court, which invalidated the last sentence and sent the case to be tried anew before the Court of Ancona. Here the Congregation was again condemned; and on December 14, 1881, the case was laid before the full bench of the Court of Cassation, the court of last appeal in the kingdom.

The court, under what pression it were useless to inquire, did not hesitate to stultify and contradict themselves. Four of the same judges who on May 31, 1881, declared that the Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide was an institution apart and by itself, *sui generis*, and unlike any other, and "inspired by a great humanitarian conception," and that all the preceding laws had, *ex proposito*, "of set purpose omitted" to comprise its property within the scope of sequestration or conversion, subscribed the second contradictory sentence of January 29, 1884, without protestation, or giving any sign that they differed from the majority of the court. The names of the other four are missing among the signatures to the second sentence.

The best jurists in Italy openly affirmed that instead of interpreting in a wide and liberal sense the dubious terms of the law in a matter of confiscation and sequestration, the judges in the second decision had so stretched their interpretation, instead of restricting it, as to include every establishment and office connected with the Papacy, without even excepting the Pope himself and his household. It was annulling in advance the Law of Guarantees.

And what did Leo XIII. say and do in this emergency? On the 2d of March, the anniversary of his coronation, in answer to the address of the College of Cardinals, presented by Cardinal di Pietro, the Holy Father said:

"The wishes which the Sacred College expresses on this day, doubly memorable for us, and the prayers it offers to Heaven for us, move our heart in a special manner. . . . The Sacred College, which shares with us the care of governing the Church, knows best the need we have both of divine and of human aid to strengthen and sustain our weakness. The deep fear which overwhelmed our souls when, without any merit of ours, we were called to the Sovereign Pontificate, again takes forcible possession of us in this sixth year, which closes now after having taken away from your midst some of your illustrious members most dear to us, and after having dealt to the Church new blows.

"For she sees her divine mission beset on every side by difficulties of all sorts and ever increasing in magnitude. More to be deplored than all the others are attacks made on her here in Rome, for they strike her in the very centre of her life, and are directed toward obstructing the action of her Supreme Head.

"Bitter indeed to us it was to see a harsh judgment fall on an institution which is the honor of the Church, of the Roman Pontificate, and of Italy itself. We mean the Propaganda. It is easy to see how this sentence decreases the value of its patrimony, both because its capital is thereby rendered subject to the changes and instability of a public fund, and because it is deprived of the power of disposing of any portion of its capital, even to meet cases of urgent necessity or to augment them by new pious bequests, without the interference of a power foreign to it.

"But, if we rise to loftier considerations, we discern what the Propaganda really is—an institution of an order altogether beyond the common level, and by its nature independent of all lay authority. For it was founded by the Roman Pontiffs in virtue of the supreme apostolic ministry with which they are invested, and it is directly ordered for the purpose of propagating and preserving the faith in the various parts of our globe, and for fulfilling the sublime mission of the Church to save the world.

"For this end the Roman Pontiffs transferred to the Propaganda such an important part of their sublime power; it is by its means that they cause the blessings of redemption to reach the most distant nations. Innumerable regions of Africa, of Asia, of both North and South America, of Oceania, and of Europe itself, are indebted to this blessed institution for the light of the Gospel and for the true civilization which the Gospel imparts.

"And it is precisely to enable the Propaganda to correspond with their lofty purpose that the Popes themselves bestowed on it ample property and abundant revenues, exciting by their example and their exhortations the entire Catholic world to do the same.

"It is no wonder, therefore, that men who were no friends of the Catholic Church have always bestowed unbounded praise on this institution. It is no wonder that its property was spared even by the Imperial French government, and that the conqueror, who then seemed the master of Europe, had only great praise and sure protection for it. Such being, therefore, the character of this Papal institution, any act which aims at subjecting it in any way whatever to a power external to it, and to place obstacles in the way of its proper action, is a crime against the liberty of the Head of the Church in the exercise of his spiritual authority, in the discharge of his apostolic ministry.

"For these reasons of the highest order we feel it to be our duty to lift up our voice and to denounce to the Catholics of all nations, who have so many reasons to be interested therein, the new outrage committed against the Apostolic See.

"Meanwhile we shall endeavor, in the best way we can, to provide for the administrative necessities of this vast and magnificent institution. But in proportion as difficulties increase around us and as our condition becomes more intolerable, the more do we expect the aid of the Sacred College, the more abundantly do we claim from the faithful all over the world the help of their prayers, of their co-operation, of their generosity.

"We thereby hope, my Lord Cardinal, that the wishes you have expressed may be in this way largely fulfilled; that, in spite of all the efforts of the enemy, the Apostolic See may never lack the means to spread the Gospel and to accomplish the work of the apostleship."

While the whole Catholic world was moved by strong indignation against the oppressors of the Holy See, and voices denouncing the thinly disguised robbery of the most sacred institution on earth reached Italy from every shore, Cardinal Simeoni, the venerable Prefect of the Propaganda, was, under the Pope's direction, taking steps to prevent the funds sent to the Propaganda by the pious zeal of Catholic peoples from coming to Rome. The first act of spoliation

diminished by fully one-third the revenues in Italy of the great institution. No one could foresee the day when the institution itself would be suppressed, or its revenues so crippled and their management so hampered as to render them unavailable.

A consistory was held on March 24, and, encouraged by the general reprobation with which the decision of the Court of Cassation and the conduct and speeches of Signor Mancini, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, had met with in Europe as well as in America, the Holy Father did not hesitate to stigmatize the act of spoliation and the curtailment of his own spiritual freedom in words to which people listened with respect and sympathy:

"When the storms of rebellion, whose fierce attacks were directed against the civil principality of the Roman Pontiffs and for the conquest of this city, had achieved its purpose, both our predecessor, Pius IX., and ourselves raised our voices and used our utmost exertions to protect and to vindicate the rights of the Apostolic See, in accordance with the strict obligations of our office. With the same firmness of purpose, as the Revolution went on its course, every time we saw injustice committed we took on ourselves to protect truth and justice violated; more especially have we, in so far as our firmly resisting could do so, done our best to beat off the violence so long done to us.

"Nevertheless, by a mysterious permission of God, that terrible storm had but a brief interval of subsidence. We scarcely need say it, especially to you, Venerable Brothers, who have the daily experience of what we describe. Our enemies lose not a moment, in the carrying out of their own plans, to establish themselves here on a firm footing, arranging and disposing all things in such a manner as to make people think that they have taken possession of Rome by the best of rights and that they mean to hold it for ever. To this purpose is directed their well-weighed and clever manner of proceeding; a succession of incidents brought about by a well-calculated series of causes; the care which they take to gain at home the good will of the people, and

to obtain friends and allies abroad—in a word, every artifice is used which can serve to enable them to obtain and to keep a firm grasp of their power.

"The more, therefore, these men labor to ruin the interests of the Church and the Papacy, the more are we bound to protect them; and, for this reason, in this solemn assemblage we to-day once more reprove and condemn everything that has been done to the injury of the Apostolic See, and we declare, moreover, that we are resolved to see all its rights preserved undiminished to all future time. Nor in this are we influenced by the ambition to reign or the desire of earthly possessions—motives which some persons attribute to us with equal silliness and impudence. We are only moved by the consciousness of our duty, by respect for our oath, by the examples of our predecessors, among whom were men illustrious for their courage and sanctity, who have displayed, when it was needful, consummate fortitude and firmness in protecting their temporal power.

"In this civil sovereignty, apart from the legitimacy of its origin and the various glorious titles on which it was held, there is a special and sacred form and character, proper to itself and to be found in no other state, arising from the fact that it is the secure and permanent safeguard of the Pontiff's liberty in the exercise of his august office. Everybody knows that no Pontiff ever lost his civil sovereignty without at the same time incurring some loss of his freedom. This is evident in our own person at the present time, subjected as we are to the various uncertain chances of an alien power. The last grievous case in point is that relating to the property of the Propaganda. The affair was intimately connected with the apostolic office of the Sovereign Pontiff, and one so much more important than mere human matters as is the propagation of the divine wisdom and the eternal salvation of mankind. And yet the prevailing violence of the present time did not spare that noble institution, which had its origin in the munificence of the Popes and was fostered by the generosity of the Christian

nations. And so severe was the blow dealt it that we were constrained to adopt new measures for its safety in the future.

"These things are bitter enough. But we feel that there are more bitter still in store for us, and we are ready for them. We know that our enemies have resolved so to heap wrong upon wrong against the Roman Pontificate as to drive the Pope to extremity, if they can. It is a hateful and insane project. If it be, on the one hand, quite congenial to the spirit of those who only labor to serve the wicked purpose of the secret societies, and who are anxious to place the Church helpless beneath the feet of the state, such a design, on the other hand, must be abhorrent to all who truly love their country, who look upon the Papacy, its power, and its greatness, not with the eyes of prejudice, but as it is in itself; who consider well the benefits which it has bestowed not only on all nations, but especially on Italians, and which it is capable of bestowing in the future."

Leo XIII. was not satisfied with this indirect appeal to public opinion. He had, soon after the sentence of the Court of Cassation had been delivered, prepared a masterly exposition of the whole case to be sent by the Cardinal Secretary of State to all the nuncios and diplomatic agents of the Holy See. It is dated February 10, 1884, and was, therefore, anterior to the two addresses just quoted. This document found its way into the public press in both hemispheres, and was received with marked favor even by the great non-Catholic daily journals. It certainly contributed very much to turn public opinion against the stupid and blundering policy of the Italian government.

The Propaganda, the Pope says through his Secretary of State, as is evident from the authentic documents which recite the facts of its foundation, must be "considered as an emanation of *the supreme apostolic office* of the Papacy; it must, therefore, in its sphere of action, be considered as an eminently cosmopolitan institution; its purpose is to propagate the faith—that is, the truth; the means generously

bestowed upon it should be employed, in accordance with the pious will of the donors, in carrying out such a design. Hence it is that the patrimony of the Propaganda is the property of the entire Catholic family.

"Such considerations easily prove that the Propaganda represents the most splendid and efficient creation of the Papacy for the purpose of preparing ready for use and employing the principal means adapted to the fulfilment of the divine mission given it to propagate the faith and civilization among all nations.

"As to the manner in which the Propaganda has answered to the purpose of its founders, we have proof of it in the annals of the missions it has directed, which record the prodigies wrought by the Catholic apostolate from Thibet to Scandinavia, from Iceland to China, and particularly in the East and West Indies.

"Writers, even non-Catholic writers, have acknowledged that the assimilating action issuing from that centre and radiating to the remotest countries has everywhere been productive of the peaceful conquests of religion and of civilization.

"And here, the better to point out the universal character of the Propaganda, we should remark that the Popes labored through that institution for the conversion of idolaters, and also to revive the faith in those Christian countries which the Photian schism and heresy had devastated. . . .

"On this point it may suffice to recall the generous endowment of Cardinal Antonio Barberini, who founded in the Propaganda twelve scholarships for Georgians, Persians, Melchites, and Copts, seven for Ethiopians, and six for Indians and Armenians.

"Now, this is the institution which, by its origin, its character, its action, its property, and its history, shows itself plainly to be essentially one which is œcumenical and cosmopolitan, that they wish to subject to the private laws of one *government*, to the judgment of a *local* tribunal which, by declaring it incapable of juridically possessing property, strips it of the property which it has!

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"It was not enough to compel the Propaganda to continue a long suit before the law-courts and to undergo the heavy charges of a costly trial. It was not deemed enough to have forced it to pay enormous taxes, which absorb nearly the fifth part of its yearly income, thereby withdrawn from its proper destination. The kind offices of high personages were of no avail; of no avail were the efforts to render its juridical and economical position less intolerable. No account was taken of the irrefutable arguments alleged in the judicial decisions favorable to it, . . . and which deserved the approbation of all honorable men; even the will formally expressed of an august personage was not respected after his death! It might, in a way, be said that an Occult Force had dictated the spoliation of the Propaganda, precisely because it is the most splendid embodiment of the Papacy; and that before the prepotency of that Occult Force all the arguments founded on right and propriety lost all their relevancy, all the remonstrances had to give way.

"To weaken the force of the foregoing considerations, and to do away with the responsibility of such an odious spoliation, they wish us to believe that the Propaganda will in nowise be injured by the application of the law regarding the conversion of its immovable property, inasmuch as the revenues of the alienated property are to be set against an equal value of the state funds inscribed in its favor, and the Propaganda, besides, being left free to increase in the future its patrimony by accepting new bequests.

"Now, to upset this specious reasoning it is sufficient to remark that by taking away from the Propaganda the right to hold property, its legal status was rendered worse than that of the lowliest citizen. For if the right to hold property is a guarantee of the independence and respectability of all persons living together in any civil community, what an outrage is put upon the Propaganda by declaring it incapable of possessing, and by rendering it dependent on another institution, which pays it, as to a person who has only the use of his property, as it were a half-yearly alms!

"But, aside from these reflections of *the moral order*, it is contrary to the truth to say that the *financial condition* of the Propaganda is not made worse by the law of conversion.

"In what a plight would the Propaganda be if the value of the state funds fell far below par, if the government had to suspend payment, as it has happened in other countries! Who could guarantee that the yearly income should be paid punctually and in its entirety in the event of a financial crisis, of warlike revolutions, of sinister accidents? Have people forgotten that for the sole reason of *reprisals* they suspended for many years the payment of ecclesiastical pensions which burdened the properties sequestrated by the Piedmontese government?

"Moreover, it is of the deepest importance to bear in mind that the Propaganda, by the special conditions in which it is placed, and to face the extraordinary demands of its œcumenical action, is not unfrequently obliged to dispose of a portion even of its capital when its ordinary revenue is insufficient for its need. Thus did it happen when it became imperative, during the late famines, to come to the help of the Christians of China and Tonquin, and when great sums of money were required by the perilous condition of the vicariate of Constantinople.

"Besides all this, the ever-increasing developments of Catholicism among the unbelievers, and the increase as well of the facilities of communication, require the establishment of new missionary centres, and with these of seminaries, colleges, universities, apostolic prefectures and vicariates, with regard to which it will suffice to recall the fact that during the glorious Pontificate of Leo XIII. there have been erected *eighteen* new apostolic vicariates.

"Finally, it should be remembered that in the institution called the Propaganda we have not only to consider the chief centre of the Catholic missions, but, moreover, a first-class educational and scientific establishment, in which is a flourishing college with upwards of one hundred students, with the corresponding chairs of literature, of philosophy, of theology and linguistics, and which possesses

a very rich library, a very precious museum, and a polyglot printing-office."

The Secretary of State then goes on to refute victoriously the futile assertions of the government officials regarding the security afforded for the collection of the full rental and its increase by new legacies, etc. He then concludes his eloquent arraignment of the spoliators:

"You will avail yourself of the preceding considerations to draw the attention of the Minister of Foreign Affairs to the special gravity of this last invasion of the rights of the Holy See, of the exercise of the Pontifical power, of the free use of the necessary means for propagating the faith. From these violations you will draw a new argument for making him understand the manifold outrages and vexations which daily render more painful and alarming the situation of the Supreme Head of the Church. If reasons of the highest order and influence have been unavailing to prevent a sentence as insulting as it is injurious to the Papacy, and regarded as supremely impolitic by the most enlightened men of all parties, it is but too much to be feared that the boldness and the plans of the Revolutionists shall become the ruling power and reduce the Sovereign Pontiff to the greatest straits.

"We have meanwhile confidence that the government to which you are accredited will take an efficient interest in favor of an institution which is the chief glory of the Papacy and of the Catholic world, and that they will seriously take into consideration whether it can be any longer tolerated that the Sovereign Pontiff should be subjected to such spoliations and violences, which render it for him a matter of extreme difficulty, if not of impossibility, to fulfil his spiritual mission."

Outside of Italy the leading organs in the public press stigmatized this act of the Roman government and its Supreme Court as an unjustifiable act of spoliation. The London *Times* said it was simply and purely an act of confiscation, quoting as an instance of the working of the Italian law of "conversion" an episcopal see whose yearly revenue

was 60,000 francs before the government took possession of it, and which the process of "converting" brought down to 18,000 francs. This loss really has already befallen the revenues of the Propaganda.

In France *Le Journal des Débats* repeated the well-known formula that this "conversion" *paralyzed the right arm of the Papacy.*

In Germany and in the United States the great daily papers energetically protested against an act which destroyed a great humanitarian and international institution. *L'Indépendance Belge*, though unfavorable to the Church, said that every state should try to save from "conversion" the college or property belonging to its own subjects. This was done by the United States.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

LEO XIII. AND SPAIN—HIS MEDIATION.

BEFORE giving a history of the mediation accepted by Leo XIII. between Germany and Spain in relation to the possession of the Carolinas Islands it will be of interest to the reader to have a fuller knowledge of the mediatorial office exercised between sovereign and sovereign, nation and nation, almost from the days of Constantine down to those of Gregory XV. (1621–1623). The benefits conferred on civilization, on humanity, by the action of the Popes, called upon to arbitrate in the most important emergencies, and to end or prevent sanguinary wars by their decisions, have been fully acknowledged by non-Catholic writers of the greatest eminence during the last three centuries.

And since we are dealing in this chapter with an act of the Imperial government at Berlin, there is a special appropriateness in quoting, in the first place, the words of a Protestant historian, a native of that city, and one of its most illustrious scholars in our day.*

"During the middle ages," says Ancillon, "when there was no social order, the Papacy alone, perhaps, saved Europe from total barbarism. It created bonds of connection between the most distant nations; it was a common centre, a rallying-point for isolated states. . . . It was *a supreme tribunal*, established in the midst of universal anarchy, and its decrees were sometimes as respectable as they were respected. It prevented and arrested the despotism of the emperors, compensated for the want of equilibrium, and diminished the inconveniences of the feudal system." †

* Johann Peter Friedrich Ancillon, born 1766, died 1837.

† Ancillon, "Tableau des Révolutions du Système Politique de l'Europe," i. pp. 79, 106, Berlin, 1803. Quoted from Count Murphy's admirable book, "The Chair of Peter," 2d ed., p. 620.

What Ancillon taught in Prussia, that the Calvinist Guizot taught in France.

"Every one is aware," he says in his sixth lecture on "Civilization in Europe," "that it was by the 'Truce of God' and numerous measures of the same nature that the Church struggled against the employment of force and devoted itself to introduce into society a greater degree of order and gentleness. These facts are so well known that I am spared the trouble of entering into any detail."

To be sure the facts are well known, but our age has a faculty for overlooking or forgetting everything favorable to the Papacy; because ever since Pius VI. and Pius VII. were carried off to France and imprisoned, while their dominions were confiscated by the unscrupulous conqueror, and since the Revolution consummated in the person of Pius IX. the work of spoliation it had twice begun in his two predecessors of the same name, it has become too often the rule to revive only such memories of the Papacy as may help the present generation to consider it as the enemy of popular liberty in the past, and the great obstacle to the progress of humanity.

So did not think one who did, perhaps, even more than Luther to lower the Papacy in the estimation of mankind—the man who has been justly called the parent of the Revolution in its most anti-Christian aspect. Let us hear Voltaire:

"The interests of the human race demand a check to restrain sovereigns and to protect the lives of the people. This check of religion could, by universal agreement, have been in the hands of the Popes. These first Pontiffs, by not meddling in temporal quarrels except to appease them, by admonishing kings and peoples of their duties, by reproving their offences, by reserving excommunications for great crimes, would have been always regarded as the images of God upon earth. But men are reduced to have for their defence only the laws and morals of their country—laws often despised, morals often depraved." *

* Voltaire, "Essais," ii. ch. ix.

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RECREATION PLACE OF HIS HOLINESS.

Another distinguished French Protestant, the contemporary and friend of Guizot, furnishes an apt commentary on this passage from the philosopher of Ferney:

"In those dark ages," says M. Coquerel, "we see no example of tyranny comparable to that of the Domitians at Rome. A Tiberius was then impossible; Rome would have crushed him. Great despotisms exist when kings believe that there is nothing above themselves. Then it is that the intoxication of unlimited power produces the most fearful crimes." *

But superior in learning and in the esteem of the two last centuries is another great German Protestant, whose testimony may aptly conclude these quotations:

"I have seen something," Leibnitz says, "of the project of M. de Saint-Pierre to maintain perpetual peace in Europe. . . . My idea would be to establish, ay, even in Rome, a tribunal (to decide controversies between sovereigns), and to make the Pope its president, as he really in former ages figured as judge between Christian princes. But ecclesiastics should, at the same time, resume their ancient authority, and an interdict or an excommunication should make kings and kingdoms tremble as in the days of Nicholas I. or Gregory VII." †

This great man, rising above everything like narrow sectarian views, and having in mind only the general welfare of Christendom, and, through Christendom, the interest and progress in true civilization of the entire human race, thus speaks of the exercise of the Papal supremacy over Christian peoples and their rulers:

"Thus Christ reigns, conquers, commands, since history shows that most of the Western nations have with earnest piety submitted themselves to the Church. Nor do I dispute whether or not these things are of divine right. It is clear that they were done with unanimous consent,

* Coquerel, "Essai sur l'Hist. Générale du Christianisme," p. 75, Paris, 1828.

† Leibnitz, "Opera," v. p. 65. He was the founder and first president of the Academy of Sciences at Berlin; died November 14, 1716

that they could be done with perfect propriety, and that they are not opposed to the common welfare of Christendom. For it not unfrequently happens that the care and salvation of souls are identified with the common good." *

Leibnitz, in thus desiring to see the Christian family of nations preserved from the despotism of sovereigns on the one hand, and the awful calamities of war on the other, must have had in mind two memorable instances of appeal to the mediatorial office of the Papacy, at the close of the fifteenth century and toward the end of the sixteenth. The one was the reference to Alexander VI. of the dispute between the sovereigns of Spain and Portugal concerning the limits of their possessions in the recently discovered New World; the other was the mediation invoked by Russia in the reign of Pope Gregory XIII. (1572–83), and of which we have extant so authentic and interesting a narrative.†

Whatever Leibnitz may have thought, Protestant and German though he was, of reviving as one of the weapons of international Christian law the usage of interdicts and excommunications toward refractory princes and their subjects, it is certain that such revival is not wished for at Rome or by the Catholic world. But the restoration, in practice at least, if not in public law, of the mediatorial office of the Papacy would be an unmitigated blessing.

And this conclusion is most eloquently demonstrated by the action of Germany and Spain in the affair of the Carolinas, and the prompt and peaceful solution arrived at by Leo XIII.

The group of islands in the Pacific Ocean known as the "Carolinas and Palaos Isles" had been first discovered by Spanish navigators and named by them. Although their remoteness from the ordinary highways of ocean travel,

* Leibnitz, "Tractatus de Jure Suprematus," part iii.—G. G. Leibnitzii "Opera Omnia," vol. iv. p. 299, 6 vols. 4to, Geneva, 1768.

† See in *Revue des Questions Historiques* for January, 1885, Pierling's "Un Arbitrage Pontifical au XVIème Siècle; Mission Diplomatique de Possevin à Moscou."

and their comparative insignificance in a commercial point of view, prevented any serious effort at colonization, still the conversion of their inhabitants to Christianity was always an object of practical zeal for the Spanish missionaries. To the interrupted and unsuccessful attempts made to enlighten the natives succeeded a well-organized plan of conversion and a resolve to effect a permanent settlement in the archipelago during the reign of Philip V. This project received a warm encouragement at Rome, where the Congregation de Propaganda Fide was kept informed of the progress of this settlement and the labors of the missionaries. The Popes themselves, in their commendatory letters to the Spanish king, praised him for the effective aid given to the ministers of the Gospel in these remote parts.

But the long and disastrous War of Succession, brought about by the fact of a grandson of the powerful French king inheriting the Spanish crown, and thereby threatening to make France mistress of the Peninsula and of Spain's transatlantic empire, ended in utterly destroying the Spanish power and sweeping her ships from the seas. The mission to the Carolinas and Palaos Islands was forcibly abandoned, and so was the project of a solid and permanent colonial settlement.

Practically, therefore, whatever may have been the right of dominion acquired to Spain by discovery and first occupation, the Carolinas Islands in 1870, at the birth of the new German Empire, were in the position of forsaken lands, which become the property of the first man who settles on them and by settlement establishes a proprietary right.

United Germany, under the imperial sceptre of the house of Hohenzollern, felt and entertained the natural and noble ambition of possessing a powerful military and commercial navy, and of opening for the surplus Germanic populations, so long overflowing into the United States, transmarine colonies, where its sons might seek a home and found an empire like those which emigrants from the British Isles are creating in Southeast Africa, in Australia, in India, and in the Canadian confederation. The opening of the

Suez Canal and the hoped-for speedy completion of that of Panama, the rapid development of the Pacific States in the great American Republic, and the brisk trade and rapid intercourse opened up between them and between Oceania, Australia, Japan, China, and all the peoples of Eastern Asia, were beginning about this period to give to every group of islets throughout the vast expanse of the Pacific Ocean a value and importance unsuspected till now. England and France vied with each other in occupying such of the Pacific islands as had no possessor, or in claiming a protectorate over others. The great paths of travel across the bosom of the great ocean between America and Asia were mapped out. Every speck of land which peeped above the waves in or near these highways of actual or future commerce and civilization was seized upon by the European maritime powers. The United States alone, satisfied with their broad birthright of the best part of a continent, and with their homes bordering the shores of both the Atlantic and the Pacific, watched with indifference the greedy rivalry of the Old World empires. England was ever pushing the limits of her possessions in India nearer and nearer to the East Indian Archipelago and the islands which form the stepping-stones to Australia and New Zealand. The Australians and New-Zealanders themselves, enlightened by the dawn of a new era on their own lands and forecasting their great destinies in the future, began to annex the outlying islands in the surrounding seas; while France, unwarned by her diminishing population at home, by the fast-growing strength of her giant neighbor and enemy, and by the internal discontent, divisions, and anarchy begotten by her anti-Christian spirit, legislation, and policy, threw herself on the shores of Cochin China and Tonquin to found an empire which should rival those of England and Russia in the far East.

With prospects of growth and prosperity far otherwise than flattering, the great German chancellor looked out for every foothold he could occupy for his countrymen from the Straits of Gibraltar, all along the African shores, to the

Indian Ocean and the myriad islands of the Pacific. Even where the continents offer no room for new ownership, or where the most important islands are already covered by some European flag, any one of the almost forgotten or overlooked coral islets are valuable as stations for the fleets which are beginning to traverse the Pacific in every direction.

England, in the interval between 1870 and 1875, had remarked the importance of the Carolinas and Palaos groups, and so had Germany. In the latter year both powers resolved to occupy the most favorable positions in this archipelago, and formally presented a joint note to Spain declaring that they could not recognize her ownership of islands she had so long abandoned.

German colonists, on the contrary, had established themselves at several points in the archipelago, and formed there flourishing plantations and trading-posts. These facts, coming to the knowledge of the Spanish government and people, did what enlightened self-interest and a spirit of enterprise had failed to do—aroused a determination not to yield to strangers even these remote and certainly forgotten fractions of the vast colonial empire of Philip II. Spain, unhappily, was, like her next neighbor, France, a chronic though it may be an unconscious prey to that terrible and mortal decline implanted by the joint virus of Illuminism and Voltaireanism. The contagion had come from across the Pyrenees. The patient, though her life-blood was poisoned and her strength slowly but surely wasting away, labored under the delusion of all consumptives—that she was strong as ever, that nothing serious was the matter with her. Her popular masses still believe her the most powerful of nations.

Her pride, therefore, was fearfully aroused when the joint note of England and Germany was presented in 1875. It was stirred to a pitch of uncontrollable fury when in the first months of 1885 the German flag appeared in sovereignty over the waters of the archipelago. The island of Yap was formally occupied.

On August 14 the Spanish cabinet decided to address an official protest to the Powers against this occupation; and three days thereafter, on August 17, the German government officially notified them of the act of taking possession. The agitation throughout Spain became intense. In Madrid there was a formidable demonstration, and it required all the energy of the civil and military authorities to repress the attempts at lawlessness and even open insurrection. As time went on, and it was found that Germany would not recede from her position, in which she was supported by England, the effervescence grew apace. The nation, and the opposition press in particular, was clamorous for immediate war. Of course the practical good sense of King Alfonso made him feel that Spain was totally unprepared to wage war, her army being but ill-organized, her military navy utterly useless, and her finances in an almost hopeless state of confusion. Germany was too far away to be reached by land; and were she situated at the gates of the Peninsula, she had nothing to fear from Spain. So negotiations dragged their slow length along, till the tidings reached Madrid of what had happened in the port of Jomil, island of Yap, on August 25, when both a Spanish and a German war-vessel planted simultaneously the flags of their nations and took formal possession of the country.

The tidings of this seeming act of hostility reached Madrid on September 4. On the morrow the entire population apparently descended into the streets, attacked and sacked the palace of the German ambassador, tore down the German arms and trampled them under foot, and burned the German flag with every circumstance of ignominy.

It was a most serious crisis for the brave young king and his government. But his was not a spirit to be frightened by a mob, or to be hurried into a bootless war by the senseless cries of the popular masses. Nevertheless, some satisfaction must be given to the national sentiment wounded in its honor. The Spanish ambassador in Berlin is ordered to hold himself in readiness to ask for his passports at any moment.

Meanwhile, and as the whole civilized world is expecting a declaration of war and the breaking out of hostilities, the happy thought occurs, and is seized upon by both cabinets, of submitting the entire question of the occupation of the Carolinas to the arbitration of the Holy See. On September 24 it is officially announced that the Pope has been offered and has accepted this delicate mission, but one which may lead to an amicable settlement of the difficulty, and prevent the effusion of blood and what, to Spain, would have been a most ruinous warfare.

Leo XIII. knew and felt the responsibility thus cast upon him. He was fully alive to the necessity of putting a speedy termination to a crisis which, in Spain at least, was of the most intense acuteness. He deputed to a commission of cardinals, the most eminent jurists and diplomatists in the Sacred College, the examination of the double question of fact and of international law involved in the case, with directions to use the utmost diligence in investigating and reporting.

In less than a month, on October 22, Cardinal Jacobini sent to the cabinets of Madrid and Berlin the Pope's decision, which consisted in four points on which both governments were to agree, the fact of Spain's ancient discovery of the Carolinas and of their occupation by her being laid down as one ground for conciliation, and the liberty of Germans in the archipelago to occupy land, develop agriculture, cultivate industry and commerce on a footing of equality with Spanish subjects being also guaranteed, together with a naval station for Germany and perfect freedom of navigation throughout the archipelago.

Thus Spanish sovereignty and German interests were safeguarded by the terms proposed from the Vatican. It was an admirable decision; it gave satisfaction in both countries to governments and peoples, and all danger of war was averted.

The final articles of agreement, drawn up in the Vatican, and accepted for the respective sovereigns by the Marquis de Fogores and Herr Von Schloezer, their plenipoten-

tiaries near the Holy See, were solemnly signed on December 17, 1885—a conclusion which was delayed by the death of Alfonso XII. on November 25.

The blessing of a peace thus maintained, and of the calamities of a ruinous war from which the nation was saved by the moral courage of the young sovereign, was the last which Alfonso bestowed on his people. He had wished to save them from the devastations of cholera, or at least to sustain and cheer them under its awful visitations, rendered more awful still by the destruction and misery wrought by earthquakes, by exposing his own life to every danger in visiting, consoling, and relieving the sufferers. Immortal honor to his heroic spirit! He was no unworthy heir of Sancho-el-Bravo and of Sancho's grandfather, the greatest of Christian kings, St. Ferdinand. May Spain, wearied and wasted, and sighing for rest and restoration, reap the fruits of such examples and such sacrifices!

But let us glance a moment at this act of mediation of Leo XIII.

The relations of the Holy See with both Spain and Germany in September, 1885, were not a little delicate and complicated. The Spanish government administered by Canovas del Castillo, in spite of its conservative professions, yielded to the radical and revolutionary tendencies of a powerful minority in the legislature and the press, and that on the point most vital to the real welfare of the nation—the education of youth. The Concordat of 1854, in which it was expressly and solemnly stipulated that the teaching in all the government schools of every grade should be strictly in conformity with Catholic doctrine and practice, was openly violated. Indeed, the ministry then in power had gone a step in advance beyond their immediate predecessors in office in this wrong direction. They had sanctioned, in the university and intermediate schools, a system of instruction hostile not only to Christianity but to all positive religion. Besides, the superintendence guaranteed by the Concordat to the Spanish hierarchy over all schools, and the right of visitation inherent in their office, had long

been rendered impossible by royal decrees modifying the Concordat—repealing, rather, its most important provisions—and that either without consulting the Holy See or in spite of its energetic opposition.

So were the political guides of a Catholic people giving up to the forces of irreligion which beset them what remained of their institutions round about—the very education of youth, the springs of the national life.

In Germany the admirable wisdom and moderation of Leo XIII. had succeeded in winning the esteem of both the emperor and his all-powerful chancellor in obtaining the repeal of the "Falk Laws," in filling the most important episcopal sees, long deprived of the presence of a bishop, and in modifying the hard conditions imposed on the parochial clergy by the civil authorities.

It was only a beginning in a work of conciliation, restoration, and reparation which many had despaired of, but it was a great beginning. Both the Emperor William and the great chancellor had discovered that the worst foes of social order in Germany and of the empire which their joint labors had founded were not the seventeen or twenty millions of Catholic citizens it counted. They had also found out that the dogma of Papal Infallibility contained nothing which need alarm the lawful rights of civil sovereignty; the bugbear held up by Döllinger and his followers to excite the national susceptibilities had long vanished in thin air before the light of impartial truth.

On the other hand, it was found that no denomination of Christians taught doctrines so conservative of social order, so favorable to the authority of the prince and the magistrate, so conducive to an enlightened and generous obedience on the part of the citizen, as the Catholic Church. In the successive criminal attempts made on his life the venerable Emperor of Germany, when the first excitement and alarm were over, had found that the conspirators were neither Catholics nor acting in sympathy with any portion of his Catholic subjects. Catholicism, it gradually dawned on him and his counsellors, was one of the strongest bul-

warks of his throne, one of the surest safeguards of his life. He could trust both the one and the other to the conscience, the honor, the devotion of his Catholic subjects.

Moreover, the doctrinal encyclicals successively published by Leo XIII. were so admirably conceived, expressed, and calculated that they could not but force on such minds as Bismarck's the conviction that the Catholic Church alone was the great school of social doctrine, and that her Pontiffs were the only authority in the civilized world which laid down the law of belief and of life for the nations with a power which carried with it the conviction that Rome still spoke the words of Christ.

Every encyclical of Leo XIII., every one of his official acts, raised him ever higher and higher in the esteem of the German chancellor—no mean judge of men, of their acquirements, their motives, and their achievements.

Nevertheless, the fact that the Protestant Emperor of Germany and his Protestant chancellor had chosen the Pope as arbiter in this angry dispute about the Carolinas Islands took the whole civilized world by surprise. Would Leo XIII. hold the balance with a firm hand between the two powers? Could he help remembering that Spain was still Catholic, no matter what might be the inconsistencies of her rulers or the radical tendencies to which her statesmen yielded? Could he forget the cruel, the gratuitous persecutions heaped by the Prussian legislature and the Imperial government of Germany on bishops, priests, and laymen simply because of their fidelity to principle and their attachment to the Holy See?

The extraordinarily prompt decision of the tribunal, so often appealed to in the past by nations and their rulers, first astonished expectant Europe, and then the almost simultaneous tidings that the decision was acceptable to both the appealing parties completed the surprise.

Let us hear Leo XIII. himself giving to the cardinals, assembled in consistory, an account of the transaction:*

*Allocution of January 15, 1886. (See Appendix E.)

"We gladly accepted the office thus entrusted to us," he says, "because we hoped thereby to serve the cause of peace and humanity. We therefore examined and weighed in the balance of an impartial and equitable judgment the arguments of both litigants, and then we submitted to them certain propositions as a basis of mutual agreement, which we hoped would prove acceptable to them.

"Spain brought forward many reasons in support of her right to that distant portion of Micronesia. She was the first nation whose ships had reached those shores—a fact acknowledged by the most distinguished geographers. The very name of Carolinas attested the Spanish title. Besides, the kings of Spain had more than once sent thither apostolic men as missionaries, and of this the records of the Roman Pontificate afford confirmatory proof; for there exists a letter of our predecessor, Clement XI., to Philip V., written in 1706, praising this prince for having equipped and furnished a vessel to convey missionaries to the Carolinas. In it the Pontiff also exhorts the king to continue to help propagate the Christian name and procure the salvation of multitudes of human beings.

"The same Pontiff also wrote to Louis XIV. beseeching him not to hinder in any way the carrying out of an enterprise so happily begun by his grandson. Again, Philip V. fixed an annual sum of two thousand crowns to be set apart for the support of these missions. Furthermore, no nation but the Spanish ever did anything to bring the light of the Gospel to these islands. And, finally, whatever information we possess of the manner of living and customs of the natives has been furnished by the missionaries.

"From this series of facts, viewed especially in the light of the international jurisprudence then in vigor, it is evident that the right of Spain to the Carolinas Islands is fairly established. For if any claim to sovereignty can be derived from the labor of civilizing a barbarous country, this claim must be highest in favor of such as endeavor to reclaim barbarians from pagan superstition to the Gospel morality, inasmuch as in true religion are to be found all

the most powerful civilizing forces. On this principle were often founded the rights of sovereignty; and this was the case, for instance, of several islands in the ocean, of which not a few bear names given them by the Christian religion.

"Seeing, therefore, that a constant and well-founded public opinion conceded to Spain the sovereignty over the Carolinas, it is not surprising that when the late dispute began about their possession the whole Spanish nation was stirred with such excitement as to threaten not only the internal peace of the kingdom, but to imperil its relations with a friendly power.

"To the arguments brought forward by Spain, Germany on her side opposed others also based on the law of nations —that residence on land is necessary to possession; that, taking into account the facts of recent history, the law of nations sanctions as legitimate the claim to ownership of territory when the claimant occupies and uses it; that where the territory is not so occupied and used the land is accounted as having no owner. Wherefore, considering the fact that the Carolinas had not during a century and a half been occupied by Spain, these islands should have been adjudged the property of the first person taking possession of them. In addition to these reasons it was alleged that some such dispute as the present having arisen in the year 1875, both Germany and Great Britain affirmed they did not at all acknowledge the sovereignty of Spain over the Carolinas.

"In this divergence of opinions we took into account the respective rights and interests of the two contending nations, and confidently submitted a plan which we thought well fitted for bringing about a peaceful settlement of the difficulty. We were guided solely in this by our own sense of equity, and, as you are aware, both parties willingly accepted our proposal.

"Thus was accomplished an event which the present currents of public opinion forbade us to look forward to. Providence willed that two illustrious nations should do homage to the supreme authority in the Church by asking

it to fulfil an office so much in keeping with its nature, to preserve by its action the threatened peace and harmony between them. This is the fruit of that salutary and beneficent influence which God has attached to the power of the Supreme Pontiffs. Superior to the envious jealousy of its enemies, and more mighty than the prevailing iniquity of the age, it is subject neither to destruction nor to change.

"From all this, too, it becomes manifest how grievous an evil are the wars waged against the Apostolic See and the lessening of its rightful liberty. For thereby it is not merely justice and religion that are made to suffer, but the public good itself, since in the present critical and changeful condition of public affairs the Roman Pontificate would confer far greater benefits on the world if, with perfect freedom and rights unimpaired, it could devote all its energies to promoting, without hindrance, the salvation of the human race."

The concluding words of this brief allocution, affirming solemnly, as they do, the benefits to civilization and humanity which naturally flow from the exercise by the Popes of the functions of mediators between nation and nation, deserve the serious attention of both modern statesmen and modern peoples. Had the burning questions pending between the free and slaveholding States of the American Union been submitted to such mediation or arbitration as that of the Sovereign Pontiff before 1860, what bloodshed, what desolation, what commercial ruin, what manifold national calamities might have been avoided! Do not say that the religious sense of a Protestant nation would not have entertained the idea of such arbitration; do not believe that there existed not in Rome statesmen, diplomatists, jurists, men versed in the historical facts and the constitutional aspects of our great slavery problem and of the other territorial, legal, and political difficulties connected therewith.

Rome, as it then existed—the Rome of the Popes, with the Papal sovereignty and freedom unshackled—would have constituted a tribunal of arbitration endowed with qualities

and attributes which, for the purposes of an American appeal, could have been found nowhere else. It was the serious interest and the fervent wish of Pius IX., then reigning, of the great statesmen and churchmen who surrounded him (as it was, indeed, of the entire Catholic world, as such), that the Union should be preserved; that nothing should oppose or impair the development of the national life; that slavery should be so gradually extinguished and slave-labor so transformed into free that the South should not suffer in its proprietary or agricultural interests, while the certain prospect of such extinction would appease the anti-slavery sentiment of the free States. Neither Great Britain, nor Germany, nor France, nor any other power which we could name, offered, as mediators, the disinterestedness and the absolute fitness for examining and deciding in our case which all must acknowledge in the Papal tribunal.

England and France were notoriously desirous of seeing the Union dissolved and the growth of the national power thus crippled for ever. There was then no German Empire, no United Germany; Austria never was our friend. Every conceivable interest would have impelled the Pope to settle our differences without any danger of an appeal to arms, without ruin to the South or loss of prestige or influence to the North. It might have been a long negotiation, but no interested or unnecessary delay would have kept the nation in a state of ferment. And such a plan of settlement and concord would have come from the Vatican as to satisfy both the great political parties, both the sections of the country, and to have enabled the patriotic and generous-minded of all opinions to work thenceforward together for the peaceful and gradual removal of the causes of discontent.

Even when nearly two millions of brothers stood facing each other in arms in the terrible conflict, and when Abraham Lincoln was induced to make the steps we know toward peace, had any good angel persuaded the combatants to suspend their mutual carnage and to submit their cause with all its grievances to one man, the acknowledged

representative on earth of the Prince of Peace, we should have had that peace with honor to both North and South —a peace that should not have left behind the rankling memories caused by subsequent events.

The same reasons hold with regard to the settlement of the Alabama claims. How little satisfaction the settlement arrived at has given to either nation, how great and ruinous were the delays attendant upon the assembling and the discussions of the absurdly complex tribunal, and how enormous the costs to both governments, neither Americans nor Englishmen are likely to forget.

The concert of praise which, in the English-speaking world and elsewhere, has been heard after the settlement of the Hispano-German quarrel, is an assurance that non-Catholic public opinion is undergoing deep modifications not unfavorable to the Holy See.

The day is not far distant when the government of the United States will find it both wise and politic to imitate Prince Bismarck in his statesmanlike conduct towards the Prisoner of the Vatican, maintain an ambassador near him to represent the interests of our growing millions of Catholic citizens, and do homage to the supreme learning, incorruptible justice, and fatherly love of peace ever to be found in the Vicar of Christ on earth.

Of course the revolutionary press—both in Italy, where it is found necessary to justify the invasion, spoliation, and oppression of the Papacy, and in France, where they are preparing to trample under foot the Concordat—will continue to belittle the importance of this act of mediation. Elsewhere the conviction will grow steadily that, in the words of Ancillon quoted at the beginning of this chapter, there should be "a common centre, a rallying-point for isolated states, . . . a *supreme tribunal*, established in the midst of universal anarchy," whose decrees are sure to be "as respectable as respected."

One other remarkable act of Leo XIII. relating to Spain was his bull restoring the pilgrimage to Compostella.

No place on the European Continent, after Rome itself,

had more attractions for the Catholic heart in every land all through the middle ages than the reputed tomb of the Apostle St. James the Elder at Compostella, in Galicia. The tradition about his relations with Spain was, briefly, this: At the dispersion of the apostles* it fell to the lot of James the Elder to carry the light of the Gospel to Spain (A.D. 41–42). After founding many churches throughout the Peninsula, James returned to Jerusalem with alms for the afflicted Christians of Palestine, among whom a great famine prevailed. Then was held the Council of Jerusalem, in which James took part. His death is briefly mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles. Two of his disciples, Athanasius and Theodore, as was the custom all through the ages of persecution, obtained the dead body of their master, and, taking it in all haste and secrecy to the port of Joppa, found there a vessel—a Phœnician merchantman, very likely—about to set sail for the west coast of Spain. The ocean pathway beyond the Straits of Gades were, as scholars are aware, well known to the Phœnician traders. So they went on their way to the magnificent Bay of Arosa, up which they sailed to Iria Flavia, then an imperial city at the head of the bay, and connected by an imperial highway with Braga, in Portugal, another imperial city. The body rested there for a brief space, and was then carried inland some miles to the site of the present Compostella, where it was buried in a Gallo-Roman tomb, probably that of some neophyte, the inscription on it being in mixed Gaelic and

* Eusebius, the most ancient historian of the Christian Church, states ("Ecclesiastical History," v. 18), what is also stated by the ancient author of "The Preaching of Peter," quoted by Clement of Alexandria in his "Stromata" (vi. 5), that it was Christ's express wish that the apostles should give the benefit of their labors to the land of Israel during twelve years before they dispersed to preach to all nations. The words quoted by Clement of Alexandria from the *Κήρυγμα Πετρου* are the following: "Wherefore Peter says that the Lord said to the apostles, 'If any one, therefore, is willing to be led out of Israel by penance, and on account of My name to believe in God, his sins will be remitted. After twelve years go forth into the world, lest any one should say, We have not heard.'" (The substance of this note is taken from "The Chair of Peter," by Count J. N. Murphy.)

Latin. Naturally, Theodore and Athanasius continued in the district the labors begun by the martyred son of Zebedee, and in due time were gathered to their rest and buried by the side of James and in the same crypt. Then came the barbarian invasions, wave after wave, blotting out almost every vestige of Christianity and civilization from the land. Iria Flavia was blotted out, and the spot where the apostle and his disciples reposed was forgotten, or, the original Gallo-Roman population having been swept away, was unknown to the barbarous Suevi who took possession of Galicia. Not till about the year 818 did Providence recall the attention of all Spain and all Christendom to the spot where the first of the apostles to lay down his life for Christ had reposed for centuries. But, long before the year and date of this rediscovery, the fact of St. James being buried in Spain was mentioned in the Martyrologies and spoken of by Anglo-Saxon authors of note.* Alfonso the Chaste, who was then sovereign of Galicia, apprised by Theodemir, Bishop of Iria Flavia, of the wonderful discovery of the tomb, hastened to the spot, and took at once every measure to rebuild over the shrine a temple more worthy of it than the primitive *Memoria* ruined by the barbarians and shrouded in oblivion by time. Around the new church grew the Compostella of the middle ages, which thenceforth, in spite of the fresh ruin wrought by the cruel but resistless Almansor in that same century, became the most famous place of pilgrimage in Europe, eclipsing for a time Rome itself. Calixtus II., while yet Archbishop of Vienne, in Dauphiné, visited the shrine in the beginning of the twelfth century, and gave a description of the tomb, the church, the city, the prodigious concourse of pilgrims from every Christian land, the splendid ceremonial, the more splendid piety of the great multitudes, and the magnificent charity and hospitality of the clergy and citizens toward the wayfarers.

Raised to the Papacy, he did all that Pope could do to

* See the learned work of Father Fita on the Shrine of Compostella.

encourage and foster the devotion to the shrine of St. James, and this devotion continued to grow century after century.

But, during the reign of Elizabeth, Essex and Raleigh spread terror among the fleets of Spain. The former sacked Cadiz and committed horrible excesses in the churches. His fleet ascended the Bay of Arosa and then hovered around Coruña. Then it was that the Archbishop of Compostella sent away into the interior everything holy and precious which could be removed. Taking on himself the task of preserving the relics of St. James and his two disciples from the possibility of profanation, he descended by night into the crypt, took out the remains of the three apostolic men and buried them in the centre of the apse, in a tomb hastily and rudely constructed, and then obliterated all traces of his handiwork. His secret was well kept and died with him. The terror of the English fleets was like a sword suspended over the coast of Galicia till after the archbishop's death. Meanwhile all access to the crypt had been walled up, and so remained till, a few years ago, the present cardinal archbishop repaired the cathedral, and resolved, with the assistance of a mixed commission of ecclesiastics and laymen, to ascertain officially the condition of the tomb and its precious contents. The perquisitions ended first in discovering that the tomb was empty; and next, after the most careful excavation and search in every direction, in coming upon the rude grave in the apse, together with its confused heap of human bones, without a single writing or clue to enable the commission to pronounce as to whom they belonged. Another sub-commission of physicians and scientific men was now appointed for the purpose of examining, classifying, and identifying if possible, the fragments thus found.

They were pronounced to belong to three different skeletons—skeletons of adult men, one more aged than the others, and all in such a condition and bearing such characters as to warrant the belief that they could date some eighteen or nineteen centuries back. A portion of the cra-

nium of one was wanting, that of the oldest; it was the mastoid bone, or back part of the skull, and this had been given long before the time of Essex as a present to the cathedral of Pistoia in Italy. This relic was carefully examined, and its peculiar characteristics were found to conform with the skull just discovered in Compostella.

The cardinal archbishop, a learned and scholarly man, felt his way carefully, step by step, and then submitted the conclusions which he and his commissions had arrived at to the judgment of the Holy See.

Leo XIII. selected the leading cardinals, members of the Congregation of Rites, to examine all the documents transmitted from Spain. After a careful scrutiny they decided that some points demanded still further elucidation, and the Pope, desirous, as his predecessors have ever been in such matters, to leave no tittle of evidence unsifted, despatched to Compostella the Promoter of the Faith, Monsignor Agostino Caprara, with full powers to swear witnesses, etc. He thoroughly went over the whole ground, called around him from Madrid and elsewhere archæologists, historians, anatomists, and other scientific men, weighed on the spot every fact and circumstance, reconciling seeming contradictions, clearing away doubts, and completing a compact body of evidence, with documentary proofs all classified. With this he returned to Rome, and the cardinals with their consultors again began the examination of the whole matter.

This time they arrived at a unanimous conclusion—that the remaining portions of the three skeletons discovered and examined by Cardinal Paya and his commissions of scientists and specialists were identical with the remains revered in Compostella since the ninth century as those of St. James the Elder and his two disciples, St. Athanasius and St. Theodore.

As the last chapter of this book is written the Queen Regent of Spain has given birth to a son, who was proclaimed under the title of Alfonso XIII. The queen besought

the Pope to be godfather to the royal infant, to which His Holiness assented. It was thought that the number *thirteen* was an unlucky number; but Señor Moret, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, replied to the objectors that if Alfonso XIII. were only as great a king as Leo XIII. was a great Pope, he should consider him very lucky.

And so the young Austrian princess has a long and difficult task before her, to watch over the life and fortunes of her infant child till he is of age to grasp the sceptre which others are now so ready and eager to snatch from a woman's hand.

God save Spain!

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE PRISONER OF THE VATICAN.

IT is the Feast of the Ascension, and there is to be a magnificent celebration at the basilica of St. John Lateran, the cathedral church of the Bishop of Rome, the Christian temple first in rank in the world. All Rome is to be there to-day, all the most distinguished artists in Italy, and the very élite of her scholars are all most anxious to take part in the solemnities.

What extraordinary circumstance thus attracts to the Lateran basilica, at the very extremity of the dustiest and most desolate part of Rome, all the aristocracy of rank and intellect in this most oppressive weather? They are throwing open to the public to-day the new apse of the basilica reconstructed, enlarged, and decorated with frescoes and mosaics—a royal work undertaken at the command and expense of Leo XIII., and which, artists say, is one of the most glorious works of restoration in the world.

But, the reader will ask, is not Leo XIII. going to officiate in person, in his own cathedral church, on such an occasion? No; the Pope, a prisoner in the Vatican, will never set foot within the walls of the Lateran, never gladden his eyes with the sight of the great work of art due to his munificence.

Besides, on this day—the 3d of May—they are celebrating in Rome the death of Garibaldi, his *apotheosis*, or deification, as the liberal journals call it. The various revolutionary clubs are in the streets with flags and emblems and garlands, and there are to be grand processions. But should Leo XIII.'s carriage appear in the streets, or should he by some stealthy way appear in St. John Lat-

eran this day, Heaven only knows the consequences which would follow.

No ; the Prisoner of the Vatican could not venture into the streets of Rome—no, not even to officiate publicly in the church of St. Peter's ; how much less safely could he pass through all Rome to pontificate in his own cathedral or to assist at the joyous celebration of to-day !

So we shall go to the Vatican, and spend as much as we can of this same Feast of the Ascension with that venerable man of seventy-seven, who bears so courageously the tremendous weight of an administration which knows not its equal on earth.

Here we are in the vast square of St. Peter's. The two great fountains within the opposite semicircles of the colonnade are throwing high into the sultry morning air their flashing waters—the symbols of the unceasing light for the mind and strength for the will which flow from that Holy Spirit ever abiding in the Church. We can only give a passing glance at the lofty dome, glittering in the golden radiance of the eastern sun, on the stately façade, on the middle of which stands Christ holding His cross, while on each side of Him, extending their lines along the church and the mighty sweep of the encircling colonnades, stand the colossal figures of apostles, patriarchs, prophets, martyrs —all glorified by the same golden splendors of a June morning in Rome.

Our carriage makes the circuit of St. Peter's and lands us in the interior court of St. Damasus. We alight, and, as we prepare to ascend story after story of the magnificent marble staircase leading to the Pope's apartments, we meet our friend Monsignor Macchi, the Maestro di Camera, or high chamberlain to His Holiness. Spare and tall, he greets us, as he does everybody, with the pleasantest words, and we ascend. The soldiers of the Swiss Guard, with their picturesque costume and mediæval halberds, draw up to salute the high court dignitary. You will notice how grand, how solid, how massive even, everything is in these stairs and corridors. Up we go again, another long flight of

LEO XIII. ON HIS THRONE, IN HIS PRIVATE AUDIENCE ROOM.

the same stately dimensions. All is vast in this palace of the Vatican, where such large hospitality has so often been dispensed by the Popes; all is magnificent in its elegant simplicity. Was this not built to last for ever, as long as the peaceful principality of the Papacy itself? There are beautiful frescoes here and there, which amateurs take leisure to examine. But we are hurrying to the Pope's early Mass in his quiet private chapel, and so may not tarry to gaze about us.

We enter the Guard-Room—spacious, lofty, gorgeously frescoed. The officers and guard at once rise to receive Monsignor Macchi, and we are in the ante-room, quite close to the Throne-Room, the door of which is open. The attendants, in rich costumes, take our hats and the tickets of invitation, and we pass into the comparatively small chamber which opens into the little private oratory. It is a great feast, and a number of distinguished persons have requested the honor of being present at the Holy Father's Mass and receiving Communion from his hand.

Folding-doors open out in front of the little altar, on which everything is ready for the celebration of the Holy Sacrifice. The priestly vestments are laid on the altar itself, and the Missal stands open at the Epistle side. We are ushered to seats in the middle of the room, where we can best see the Pope during the celebration. All present are absorbed in their devotions; no one seems to notice those who enter.

But where is the Pope?

He is still at his private devotions. This is for him a season of unusual fatigue, if one can so speak of a man who never knows, from year's end to year's end, any cessation from overwhelming labors and wasting cares.

After his long, weary days of never-ending occupation his encyclicals, discourses, or letters have to be written in the quiet hours of the night. And has he not been found by his faithful old valet in the morning with his head on his work-table, where sheer fatigue had brought on unrefreshing sleep?

Leo XIII. is an early riser. His valet awakes him at a stated and early hour. The aged priest has not changed the simple habits of a lifetime because he is Pope. He is soon dressed in his cassock of pure white, and spends a few moments in adoration at the altar of his private chapel. Then there is a half-hour spent in meditation or mental prayer on some of the great Gospel truths or mysteries. This over, one of his chaplains recites with him Prime, Tierce, and Sext—the three first morning "Hours" of the canonical office—and the Holy Father is ready for Mass.

Around his private apartments, meanwhile, all is silence. The wearied spirit of him who is Vicar of Christ soars aloft to the throne of grace, to meditate there in the divine light on his own needs and the needs of his wide-spread flock. Prayer is to him a bath of life, from which he comes forth refreshed and strengthened for the day's labor before him. But prayer is also a preparation for the great priestly rite which is and ever has been Leo XIII.'s supreme comfort—the Mass.

We were also thinking of *The Presence* on yonder lighted altar, when there was a slight commotion in the chapel. All of a sudden every one had knelt as if moved by some common electric impulse. A white figure stands before the altar, with his face turned to us and the right hand holding a silver aspersory sprinkling holy water on the assembled worshippers. It is but an instant that he remains fronting us. The face is of alabaster whiteness, and transparent almost, and the eyes are all-radiant with the fire of piety and fatherly kindness. The words of blessing were scarcely audible. It was as if some of Fra Angelico's glorified saints had walked out of the canvas or come down from the frescoes on the wall and shone upon us a moment, lifted his hand in blessing, murmured low words of love and greeting, and then turned away.

Leo XIII. then genuflected before the altar and retired a little to our left, but out of sight, to read with his chaplain the psalms and prayers before Mass. There is in the Pope's pronunciation of the Latin something uncommonly

sweet and distinct. His utterance is slow and measured. Every word is given out as if the speaker were weighing its deepest sense and enjoying it. No man I ever saw at the altar so impressed me with the idea of one who is face to face with God and uttering every word with infinite reverence and feeling. The first Psalm he read is the eighty-third: "How lovely are Thy tabernacles, O Lord of Hosts! My soul longeth and fainteth for the courts of the Lord." Every now and then some verse in the Psalms moved him more powerfully, and his deep, grave voice sounded more clearly: "Wilt Thou be angry with us for ever? or wilt Thou extend Thy wrath from generation to generation?" Or again: "Surely His salvation is near to them that fear Him, that glory may dwell in our land."

Psalm after Psalm is thus recited. Is there not a quiver in the aged voice? "Have mercy on me, O Lord; for I have cried to Thee all the day. . . . For Thou, O Lord, art sweet and mild; and plenteous in mercy to those that call upon Thee."

When he came to recite alone the beautiful series of prayers after the preparatory Psalms the silence in the chapel was painful. It was as if every heart there held its own pulsations to throb in that of the great High-Priest of the Church pleading before the mercy-seat.

"Bend down to our prayers, O God of infinite mildness, the ears of Thy fatherly love, and enlighten our hearts with the grace of the Holy Spirit, that we may deserve worthily to minister at Thy mysteries and to love Thee with charity everlasting. . . . Oh! we beseech Thee, O Lord, visit and purify our consciences, that our Lord Jesus Christ on coming to us may find there a dwelling prepared for Him."

And now the slender white form is again before the altar; he kneels a moment, rises, and stands ready to be vested. Everything is done so quietly, so reverently, that you look on as if entranced. His chaplains assist him, evidently feeble and seemingly fragile as he is, with a respect all mingled with tenderness.

At last he is vested and begins the Mass. As Leo

XIII. stands before us in his full priestly vestments, it is painfully apparent how aged is that frame on which rests the awful burden of such responsibility, care, and toil. The shoulders and head are slightly bent, as if in reverence to the tabernacle. Beneath the white skull-cap, or berretta, is a circle of the snow-white hair. Every tone of the priestly voice is now fuller, more measured, and instinct with deeper feeling.

"I will go unto the altar of God, to God who giveth joy to my youth. . . . Judge me, O God! and distinguish my cause from the nation that is not holy; from the unjust and deceitful man deliver me. . . . Send forth Thy light and Thy truth; they have conducted me and brought me to Thy holy mount and into Thy tabernacles. . . . I will praise Thee on the harp, O God, my God! Why art thou sad, O my soul! and why dost thou disquiet me?"

Then came the *Confession*, and, as the aged form bent lowly before the Presence there, every word seemed to shake it with emotion. He is, in truth, standing before the heavenly court on high, and suing for forgiveness to that Awful Majesty, surrounded by the angelic and the saintly multitudes. "I have sinned grievously, through my fault, through my fault, through my exceeding great fault."

It is the feast of the Ascension of our Lord into heaven. The Mass is one of triumphant joyousness. The priest at the altar is made to stand with the apostles and disciples on Mount Olivet watching the form of the risen Saviour ascending slowly beyond our sphere: "Ye men of Galilee, why stand you looking up to heaven?"

But the eyes of faith follow Him beyond the veil and to where He sits enthroned at the right hand of the Father. Leo XIII. has but a step to make to pass behind the veil. His heart has long been there. He recites the angelic hymn, the "Glory be to God on high!" as if he had already joined the exultant throng of blessed spirits.

"*We praise Thee! We bless Thee! We adore Thee!* We give Thee thanks for Thy great glory, O Lord God, Heavenly King, God the Father Almighty."

One who has written of Leo XIII. the most unkind and undutiful things ever put in print about him has also recorded that it is impossible to be present while he celebrates Mass without feeling that this man is nearer to God than any one else, and speaks to Him in a tone of deeper reverence, love, and adoration.

We, who have spent within a few years of half a century in priestly ministrations, are bound to say that nothing ever so powerfully moved our soul as to see Leo XIII. at Christ's altar, his whole soul lifted up as if the Beatific Vision held it and made it plead there and supplicate with great heart-cries for the Church whose dangers, trials, and needs are his especial care.

The holy rite occasionally seems to be too much for him. His frame is so shaken that you fancy he will fall if not supported by his chaplains. But the strong will sustains him, and during the Canon and after the Consecration there is a continual upward movement of head and shoulders, as if caused by a weight too heavy to carry.

One could have wished that a person apparently so feeble and so overworked as the Holy Father should not have to give Communion to the large numbers of strangers and pilgrims who are occasionally admitted as a great favor to hear the Pope's Mass. But that is the supreme consolation of Catholics, to receive Christ's divinest gift from his hand who is Vicar to the Giver.

All approach in turn without the slightest confusion or embarrassment. It is a very touching sight. Leo XIII. pronounces the sacramental words with extraordinary emphasis and sweetness as each one kneels before him. He presents his hand, which holds the sacred Host, to be kissed by the communicant before placing the Bread of Life on the tongue. Is it not right? *He* represents the God "who openeth His hand and filleth every living soul with blessing"; we kiss in *his* the Hand which bestows on us in Communion the pledge of the life eternal.

At length the Mass is over, and the Pope and all present have heard a second Mass of thanksgiving. When the

priest has withdrawn from the altar commences a scene such as can only be beheld in Rome, in the home of the Common Parent of Christendom, and at the foot of the very altar where the High-Priest of our faith has just broken to his children the Bread of life eternal.

They bring an arm-chair to the Epistle side, and the Holy Father is seated, and all present come once more in succession to kneel at his feet, whose very face and air and all about him remind you of Christ the Lord receiving little children and their parents. Family groups are introduced together by good Monsignor Macchi, who whispers to the Holy Father who they are and whence they come. It is a sight never to be forgotten, so full of that light of charity which is the light of Heaven.

How radiant these sweet, spiritualized features are with fatherly interest and kindness! Here are parents who have brought from afar, from the ends of the earth, their little girl to receive her First Communion from the hand which is now laid in blessing on the child's head. Can she ever forget these wonderful eyes bent on her, and the great fatherly soul looking out from behind that transparent face, and the sweet words of blessing he utters? No wonder children are so drawn to Leo XIII. And why, oh! why can he not go out into the streets of Rome? Why cannot that great father go and collect these little ones around him, and by his words, his blessing, his very air, and the virtue which goes forth from him, draw these innocents and bind them for ever to Christ?

Parents and children have gone away with their eyes full of tears of joy and their hearts full of reverence. Then other groups come in turn—the afflicted, the tried; general officers, Frenchmen among them, bronzed in distant climes and by long service, but soldiers of Christ as well. How Leo XIII. knows to say brave words to these noble professors of the faith! And how reverently they kiss that fatherly hand extended to them or the embroidered slipper on his feet who has borne the words of the Gospel of Peace over the mountains and the seas to the remotest

tribes! But Leo XIII. seldom gives you an opportunity to bend down and kiss his feet at these morning receptions in the holy place. And then there are journalists and other soldiers of the truth for whom Leo XIII. has an especial regard. These are the men on whom he relies in the great battle with popular error and prejudice. Be sure that his first and last recommendation to such will be *charity*—charity in all things. For why should truth triumph, if not to make charity reign among men?

Here is our turn. Do not be afraid or ashamed to kneel to that venerable man, even though you be not a Catholic. His blessing, the blessing of one who has battled so long for Christ and who has held His banner aloft in the eyes of the nations, will bring you nothing but good. And as you look into those love-lit eyes and watch the ineffably sweet smile around that mouth, do you not think that somewhat of a warmer love, a deeper interest goes out to you, precisely because you are not one of his flock, although he deems you one of his children?

And now we are invited to be a little longer with the Holy Father. Is he not too fatigued? does he not wish to be left alone awhile? No. He is going to take his morning refection before beginning his terrible round of official labors. Quite near the little chapel is the Pope's breakfast-room. It is simple enough in all conscience. And what is this breakfast? A cup of black coffee with a small roll of bread. Nothing more.

And now the breakfast is ended and the Pope withdraws to his private study, where his enormous correspondence and his secretaries are waiting for him.

Every day in the week and every hour in each day has its own appointed labor. The congregations or standing committees of cardinals, among whom are divided all the matters connected with the vast administration of a Church numbering 200,000,000, report regularly to the Holy Father. Some of them have the Pope for president and hold their sittings in his presence. The Propaganda has now two distinct sections, one of which has the same superintendence

over the missions and spiritual interests of the Eastern nations that the Propaganda proper has of all other missionary countries. Its multiplicity of affairs would be alone sufficient to occupy a host of active and devoted men.

Here is another new office which the circumstances of the times in Italy have compelled the Holy Father to create. At its head is Monsignor Gabriel Boccali, one of the men whom Leo XIII. reared and trained in Perugia to be bright lights in God's Church. He is *Uditor di Sua Santità*—auditor or judge in the Pope's own palace. The Holy Father has unbounded confidence in him, for he knows him well. Young, pious, devoted to his duty, learned beyond his years, he is sure to rise to the highest eminence. But he will ever be the true priest and servant of the Church.

The special relations of the bishops of Italy to the Holy See in presence of the Italian government, and the need they have of the Holy Father's support, together with the necessity of choosing the very best and safest men for Italian bishoprics, have imposed on him a heavy load of anxiety. It is on such men as Monsignor Boccali that he puts a part of the labor which this peculiar position imposes.

Innumerable congregations and commissions besides have their special work to do, and to report regularly. And Leo XIII. is not one with whom it is safe to be unpunctual, or irregular, or inexact, or slovenly in any way. Great as is his mind, and high as it soars in his doctrinal expositions or his masterly surveys of social conditions, political exigencies, or the relative positions and tendencies of philosophical systems, his is also an eminently practical mind, to which the minutest details are grateful. Nay, sometimes people are surprised to find that the Holy Father, whose solicitude extends to every diocese and mission on the surface of the globe, will be familiar with the smallest particulars of administration and insist on the minutest exactness from all who report to him. His memory and his all-grasping intellect seem to be equal to the most astounding labor.

On all these weighty, intricate, perplexing matters which every congregation, every commission treats, his judgment has always to be given. And it is always a deliberate and enlightened judgment.

The Cardinal Vicar, Parocchi, for instance, every Saturday evening has his special audience to report on the affairs of the diocese of Rome for the week last past. Every detail of administration is gone into. Primary, Secondary Schools, the Seminario Romano with its Institute of High Literature, the various confraternities, the parochial work in all the churches, and many other weighty matters are to the Holy Father, as Bishop of Rome, things of absorbing interest. Even with one so zealous, so entirely devoted, so experienced, and so gifted as Cardinal Parocchi, Leo XIII.'s conscience will not be at rest till he has known and judged for himself on the ensemble and the details.

We could mention the Congregation of Studies, the Commission of Historical Studies, and other bodies which co-operate with the Holy Father in keeping high and raising ever higher the level of science in the great schools of Rome and Italy; all these have to report regularly. And it can easily be imagined if one of Leo XIII.'s intellectual tastes and culture will dismiss the cardinals who report to him with a few brief words or be satisfied with a perfunctory examination.

Perfunctory Leo XIII. is in nothing. He is thorough, and thoroughly in earnest, in all that pertains to the work of his subordinates or his own.

And then there is the Cardinal Secretary of State and the terribly difficult and incredibly delicate work of dealing with the foreign governments. Look over the entire political and diplomatic field, and think of the hard and long battles the Holy See has to fight, not only with non-Catholic courts but with those that we call Catholic. All this is a matter of daily, sometimes of hourly, concern and labor for the Holy Father.

He has to receive ambassadors, archbishops, bishops, pilgrims, deputations, addresses from the numerous Catholic

unions and committees, and from Catholic congresses. All this is a part of the working of the living organism of Catholicity. But it is as uninterrupted as the circulation of the blood in the frame.

Go by permission, about ten or eleven o'clock in the morning on the days when the Holy Father receives, and sit in the Throne-Room for the two hours before noon during which audience after audience is given. You look at Monsignor Macchi's spare and spent figure, and you wonder when this good prelate finds rest. He seems to be ever on foot. But his graceful courtesy knows no change. You look at the Pontiff's own face and form, and wonder how the lamp of life is fed or does not go out in such a frail vessel.

But only think of the work that one man has to go through!

At noon the Pope retires for a walk in the gardens of the Vatican during the cool season. In summer this outdoor recreation is perforce put off till evening. But there are the evening audiences, too, which are the most numerous, the longest, and the most wearing. Then it is that bishops are received to report on the state of their dioceses, and that priests who come with them are granted the favor of an audience.

There are certain occasions when strangers are so numerous that private audiences are out of the question. Then a day is fixed when they are admitted by a ticket from Monsignor Macchi to one of the great halls in the Vatican, and the Holy Father passes through their ranks, blessing them and saying some kind words in French and Italian.

But in times of pilgrimage and jubilee, as will be 1887, the year of the Pope's Golden Jubilee, the whole Catholic world sends its bands of pilgrims from every land to pay their homage of love to the Vicar of Christ, and the stream of visitors to the Vatican seems never to end.

But what a consolation to such a fatherly heart as that of Pius IX. or Leo XIII., so tried by the persecutions of

the Church and the forced captivity they endure, to see this unending procession of nations and peoples coming and going through the halls of the Vatican, around the seat of the Common Father and the Tomb of the holy Apostles!

Where has there ever been seen anything like what Rome saw in 1877, and what it will again see in 1887 when the whole Christian world will pour forth at the feet of Leo XIII. the expression of its reverence, love, and fealty? But think, too, of the addition to the ordinary labors which have to be gone through, no matter what throngs may flock to the Vatican or come and go through the glorious temple alongside.

When, then, does Leo XIII. find time for his ordinary meals? They are solitary and frugal meals. Look at his face and see if there are there any signs of indulgence of any kind. The simplest food, a little wine and water—the beverage of all Italians—a little fruit, such is Leo XIII.'s ordinary morning fare. At night the repast is also frugal.

The Breviary Office is recited with one of his chaplains. The utter weariness begotten by the terrible round of official duties is lightened or dispelled by the pleasure the Pope finds in prayer, in the recitation of the inspired Psalms of "the Sweet Singer of Israel," in the lessons of Holy Scripture and the brief record of the life of the saint of the day.

After examination of conscience and night prayers the aged Pope is supposed to retire and to rest. His room is but simply, scantily furnished; and his rest, when not broken in upon, is barely sufficient to restore the forces of exhausted nature. And he is an early riser. His habits, as we have said elsewhere, are those of an ascetic. But does he never break in upon his rest? Too frequently, they say.

His magnificent encyclicals; his consistorial allocutions; his addresses to pilgrims, deputations, and societies; his most important bulls or constitutions, like those on the restoration of the Scotch hierarchy, on the settlement of the difficulties in England between the bishops and the

regulars, are written or corrected or finished in the quiet of the night, when all in the Vatican enjoy much-needed repose.

But the white-robed figure, so much like a supernatural apparition, watches, works, prays alone in the stillness. He bears the burden of a whole world. His soul is sad with the sorrows, trials, sufferings of the nations.

The lamp in the Pope's room in the Vatican, shining at night when all around is darkness, gives forth the *Lumen in Cœlo*, that supernal light which even now illuminates both hemispheres. No such light, since St. Peter's teaching and virtues shone in that very spot, confounding and appalling the licentious and cruel Nero, ever shed its splendors on the world from the Seven Hills of Rome.

292

CHAPTER XXXV.

1887–1888.

LEO XIII.'S SACERDOTAL JUBILEE.

Spontaneous Homage of Sovereigns and Peoples to the Prisoner of the Vatican.

THE year 1887 brought no little glory to the Apostolic See, and not a few consolations to the Pontiff, much tried as he was by the ever-increasing persecutions to which the Catholic clergy and people of Italy were subjected by the men in power.

The religious pacification in Prussia proceeded apace; and everything there promised well for the total extinction of the Culturkampf. In March the Emperor William celebrated his ninetieth birthday. The representatives of all nations assembled in Berlin to do honor to the venerable Nestor of sovereigns. No less than eighty-five princes belonging to reigning families met in the capital of the Empire to do homage to one whose personal virtues endeared him to his people as much as his glorious achievements on the battle-field.

Among this brilliant assemblage of the scions of royalty and Ambassadors Extraordinary, no person was more conspicuous than the Pope's Legate, Monsignor Galimberti, and no one received a more flattering welcome from the court, the nobles, and the people.

The Legate was able to confer with Mgr. Kopp, Prince-Bishop of Fulda, recently created a member of the Prussian House of Peers, about the most difficult details of the settlement to be agreed on between the cabinet of Berlin and the Vatican. In the Allocution to the Cardinals, on

May 23, the Pope announced in terms of just self-gratulation the conclusion of the religious conflict in Germany, the return to the country of the banished religious orders, and the reopening of Catholic schools and diocesan seminaries.

Then came the celebration of Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee, when the splendid festivities celebrated in March on the banks of the Spree were renewed on those of the Thames. Leo XIII., grateful for the religious freedom secured to Catholics throughout the British Empire, and hopeful—we have good reason to believe—of obtaining for Catholic Ireland a speedy adjustment of her national claims, sent a representative to London in the person of Monsignor Ruffo-Scilla, at present Nunzio in Madrid.

These international courtesies were only what was expected of the sovereign Pontiff, the spiritual head of Christendom. They were the assertion of a prerogative as ancient as Christendom itself; and the honor paid in Berlin and in London to the papal envoys was the acknowledgment of the Pope's rightful place in the European polity.

But with the dawn of the year 1887 had begun the active preparations for the Pontifical Jubilee. There was to be held in the Vatican, during the first months of 1888, an exposition of the works of Catholic art and the products of the industries of Catholic peoples. Those who first conceived the idea of such an exposition could have no thought of the magnificent generosity with which the peoples of both hemispheres were about to respond to the appeal made to them.

Still more splendid was to be the generosity and piety of the Catholic world in its jubilee offerings to the Holy Father, in the pilgrimages and other manifestations of love and devotion toward the venerated head of the Church.

The enthusiasm with which, ten years before, in 1877, Catholics had celebrated the Episcopal Jubilee of Pius IX., was taken as a testimony of the incomparable affection with which the most long-lived of Popes was regarded by his immense flock. He was eminently what we might call

"a popular Pope;" and to this well-earned popularity the unmerited misfortune of the last years of his reign had given something like the consecration of martyrdom.

Perhaps there was less of personal feeling in the great movement which, in 1887–1888, brought what was highest, noblest, and best in the civilized world to Rome, to the Vatican, to the feet of Leo XIII.

All who have read the preceding chapters will acknowledge the influence exercised by the great personal qualities of the reigning Pontiff, and the prestige won by his teachings and his dealings with governments and nations. His greatness, his ascendancy, was a fact which no one pretended to gainsay. But the marvelous manifestations of reverence and love which continued to mark every month, every week, of the year 1887, up to its latest day, the very fiftieth anniversary day of the Pope's ordination, were a something which he, in his humility, attributed, not to any personal quality or merit of his own, but to the universal veneration for the office he filled, for the chair of Peter, in which sate the Vicar of Christ the Redeemer.

The central idea of Leo XIII.'s policy was to make peoples and their rulers know and treat the Church as the divinely appointed and unerring guide of humanity in all things spiritual, in all that pertains to the higher life of the soul, and the striving after the rewards of the life eternal. She was the immovable, the indestructible, bulwark of morality, of social order, the fearless and ubiquitous assertor of that heaven-descended authority without which there could be no respect for law, no manly and conscientious obedience in the subject, no sense of responsibility in sovereigns or magistrates.

Without the divine authority and influence of the Church in human society, mankind must relapse into anarchy and barbarism.

And the Roman Pontiff in whom centred this divine authority, on whom rested, under God, the duty of teaching and guiding the entire human family, and caring for its spiritual welfare and eternal salvation—he was to be

revered, obeyed, cherished, as the living image of Christ's own love for man, as the depositary of His saving power over them.

Such, in brief, was the great and necessary truth which Leo XIII. had been inculcating ever since the beginning of his reign: a return to the old paths of our fathers, obedience to the Church of Christ, filial love and reverence for Christ's Vicár.

The presence of a papal legate in that congress of sovereigns and princes which met in Berlin to do honor to the nonagenarian Emperor, had lifted up the hearts of the heroic German Catholics. The resolve to celebrate the Pontifical Jubilee in a manner worthy of the nation and its ancestral faith became at once general and effective.

In Belgium, for whose people the Pope had always cherished a deep affection, and whose bishops and Catholic statesmen he had sustained in their long and obstinate struggle with Frère-Orban and his antichristian radicals, the preparations for the papal jubilee became a household labor of love, from the King's palace to the farmer's cottage and the lowly roof of the miner and factory hand.

Nor were the Catholics of Holland, though only a small minority of the population, less earnest in this than their Belgian neighbors. Those of Switzerland, for whom Leo XIII. had battled so successfully with the Helvetian Culturkampf, showed their gratitude by their pilgrimages to Rome, their munificent offerings, their home celebrations.

The same may be said of Catholic Bavaria, where the year 1888 brought the Catholics an increase in religious unity, and from the Holy Father one of those Encyclical Letters, which remain as monuments of national glory, consecrated records of the heroic faith and achievements of the forefathers.

In the Austrian Empire, the old legislation and traditions of Josephism checked the manifestation of popular devotion to the Holy See and the reigning Pontiff; and the men who presided over the dual Ministries of Hungary

and Austria proper, were too much hampered by their ultra-Liberal supporters, to allow themselves the luxury of a hearty official recognition of Leo XIII.'s merits. But the Imperial family and the Catholic nobility of the Empire made up in outspokenness and gener sity for the reticence and shortcomings of Count Taaffe and M. Tisza.

The Slavonic populations consulted only their hearts in testifying to the Holy Father—whom they regard as their special benefactor—their love and gratitude.

Of the Neo-Latin races we need only say that they allowed no other to surpass them in what may be considered the greatest moral triumph ever won by the Papacy.

As usual, France, in spite of the enormous sacrifices voluntarily imposed on herself for the support of her suppressed and exiled religious orders, and especially for the creation and maintenance of independent Catholic schools, was even superior to herself, and far surpassed any other nation.

The simple truth is, that the moneys contributed by French Catholics in Peter's pence and other oblations, and the aggregate value of their gifts to the Holy Father and to the Vatican Exposition, fully equalled, if they did not surpass, those of all other nations together.

We are only stating the simple truth when we say, in glancing at the preparations made in all Christian lands for the Vatican Exposition and the Pontifical Jubilee, that the popularity of the Pope, great as it may have been, was not the impelling force in this movement. It was conscientious principle, the determination to profess openly the reverence of the Catholic world for the head of the Church, and a resolve to protest against the destruction of the temporal power of the Papacy, and the oppression of the Church by the Antichristian Revolution, which moved the Catholic peoples. Sovereigns and rulers had their own motives for doing homage to the spiritual head of Christendom. With their mixed reasons of state policy or personal regard we have nothing to do.

Diplomacy and its devious paths is foreign to the generous, popular heart and the Catholic conscience.

Let us now follow their manifestations.

THE LAST WEEK OF 1887 IN ROME.

The last day of the year had arrived. It was the fiftieth anniversary of the Pope's ordination. But the 1st of January was the anniversary of his first mass—the day most dear to the heart of the priest, because of the unspeakably sacred nature of the Eucharistic Sacrifice offered for the first time by the newly ordained.

On the 1st of January, 1838, as we have seen in the early chapters of this book, Monsignor Pecci had celebrated his first mass in the little interior Oratory of St. Stanislas Kostka, at Sant Andrea, assisted by his brother Joseph, and surrounded by his father and family, together with the members of the Jesuit community.

On January 1, 1888, the anniversary mass—the mass of his Golden Jubilee—was to be offered up at the High Altar of St. Peter's, above the shrine of St. Peter and St. Paul, and beneath the sublime dome of Michael Angelo. Joachim Pecci, become Leo XIII., was to be surrounded by some 50,000 of his spiritual subjects—Cardinals, Patriarchs, Archbishops, Bishops, Sovereigns, Princes, Nobles —men and women of every race and country, come as pilgrims over seas and continents, to share in the joy of their common Father, to have a place in his thoughts, a share in his offering of the All-Sufficient Victim on the principal altar of Christendom.

It was to be a day of days, even for Rome—a day such as never had been witnessed in the annals of that Capital of the Christian world, unlike any day mentioned in the history of the Christian Church.

On the very eve, almost, occurred an incident which filled with dismay the vast concourse of pilgrims in the Eternal City, and sorely troubled the spirit of the Pontiff himself, whose aged frame and wonderful powers of en-

durance had been taxed daily to the utmost limit during the entire month of December.

The Duke Torlonia, the Syndic, or Mayor of Rome, was one of those Roman Patricians who had endeavored to reconcile their conscience to the acknowledgment of the Piedmontese Government, while persuading themselves that they were not violating their duty to the Popes, the creators and sovereigns of Christian Rome. In the name of the majority of the Municipal Councillors, Duke Torlonia waited on Cardinal Vicar Parocchi, and begged his Eminence to offer to the Holy Father the congratulations and best wishes of the city of Rome on the occasion of his Jubilee.

This step, it was affirmed on the best authority, was taken with the approbation of the King, if not at his solicitation.

The Prime-Minister, Crispi, at once sent for the Duke Torlonia, reprimanded him, drew up a decree depriving him of his office, submitted it to the King for his signature, and compelled the latter, under the threat of at once resigning, with all his colleagues, to sign the decree, thus punishing an act which he was said to have counseled.

It was published immediately, producing in Rome, and in every land and city where the telegraph made it known, a painful impression. Would the intended celebration in St. Peter's take place? And who would secure public order inside the Basilica and outside? The Government peremptorily declined all responsibility in this respect. It was questionable policy; it was a betrayal of weakness even in the tyrannical use of power.

At the last extremity, however, the Prefect or Governor of Rome promised that every precaution should be taken to preserve order in the streets and around the precincts of St. Peter's; so that, on the Saturday evening, 31st of December, the fifty thousand persons who had secured tickets of admission could enjoy a few hours of repose undisturbed by any doubts or fears about the morrow.

JANUARY 1, 1888.

Not all slept, nevertheless. Hundreds bivouacked as best they might beneath the colonnades of Bernini, on the square of St. Peter's. They were pilgrims who had entrance-tickets for the unreserved spaces in the Basilica. They knew there would be a great crowd, and hoped, by being early on the spot, to obtain the best places in the transepts and around the altar, and along the line of the pontifical procession up and down the nave.

It required both moral courage and no ordinary powers of physical endurance to face the keen cold of a winter's night in the open air. Nor were these watchers sustained by mere curiosity.

In the hotels, lodging-houses, monasteries, and colleges of Rome, where laity and clergy were passing the last night of the year, people were astir long before the dawn. There was not a carriage in Rome that had not been retained several days in advance. And it required no small skill on the part of the public authorities to prevent confusion and delay in the narrow streets, which converged on the single bridge leading to the Leonine City and the Vatican. As it was, everything passed in a way which reflected the greatest honor on the Roman police and gendarmerie.

At half-past 5 o'clock the bells of St. Peter's give the signal for the *Ave Maria* or the *Angelus*, in honor of the Angel's Salutation of the Virgin Mary and the Incarnation of the Son of God. Instantly all the church-bells in Rome respond, and the frosty morning air is filled with the waves of sound, while the voice of prayer mingles with the joyous New Year chimes.

The hour for the Pope's Jubilee Mass is fixed for nine o'clock. At 6:15 the doors of St. Peter's are thrown open to the expectant crowd outside. A few minutes before that hour the Italian gendarmerie take possession of the square of St. Peter's and form a double line across it at the entrance to the semi-circular colonnades. Nobody now can enter the square without a ticket of admission.

The bearers of ordinary tickets have to pass through the colonnade on the left, and then are admitted by the portico of Charlemagne into the vast vestibule of the church. The great bronze screens enclosing the vestibule toward the square are closed, as the ceremony about to take place is not a public function.

The carriages bearing foreign Prelates, ecclesiastical dignitaries, and distinguished strangers follow the usual direction inside the left colonnade, pass beneath the portico of Charlemagne, and stop at the Sacristy door at the extremity of the left transept. There are some four thousand of such persons.

The diplomatic body, the Roman nobles, the members of royal families, the Knights of Malta, enter by the Porta di Santa Marta, in the apse of the Basilica.

Every possible measure has been taken to avoid disorder or delay. The Palatine Guard, the Swiss Guards, and the Pontifical Gendarmerie are early on foot, stationed at every entrance, and all through the interior of the temple, receiving the tickets, classifying and directing the bearers, so that the in-coming thousands pour in to the immense edifice as silently, as quietly, as the rising tide flows into every nook and corner of a vast and sheltered bay.

Those who were first to enter, about six o'clock, found the Basilica still shrouded in half darkness. Beneath the dome and around the tomb of the apostles the ever-burning lamps only seemed to deepen the gloom ; while above in the cupola itself the great windows only admitted the first faint radiance from the eastern sky. The radiance increases steadily, however, bringing out more and more distinctly the features of the sublime edifice, the decorations of scarlet and gold, the high altar, with its soaring baldachino, and the reserved places marked out in nave, transepts, and apse, for the various bodies privileged to take a conspicuous part as spectators of the solemn pageant, or as actors in the sacred rite, in which the Pope, the Great High Priest of Christendom, is to be the central figure.

Looking toward the apse, you see that in front of the great pillar on the right they have prepared the Pontifical Chapel. In front of the great pillar to the left is a double tribune, one part of which is reserved for sovereigns or members of reiging families ; the other is occupied by the Grand Master of Malta, or St. John of Jerusalem with his Knights. These tribunes are raised some four or five feet above the floor, and covered with scarlet cloth. Behind these royal tribunes is a raised platform for the director of the Papal choir—the choir itself occupying a large tribune surrounded by screens, by the side of the tribune reserved to the Pope. The celebrated silver trumpets and a portion of the vocalists, chosen from all the churches of Rome are stationed overhead in the interior gallery of the Cupola ; they are to play and sing at certain solemn moments in the divine service. All the singers, above and below, are so placed that they can see the *Maestro di Capella*, and follow every motion of his wand, thus securing perfect time and harmony.

Along the apse, behind the high altar, and nearest the middle space, were two lines of seats for the members of the Sacred College ; behind these ran two lines of seats for the Archbishops and Bishops, and parallel with them, nearest to the wall, were those raised for the Diplomatic body on the right, and for the Roman Patricians on the left.

The semi-circular end of the apse, beneath the Chair of Peter, was occupied by a vast tribune reserved for foreigners of high distinction, the possessors of privileged tickets. Two other tribunes on each side of the "Confession of St. Peter" (the space around which the lamps burn perpetually) were reserved for foreign deputations and other strangers of distinction ; these tribunes were privileged. Still lower down toward the nave, and at the feet of the two great pillars of the dome, were other tribunes for foreign pilgrims.

In the middle space between these two last tribunes, was a raised platform, from which, at the end of the sacred

function, the Sovereign Pontiff was to give his solemn benediction.

On a line with the lower extremities of these tribunes and the great pillars, ran across the nave a low barrier excluding the crowds of worshipers from the spaces thus reserved. The Palatine Guard lined the broad alley-way along which the Pope and his cortege were to move on entering and leaving the church.

The Pope, after the excessive labors of the preceding weeks, being unequal to the fatigue of a solemn Pontifical Mass, decided on celebrating only a Low Mass. It was a fortunate resolve, as the emotions caused by the ceremony thus simplified, severely taxed the physical strength of a man of 78.

The cortege left the halls of the Vatican about nine o'clock. As the function was not a solemn pontifical function, the Holy Father was not preceded by the interminable line of dignitaries forming the procession when he pontificates. This time he was accompanied only by the members of the Sacred College, 42 of whom were then present in Rome; by the members of his household, and the Noble and Swiss Guards. He entered the Basilica by the side entrance near the chapel of the Blessed Sacrament, where he knelt for a few moments in adoration, and then proceeded quietly to the Chapel of the *Pieta*, next to the portico of St. Peter's, where he was vested in his full priestly robes, and bearing the mitre, ascended the *Sedia Gestatoria*, or portable throne.

A first commotion was caused in the vast audience a little after nine o'clock, as the scarlet hangings of the side entrance were drawn aside, and the halberds and swords of the Swiss Guard gleamed for a moment above the heads of the crowd; and it took some time to calm the agitation and impatience of the 50,000 filling the nave and transepts, and all waiting for a glimpse of the Pontiff.

At length, from that remotest angle of the Basilica, the glitter of burnished steel, golden helmets, and white plumes, all in motion, tells the multitude that Leo XIII. is about

to appear before their eyes. The Swiss Guard emerge into the reserved alley-way in the centre of the nave, shining casques and breast-plates of steel, and the long halberds on their shoulders, with the mediæval hose of striped black, yellow, and red.

Behind them come the forty Cardinals in ermine capes and scarlet cassocks, their trains borne by attendants. Then forty noble Guardsmen, with black gold-embroidered coats, golden helmets with snow-white plumes, white breeches, top-boots, and drawn swords.

Behind these, again, another body of Swiss Guards, every man carrying on his shoulders the naked two-handed sword, so well known in mediæval history.

And then high above the heads of the multitude appear the mitred head and golden robes of the Pontiff. As the Portable Throne emerges from the Chapel, the Papal choir intone the anthem TU ES PETRUS. Instantly, as if moved by one electric spring, the vast audience kneel or attempt to kneel. An involuntary thrill runs through every bosom there. But presently, as the figure in white and gold floats into the middle space and becomes plainly visible to all, a great cry rises from the crowd nearest to the Pope; there are arms uplifted, hats and handkerchiefs are waved. Up spring from their knees all who had been able to kneel, and every hand from every corner of the mighty temple is stretched toward that white and golden vision that comes floating up the aisle, and every voice is joining in one spontaneous acclamation of love, of veneration, of filial worship, to the Vicar of Christ—louder than the sounds of the Italian *Evviva il Papa-Re!* (Long live the Pope King!) As the storm of sound broke forth at first, drowning the magnificent music of the Papal choir, the Cardinals and officials in the procession made sign to the multitude on both sides to be silent. As well, by word of mouth or wave of the hand, try to stop the throes of an earthquake. Was not that the Prisoner of the Vatican, the lawful Sovereign of Rome, the successor of the hundreds of Popes who had built up Rome from her

ruins and made her so dear to the Christian heart, the wonder and centre of the civilized world? And he was not free to cross the threshold of his own palace, scarcely free, this the day of his golden jubilee, to come down into the Basilica of the Holy Apostles and worship at their altar!

They knew and felt all that, these thousands come together on this day to celebrate this great feast of their Common Father; and will they not give him a welcome? Is he not the Vicar of Christ? and is not this tempest of love and sympathy, broke loose all of a sudden, the irrepressible feeling of the entire Catholic world manifesting itself spontaneously in St. Peter's?

And so, as Leo XIII. is borne slowly up toward the High Altar, the acclamations are continued. Men and women shout to him through their tears their words of love, their professions of undying fidelity.

In the tribunes where royal personages beheld the scene, in the shining groups of the Diplomatic body, and the star-bedizened Roman Patricians, ladies sobbed aloud, and men who had never wept before felt their eyes dimmed and their cheeks moistened by tears called forth by such a manifestation of love as had never been witnessed before.

And he, the venerable object of this ovation, there he was, now raising his right hand to bless the worshiping crowds, now leaning forward, with both arms stretched forward, as if to take them all to his heart, and then leaning back in his seat, pale, the tears of grateful affection streaming down his cheeks, and closing his eyes a moment, as if he could bear no longer the excess of this overpowering demonstration of filial attachment.

It was only when the portable throne had entered the sanctuary proper—the enclosed space around the High Altar—that the tempest of cries began to die away, and was finally stilled. Then the Papal choir continued and concluded the *Tu es Petrus*.

The Pope descended from his throne near the altar, and

without losing a moment advanced to the altar steps, and began the Mass.

Around the altar itself is stationed the Noble Guard, and nearer to the Pontiff the Chapter of St. Peter's, whose privilege it is to assist him on this occasion.

At the beginning of Mass the music of the Papal choir fills the vast dome with waves of the divinest harmony. The singers are evidently inspired by the extraordinary solemnity of the occasion. Their voices, while powerfully moving all present, still the strong emotions of a few moments ago, and steal sweetly on the exterior and interior sense, lifting the soul to God.

Reverently the white figure at the altar proceeds with the most august rite of religion. He pauses an unusually long time at the memento for the living. For he brings to the foot of the Mercy Seat the needs of the entire human family ; and so many persons in particular have besought a remembrance for themselves and their dear ones during this solemn morning sacrifice.

Those near enough to see his countenance distinctly, remarked that he was powerfully moved at the consecration. How could it be otherwise ? And then, the very external adjuncts of the solemn rite could not but impress the most callous.

At the Elevation the silver trumpets high up in the cupola sounded like strains from the heavenly hosts ; and, immediately afterward, burst forth the voices of the singers stationed aloft in the gallery, joining with those of the choir beneath. Now both together, and now alternately, they take up the sweet, unearthly strains; who that has heard these harmonies can ever forget them, or the emotions they excited ?

And so the Jubilee Mass proceeded to the end. After the last Gospel the Holy Father, descending to the foot of the altar, intoned the *Te Deum* in thanksgiving, for being thus allowed to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of his priesthood. This time the entire assemblage took up and sang alternately with the Papal choir the verses of the

inspired Hymn of St. Ambrose. The effect was overwhelming, for all sang with their whole hearts.

Are not these the strains in which join the countless millions of the Church Triumphant in Heaven? Are not our earthly solemnities an image and a foretaste of the feasts celebrated in the Everlasting City?

The *Te Deum* ended, the aged Pontiff retires for a few moments of repose and refreshment to the tribune reserved to him and his attendants. They were but a few brief moments, indeed. He soon reappears, and reascends his portable throne. They place upon his head, instead of the mitre, the magnificent Tiara, brought to Rome by Monsignor Richard, Archbishop of Paris, the Jubilee gift of the Catholic Parisians—though not the only gift. Above the portable throne is now a lofty and rich canopy borne by eight attendants. The wonderful elasticity of Leo XIII. is now apparent on every line of his transparent and radiant countenance. He is about to bestow the solemn pontifical blessing, *Urbi et Orbi*, to Rome and to the world, to his own special flock in the city of the Popes, and to the universal flock of Christ scattered over every land.

The portable throne is borne to the raised platform in the centre and at the upper extremity of the vast nave, opposite to the familiar seated statue of St. Peter. The Cardinals form a circle around their chief. The Cardinal Deacon removes the Tiara, and Cardinal Parocchi, kneeling, holds before the Pope the ritual in which are the consecrated formulas of the solemn benediction. The entire assemblage are on their knees, and one might hear a pin dropping in St. Peter's as the grave and sonorous voice of the Holy Father reads the preliminary prayers. Then, lifting up, extending, and then joining his hands, he pronounces the words of blessing, thrice signing with the sign of the cross, as he turns round in a semi-circle, the prostrate multitude. There is in every tone of the fatherly voice, there is in the light which overspreads the pale, ascetic face, there is in the fire which flashes from the large lustrous eyes, a something which tells you that Christ's

Vicar feels, at this moment, his own nearness to God, and calls down, with all the voices of his soul, all God's choicest blessings on that prayerful multitude, and on their brethren far and wide.

The *Amen* in which they answer is like the rolling of thunder.

THE CATHOLIC HEART SPEAKS OUT.

All have risen to their feet, and all would, had it been possible, rush forward to kiss the hands, to kiss the feet of this "Prince of Peace," as the men of the German Culturkampf have called him. The happiest, now, in the immense audience are the masses through which the Pontifical cortege is to pass on its way out of St. Peter's. They can see him nearer, and look on his features longer, and feel new blessings from that right hand, which never wearies in blessing.

No sooner have the guards taken up their line of march down the nave, and the Pope seated himself, crowned with the tiara, on his throne, between the great *flabelli*, or fans of peacocks' feathers, than the same irrepressible impulse seizes upon the multitude, and the storm of acclamations and benedictions bursts forth anew. From the tribunes at the extremity of the apse, from those along its sides, and all round the circle beneath the dome, as from every part of transepts, side aisles, and nave, the storm of sound breaks forth. It is not a profanation of the temple—all feel it—it is a profession of love and reverence for the great High Priest of the temple; these are heart-cries of fidelity to the God of the temple, whose Vicar on earth is kept a prisoner behind yonder walls.

At last, and while the tempest of blessing and praise is at its highest, the portable throne disappears behind the scarlet hanging of the *Pieta* chapel.

A chair and a *prie-Dieu* had been prepared for the Holy Father, in order to allow him to rest or pray a moment before entering the palace. No sooner had he been divested of his principal ornaments and robes, than,

casting himself on his knees on the *prie-Dieu*, and burying his face in his hands, Leo. XIII. burst into an uncontrollable passion of tears. . . . Cardinals, dignitaries, noble officials, and guards, all looked on in respectful silence, moved, themselves, by that mighty touch of nature to which that Father, Priest, and Pontiff had yielded.

He wept and he prayed for his people, for the Church, for Rome, for Italy, for the Catholics of France, and those of Russia—all so sorely tried. . . .

And thus concluded the Jubilee Mass of Leo. XIII.

RECEPTION OF THE ITALIAN PILGRIMS.

On January the 5th 25,000 Italian pilgrims had the privilege of having the Pope all to themselves in St. Peter's. The Italian Government felt less tolerant toward these recreant subjects than toward the great gathering of foreigners on New Year's Day. Still it would have been bad policy to put any obstacle in the way of this demonstration of religious loyalty. So, on the morning of the 5th the Italian gendarmerie took possession of the Square of St. Peter's. The Pope, however, was carried into the Basilica in a simple *chaise-à-porteurs*, escorted by the Noble Guard, the Prelates of his household, and some twelve Cardinals. After the customary adoration in the Chapel of the Blessed Sacrament, His Holiness walked on foot up the nave, amid the enthusiastic *evvivas* of the Pilgrims. There were some hundred bishops seated near the High Altar, and the Roman Patricians and their families were also present. The Pope, who wore the Rochette, with Mozetta and Stole, was vested for mass at the foot of the Altar. The choir of the Sistine Chapel and a selection from the singers of the other churches in Rome sang during the Pope's Mass. At the conclusion the Pope breakfasted in the great Sacristy of St. Peter's, at the invitation of the Chapter. Some six hundred guests partook of the repast, the Pope being served at a table apart. The pilgrims in the Basilica, meanwhile, waited for the reappear-

ance of His Holiness, who was carried through their ranks in his *chaise-à-porteurs*, and most heartily acclaimed by his 25,000 faithful Italians.

Twenty-five thousand persons are a mighty throng in a single edifice, and the Italian soldiers stationed outside in the Square must, on hearing these repeated acclamations, either have wished themselves far away, or wished that they too could join their voices to those of their fellow-countrymen.

THE VATICAN EXPOSITION.

On the next day, Friday, January the 6th, the Vatican Exposition, though far from being perfectly organized, was inaugurated by Leo. XIII. In truth, the project attained such proportions, as the year 1887 approached to its close, and the quantity of varied gifts, sent to the Commission from all countries, continued to arrive so continually, that room could not be found for them in the vast spaces at first allotted. It taxed to the utmost the efforts of the Custom House officials, to examine and pass the enormous quantities of goods arriving daily. It more than taxed the energy and zeal of the Pontifical Commissioners to erect the necessary buildings, and provide for and arrange materials and products whose quantities and variety so far exceeded all expectations.

One of the most intelligent of the thousands of French pilgrims who flocked to Rome for the Jubilee festivities thus speaks of the Vatican Exposition:

"The civilized world beholds, at the present moment, a singular and imposing spectacle.

"From every part of the world men have gone to Rome, carrying with them all those material symbols by which mankind attests their remembrance, their admiration, their respect, their gratitude, their love. And, as there is the greatest diversity in the ranks of mankind, so is there in these symbols an inconceivable and ingenious diversity.

"These messengers have carried with them all the products yielded by the earth beneath us, all the products

of human labor. Some of them have brought with them, carefully watched in solid cases, artistic objects marvelously wrought, in which gold, silver, diamonds, precious stones, are combined and blended under the forms of crowns, of jewels, rings, cups, and wonderful vestments. Others have brought with them artistic pieces of furniture, statues, bronzes. Others, again, have brought linen, laces wrought in silence and retirement by the white hands of women.

"Some of them have come from civilised cities, where art can increase tenfold, by the prestige it lends, the value of all precious substances. Others among them have come from the bottom of the wilderness, where man as yet has barely been able to force nature to yield him a livelihood.

"Some of these, again, bore in their hands objects which might adorn palaces. And others could only bring with them the rude ornaments destined to the hut of the savage.

"But all these messengers have brought with them something better than their gifts, something whose infinite preciousness suffices to place all these gifts on the same level, and to reduce them all to perfect equality—the mental adhesion, the flame of the heart, of all the givers, whose acclamations, whose shouts of love and faith, accompany them to their destination.

"When these presents have come safe to hand, one may say that the souls whom they represent floated above them like an ideal canopy, impalpable and divine.

"Whither, then, have gone all these messengers? Where is the man mighty enough to attract them toward himself from all the regions of the globe? Is this man a conqueror? Is he one who makes the ground to shake beneath the hoofs of his war-horse? Is he a Solomon, seated in his palace of cedar and porphyry? Is he a king? Is he an Attila, drawing in his train millions of human beings clad in the skins of wild beasts, brandishing their iron battle-axes, and surrounding countless chariots with fair-haired women and blue-eyed babes? Is he Charlemagne,

such as the latter appeared to the Lombard king, Desiderius, a vision so fearful amid the forest of bristling spears, covering the earth as with a vast harvest of steel, that the beams of the sun, reflected from them and from the breastplates of his warriors, shed on the besieged cities a radiance so terrible that the Lombard sovereign wished the earth to open and hide him from the intolerable splendors?

"Is that man, in fine, a Napoleon, leading, on his little white steed, the immense red and white mass of his grenadiers, before whom nations fell on their knees, and who gave to his play-actors an auditory of vanquished kings? No!

"He who is the centre of this universal movement is an old man clothed in white, who has neither soldiers nor treasury, whom everybody may disobey without meeting with any earthly punishment; an old man who is not even free to go outside of his own house, changed for him into a prison; an old man who has not under his orders a single soldier; who lives on alms, but who wields the greatest moral power known to the human race since they came forth from the creating hands of God; he is the Vicar of Christ, the successor of Peter the fisherman—the Pope, the 253d Roman Pontiff, LEO XIII!"*

But no description could convey any adequate notion of the prodigious wealth of gifts contained within the all-too-narrow space of the Exposition buildings of the Vatican on the morning of January 6, 1888. A large proportion of them lay in the still unopened cases, or were huddled and heaped together in the compartments marked out for them, or were lying unexamined at the Custom House, or again, were still on their way to Rome.

The Commissioners were astonished and bewildered; so was Cardinal Schiaffino, who had the principal direction of the Exposition; so was the Pope himself, as he came to survey all the treasures borne to his feet from the Old World and the New by this tidal wave of popular piety.

* J. Cornély, *Rome et le Jubilé de Léon XIII.*

At the opening, there was an address by the Cardinal-President of the Commission, an appropriate answer by the Pope, choral music, hymns composed for the Jubilee. But the Exposition was not in a sufficient state of forwardness to permit the assembling of a multitude to witness the inauguration. And, besides, any secular ceremonial could not help to seem tame after the functions past and to come in St. Peter's.

A month had to elapse before everything was in order, and then nothing in the Vatican could surpass in interest this display of the treasures of Catholic art, industry, and generosity.

THE FRENCH PILGRIMS.

Sunday, January the 8th, was appointed for receiving the French Pilgrims, of whom some five thousand had come to Rome to testify their devotion to the Holy Father. They had not come empty-handed, and they had brought with them more than gold or silver—undying attachment to the faith.

It was unfortunate that the place chosen for their reception were the *loggie* of Raphael. This necessitated a never-ending and wearisome presentation of successive groups of pilgrims, whereas a solemn public presentation in such a hall as the *Sala Ducale* would have enabled the Holy Father to receive an address from one of the French Cardinals present, and to answer it briefly, allowing afterwards the pilgrims to approach him uninterruptedly.

As it was, the Pope, who was not at all aware that thousands were waiting to see him, to lay their love-offerings at his feet, conversed freely with the Cardinals, Archbishops, and Bishops, as well as with the distinguished noblemen, officers, publicists, and others, who formed the first groups presented. And thus the hours wore on, till noon had come, and only some 300 persons had seen His Holiness, the remaining 1700 having been obliged to stand, crowded together in the beautiful but small *stanze* adjoining the gallery.

Leo XIII. felt exhausted, and rose to put an end to the

audience. Pausing a moment at the door of the nearest *stanza*, he gave his blessing to the disappointed crowd, and disappeared.

"Disappointment" is too weak a word to express their mingled feelings of indignation and regret. The Maggior Domo of His Holiness, whose duty it was to make all arrangements for public audiences, came in for a goodly share of the anger expressed loudly and without stint.

Many left Rome that evening. But that very evening, also, Count Lefebvre de Béhaine, the French Ambassador, went directly to the Holy Father and protested against the ill-judged dispositions taken by the Vatican officials, so that, on the following day, immediately after holding the Consistory, the French pilgrims remaining in Rome were admitted to the presence of His Holiness.

They were most cordially welcomed, and the Pope's apologies for the disappointment of the preceding day, together with his gracious words of praise and true fatherly affection, went straight to the hearts of all. They were most enthusiastic in their demonstrations of love and reverence, and most liberal as well in the money-offerings laid at his feet.

This second audience went far to repair the mischief done by the bungling of January the 8th. But those who had left Rome without seeing the Pope could not be comforted, and brought back to France no pleasant memories concerning Roman officials. The winter was a very severe one. The journey to Rome and back was attended with a thousand discomforts. French ardor and French generosity forgot all these on the way to the Eternal City. On no past occasion had the open-handed liberality of French Catholics been more conspicuously displayed than on the occasion of this Jubilee. A single fact may prove this. During the audiences of January the 8th and 9th those who had the happiness of approaching the Holy Father left at his feet upward of $100,000 in gold. And this was only a very small portion of what the filial munificence of the French nation contributed to the

Jubilee offerings. It had been politic, therefore, if it had not been simple gratitude, to treat with exceptional courtesy and even an excess of kindness, the pilgrims who represented in Rome the Oldest Daughter of the Church.

But for those short-comings Leo XIII. was in nowise responsible.

THE CANONISATIONS.

The crowning festivity of the Pontifical Jubilee were the canonisation ceremonies of January the 15th. The names then solemnly added to the glorious catalogue of saints were those of the Seven Founders of the Order of *Servites*, or Servants of the Blessed Virgin Mary; of Peter Claver, a Priest of the Society of Jesus, who died in Cartagena, New Grenada, after spending 46 years in ministering to the spiritual and bodily wants of the negro slaves; of John Berchmans, a young Jesuit, who died in Rome at the age of 22, treading closely in the footsteps of St. Aloysius Gonzaga and St. Stanislas Kostka; and of Alfonso Rodriguez, a Jesuit lay-brother, who had been the master in Spiritual life of St. Peter Claver, and the inspirer of the latter's heroic resolves.

Such is the spirit of the Catholic Church, the spirit of the Gospel ; to bestow the highest earthly glory to which human nature can attain or aspire—the crown of supreme and acknowledged moral goodness on all those who are judged worthy of it, no matter what their rank, their race, their sex, or age. The Church is, after all, the true Democracy, in which transcendent merits lift up the poor man, the beggar, and the slave, and places them beside and above sovereigns in honor.

The Seven Founders of the *Servites* were all noble Florentine youths, who, born and living in the age and city of Dante, were possessed by one thought, one passionate desire—that of helping each other to be Christ-like, and for that purpose to dedicate themselves to the special service of the Mother of Christ, of her who had studied Him most closely and followed Him most faithfully, from His manger to the Cross.

One day, as they were praying together in a little oratory on the spot where now stands the Cathedral of Florence, with Brunelleschi's Dome and Giotto's exquisite bell-tower, the Blessed Virgin appeared to them, and accepted their service. They at once quitted home, family, and fortune, and devoted themselves and the numerous companions who soon flocked to their solitude to the pursuit of their divine ideal of sanctity and to the service of Christ's poor.

Thus arose the Order of Servites. Almost within the shadow of the Dome of Florence are the monastery and Church of the Annunziata, the sweetest, dearest sanctuary of Florentine devotion, where the pilgrim may still read on the walls of the storied cloisters the chief events in the lives of these seven Florentine youths—Bonfilio Monaldi, Alexis Falconieri, Bonajuncta Manetti, Manetto dell' Antella, Uguccio Uguccioni, Amedeo degli Amidei, and Sostegno dei Sostegni.

During six hundred years all Florence and all Italy were full of their fame—the fame won by saintly lives, heroic virtues, and immortal services rendered to all classes of the population. For six hundred years, in fact, the popular heart, which so rarely errs in its instinctive appreciation of true goodness, had paid these benefactors the homage due to the sainted servants of God.

The three Jesuits we have mentioned lived three hundred years after the Florentines. They were all three sons of the sixteenth century—the one, Peter Claver, a Spaniard, Rodriguez, a Portuguese, and Berchmans, born in Flanders.

The sweet odor of their saintly lives had only increased its heavenly fragrance all through the centuries. Generation after generation had testified to their moral greatness, and experienced the benefits of their influence with the Divine Master.

The long, long examination of their merits, the reports of the numerous commissions and courts of inquiry which sifted all the evidence relating to their heroic lives and to

the miracles performed through their intercession, had culminated in one supreme and searching investigation under Leo XIII.

On January the 15th, 1888, they were numbered among the Saints.

The ceremony was performed in the great hall, now chapel, above the portico or vestibule of St. Peter's, and henceforward known as the Hall of the Canonisations. It is, in extent, about as large as the Church of the Madeleine in Paris. Besides the large space allotted to the Pope and his assistant prelates, to the Cardinals, the Archbishops, and Bishops, the Papal Household, and the Chapter of St. Peter's, there is room for some 3,000 worshipers.

It is, in spite of these dimensions, entirely too narrow for a great Papal function like a canonisation. This could only be fittingly performed beneath the Dome of Michael Angelo.

On the morning of the 15th the Pontifical procession to this hall or chapel, was far more splendid than that in St. Peter's on January the 1st. Persons who had secured tickets of admission were in their places by 7 o'clock; many, too many, arriving later only to be crowded and huddled together near the door, on the stairways, and in the corridors leading to it. They were rewarded, at last, by seeing the magnificent Papal cortege pass close by them. The Pope wears the cope and tiara, and is borne along on the *sedia*.

The chapel is more than full. Not a foot of standing or sitting room is left, except that reserved for Leo XIII. and the prelates and officers in the procession.

The chapel itself had been carefully and thoroughly repaired and renovated. Walls and roof are resplendent with the profusion of gilding which Romans love, and from the ceiling candelabra innumerable, filled with wax lights, shed on the worshipers beneath a light that is, at first, almost intolerable.

The Papal Throne occupies the extremity of the hall farthest from the entrance door. It is raised several feet

above the floor, and is carpeted with scarlet cloth and hung with scarlet and gold. Above it is an enormous painted screen representing the apotheosis, or admission to Heaven of the ten new Saints.

The altar is between the throne and the body of the audience. It is, like all Roman altars, simple in its construction, and unencumbered by superfluous furniture or decorations. In the middle space, before the altar, are seats for the Sacred College, and for the Patriarchs, Archbishops, and Bishops. There are two gorgeous tribunes filled by the Diplomatic Body and the Order of Malta, headed by the Grand Master, splendid in their mediæval robes. The men, all in evening dress, are on one side of the chapel; the women are on the opposite side, all in black, and wearning black veils or mantillas.

It is a strikingly beautiful scene. All at once, about 9½ o'clock, the helmets, plumes, and halberds of the Swiss Guard appear at the chapel door. Then come prelates, bishops, archbishops, and patriarchs—those of the Eastern Rites—Armenian, Greek, Melchite, and Maronite, in their wonderfully rich costumes. Then forty-five Cardinals in their full official robes, every Cardinal with five attendants. These forty-five, together with the 400 Archbishops and Bishops, all wear the mitre.

After the Cardinals, walking backward with his two assistants, is Prince Colonna, Prince-Assistant at the Pontifical Throne; and then seated aloft, between the gorgeous *flabelli*, is the Pope himself, central figure in the square formed by the huge naked swords of the Swiss, the golden helmets and white plumes of the Noble Guard, and the purple and white of the Household Prelates behind the portable throne.

As Leo XIII. appears in the open door, all fall on their knees, the silver trumpets ring out their sweet notes, and the Papal choir intone *Tu es Petrus*.

There are no acclamations this time. The throned figure in white and gold is borne along above the heads of guards, cardinals, prelates, and worshipers, blessing as

he proceeds the bent heads to the right and to the left, pale, ethereal almost in the transparent whiteness of his countenance, but his eyes sparkling with the inextinguishable fire of his courage and energy.

As he ascends the throne, the members of his household form a crown around him. Then begins the long ceremony of the *obedience*. The Cardinals approach, each in turn, and kiss the Pontiff's hand. Archbishops and Bishops kiss his right knee. The Superiors-General of Monastic Orders kiss his foot.

The *obedience* over, Cardinal Bianchi, the Postulator in the cause of this Canonisation, and the Dean of the Consistorial Advocates, kneel before the Holy Father and pray him *instanter* (instantly) to pronounce the decree of Canonisation. The Pope comes down from his throne and kneels at the foot of the altar. All kneel, like him, while the choir sings the Litany of the Saints.

The Pope again ascends his throne, and again the prayer is urged—*instanter et instantius* (more instantly still)—that His Holiness shall promulgate the Decree.

This is followed by the *Veni, Creator Spiritus* (the Hymn "Come, Creator Spirit"), to implore the light of the Holy Ghost.

One would say that never mortal ear had heard music more majestic or divine than that which fills the hall. For all, or nearly all, present are familiar with both the words and the old Dorian melody in which they are set.

The third and last prayer—*instanter, instantius, instantissime* (instantly, more instantly, and most instantly)—is repeated by the postulators, and then, while all in the chapel rise to their feet, the Pope assumes the magnificent mitre sent him as a Jubilee gift by the Emperor of Germany, and reads himself the decree of canonisation.

As the last words fall from his lips the silver trumpets break forth into a triumphal strain, while all the church-bells in Rome ring a joyous peal.

Then is celebrated, by Cardinal Bianchi, the Mass of thanksgiving. After the first Gospel, Leo XIII. pro-

nounces a Latin Homily on the characteristic virtues of the new Saints. The music of the choicest singers of Rome soothes the sense of weariness occasioned by the long waiting and the long ceremonial. There are many who prefer that morning, with its scenes of splendor and religious emotion, to the tempest of enthusiasm in St. Peter's. But comparisons are odious.

In the canonisation ceremonies the Sainted personages were the object of the veneration and homage of Pontiff and people. On New Year's Day it was the feast of the entire Christian family, uniting hearts and voices in acclaiming their Father and Chief.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

LEO XIII. ON CIVIL SOCIETY IN ITS RELATIONS WITH THE CHURCH, WITH THE PRINCIPLE OF AUTHORITY, AND WITH HUMAN FREEDOM.

THE incredible fatigues and exhausting emotions incident to the celebration of the Pope's Sacerdotal Jubilee, and which the aged Pontiff had to endure from the early spring of 1887 till that of 1888, instead of making a fatal inroad on a frame so fragile, seemed, on the contrary, to give him an increase of mental and bodily vigor.

The preceding chapters are far from conveying anything like an adequate idea of all the manifold labors of this pontificate, down to the close of its first decade on February 20, 1888. A complete history of the reign of Leo XIII. would give special prominence to the extraordinary developments assumed by missionary enterprise among the heathen, to the great encyclicals on Christian social order, so fiercely assailed by modern unbelief and radicalism, and the successful vindication of Christianity in its bearings on education, and the protection of the laboring classes.

We have glanced rapidly* at the first two encyclicals both issued in 1878, the one describing the deplorable evils and fearful dangers to the entire framework of society, arising from the setting aside of the divine authority and guidance of the Church, from the abridging of her sacred liberties, while giving free scope to the most monstrous and pernicious errors; the other entering fully into the

* See, chapter XX., the encyclical *Inscrutabili*, on the moral disorder of society; and, chapter XXII., the encyclical *Quod Apostolici*, on socialism.

genesis of Socialism, Rationalism, and Naturalism, and their kindred theories.

These solemn and most eloquent lessons, given to listening Christendom, while the new German Empire, in the pride of irresistible power, was a prey to socialistic agitations, and the life of the venerable emperor was again and again attempted by crazy fanatics, made a deep impression on all serious-minded men. The Russian Empire, which, on the one hand, was persecuting its Catholic populations with an unsparing cruelty, recalling the barbarous policy of Elizabeth and Cromwell, was, on the other, covered throughout its length and breadth with a network of anarchist and Nihilist conspiracies. The sovereign rulers of the mightiest nations needed, then, the prophetic warnings of Leo XIII., bidding them to reverence, in the divine authority and salutary mission of the Church, Him from whom they professed to derive the power which they exercised over their own subjects. Christian teaching enjoined on all, in the name of Him who is both the creator of man and the author of human society, to obey the supreme civil power as the representative of the Godhead presiding over it. To bring into contempt the authority of the New Testament, or to question the truth of the revealed doctrines, was, for the rulers of States, to reject the sacred seal and sanction of their own power.

But in France, in Italy, and among the Neo-Latin races in both hemispheres, the solvent of the antisocial doctrines was daily threatening with utter ruin and dissolution the home, the family, the sacred institution of matrimony, which is at the root of all society and social order, the germinal principle of the human race itself. In France, the Jewish Senator Naquet's infamous law on divorce threatened to deal a mortal blow at the national morality, and to destroy, with the Christian family, the best, the only hope left to Frenchmen of saving their country from partition, and their people from slow but certain extinction. Everywhere, in what was once Christendom, the tendency had become general toward taking the laws on marriage

and everything connected with the matrimonial contract out of the hands of the Church, and placing them exclusively under the jurisdiction of the State and the control of the civil magistrate. Nowhere more than in the kingdom of Italy, absolutely dominated by the antichristian masonic power, was there displayed a firm determination to strip marriage of all that had been considered holy, even by the ancient heathens.

But even in our own great and ever-growing country, where Revealed Truth is still an authority and a guide in the Home, and where the sanctities of Christian marriage are a tradition and an inheritance—a corrupt public opinion and the divorce laws it tolerates or encourages, are daily becoming a fearful social danger. The most powerful organs of the Protestant public press do not fear to hold up the teaching and practice of the Catholic Church on the indissolubleness of marriage, as the standard to be studied by our legislatures, and the guide to be followed by the non-Catholic denominations.

The encyclical of Leo XIII. on Matrimony was issued on February 10, 1880.*

"The mysterious design of the divine wisdom," the letter begins, "which the Saviour of mankind, Christ Jesus, was to fulfil upon earth, had for its purpose to restore Himself and by Himself the world enfeebled through length of years. This is what St. Paul expresses in one striking and noble sentence, where he writes to the Ephesians . . . . 'The mystery of His will . . to re-establish all things in Christ that are in heaven and on earth.' † And truly, when Christ our Lord began to execute the commandment laid on Him by the Father, He forthwith bestowed on all things a new form and appearance, the old face of things passing away. The wound inflicted on human nature by the sin of our first parent Christ Himself healed; all men were by nature children of wrath—He restored them to the divine favor;

* Encyclical *Arcanum divinæ sapientiæ consilium:* "Acta Leonis XIII.," vol. ii. p. 10.

† Eph. i. 9, 10.

they were wearied amid the maze of inveterate error—He brought them to the light of truth; they were defiled by all manner of impurity—He renewed in them the habits of all the virtues; He gave them back the right to their inheritance of everlasting felicity, and with it the assured hope that their very body, though subject at present to decay and death, shall one day become a partaker of immortality and heavenly glory.

"In order, however, that these singular privileges should be secured here below for mankind as long as the race endured, He entrusted to the Church the carrying out of His work, and commanded her, in the prospect of coming needs, to set in order whatever in human society should get out of joint, to build up whatever had fallen."

To say that these are golden words would only express very feebly the vital truth here conveyed on the divine purpose in the Incarnation, on the divine mission which the Church has to fulfil through all time toward human society and the whole human race. The Pontiff, while dwelling for a moment on the salutary social change effected by the Gospel truth on its appearance among the nations, thus prepares the way to have us consider the transformation which Christian morality wrought in the family and through it in every community:

"Although this divine restoration," he says, "affected principally and directly that portion of mankind who had been lifted up into the supernatural order of grace, nevertheless from it precious and salutary results were derived to the mere order of nature. From it individual citizens, as well as the entire body of human society, received a singular accession of moral perfection. For, once the Christian Order had become an established fact, it was the happy lot of men to learn and to accustom themselves to rest beneath the wings of God's fatherly providence, and to cherish a never-failing hope of assistance from Heaven. Hence sprang fortitude, moderation, constancy, the serenity of soul arising from contentment—many noble virtues, in a word, and many noble deeds.

"What is especially noteworthy, however, is to see what increase of dignity, stability, and morality accrued thereby to the Family and the State. The authority of the Rulers became more observant of justice and more worthy of reverence; the people yielded a readier and prompter obedience; the union of all citizens became closer; property itself felt more secure of its rights. For everything, absolutely, which is held useful to the social body, the Christian religion had a watchful eye and a provident hand: so truly so that, according to St. Augustine, religion could not have contributed more to the welfare and happiness of the State, even though it had been founded for the purpose of providing for and adding to the comforts and needs of this mortal life."

Not even during the centuries which immediately followed the birth of Christianity, did the Church confer on the world, on the Family, on Society, on civilization, a greater favor by reforming the laws and customs relating to Matrimony, than Leo XIII. would fain bestow on our modern world through the Church by reaffirming the sacred and supernatural nature of the marriage contract as Christ has instituted it, and by promulgating to the nations the truth regarding the constitution of the Christian Family.

Christ "brought back the institution of marriage to the nobleness of its first origin, either by censuring the customs of the Hebrew people, who turned into a great abuse the multiplicity of wives and the facility they had to repudiate them, or, in particular, by commanding that no one should put asunder those whom God had joined together by the bond of a perpetual union. . . .

"Now what has been decreed and established by God's authority regarding matrimony, that the apostles, the messengers bearing to us the divine laws, have handed down to us in terms still more explicit and lucid . . . . namely, that Christ our Lord hath raised matrimony to the dignity of a sacrament; that He has enabled husband and wife, clothed and strengthened with heavenly grace, derived from His own merits, to sanctify themselves in the married

state ; that in this matrimonial union, admirably made to conform with the model of His own mystical union with the Church, He has perfected that love which nature inspires, and that union between one man and one woman, which of its nature is insoluble, Christ hath drawn still more close and firm by the bonds of a love all divine. 'Husbands,' St Paul says to the Ephesians, 'love your wives, as Christ also loved the Church, and delivered Himself up for it ; that He might sanctify it. . . . So also ought men to love their wives as their own bodies. . . . For no man ever hated his own flesh, but nourisheth and cherisheth it, as also Christ doth the Church, because we are members of His body, of His flesh, and of His bones. *For this cause shall a man leave his father and mother and shall cleave to his wife ; and they shall be two in one flesh.* This is a great sacrament, but I speak in Christ and in the Church.'* We have also learned from the same apostolic authority that Christ hath declared holy and commanded to be held as inviolable for ever more the unity and perpetual stability of matrimony required from the very beginning."

Omitting other noble passages relative to the superior dignity of matrimony under the New Law, and to the reciprocal duties of husband and wife, modeled on those arising from the mutual love of Christ and the Church, we must quote here what the Pope says on the functions which the Church has perpetually to fulfil as the divinely appointed Guardian of Matrimony:

"Christ, therefore," the Pope says further on, "having restored matrimony to such a degree of exalted perfection, entrusted and commended to the Church the entire regulation of this institution. And this authority on matrimonial matters among Christians the Church has always exercised at all times, and in all places; and she so exercised it that it was easy to see it was her own, not sought for or obtained by human concession, but acquired through the positive disposition of her Divine Author's will. Nor is it a thing so obscure as to need to be proved by us,

* Ephesians v. 25 *et seq.*

what watchful care the Church has ever bestowed in so guarding the sanctity of the nuptial contract, that nothing should happen to weaken it."

And, what speaks most eloquently to us here in the United States, "Surely," he says, "it need not be said how many fatal consequences flow from Divorce. It renders the marriage contract and its covenants revocable; it weakens the mutual love of the married pair; it affords to infidelity dangerous stimulants; it imperils the preservation and education of the offspring; it gives an opportunity for breaking up the Home; it sows discord between families; it lowers and degrades the dignity of womanhood, exposing the weaker sex to be forsaken, after having been made the plaything of passion. And, inasmuch as no solvent is more powerful than the corruption of manners for destroying families, and for annihilating the strength of empires, therefore is it evident how exceedingly pernicious the practice of Divorce is to the prosperity of families, originating as it does in popular immorality, and opening up, as experience shows, a wide avenue to private and public depravation. The magnitude of the evil must be still more apparent when one reflects that no authority in the future will have power enough to restrain within fixed or definable limits the facility of obtaining divorces, once it is given by the legislator. The force of evil example is resistless; still more so is that of passion. Stimulated by both the one and the other, the rage for getting divorced daily seizes upon a greater number of persons: it is a popular contagion of ever-spreading virulence, the rush of inundating waters overleaping all obstacles."*

This was pouring the light of revealed truth as well as that of the authorized teaching of the Church on the family hearth, desecrated and threatened by the antichristian theories and legislation of the present century. The Family is the basis of the entire social structure. Christian matrimony, its traditions, and its institutions, are the foundations of the moral world. Who shakes them shakes

* "Leonis XIII. Acta II.," *ubi supra.*

the foundations of the earth. Hence the priceless service rendered by the Pontiff in thus compelling Rulers, Statesmen, and Legislators to study, in the sacrilegious attempts made to destroy these institutions, one chief cause of the social earthquakes which fill with alarm and dread the men of the present generation.

But Leo XIII. wishes to apply his measure of social reform to evils deeper still, if possible. The modern mind is sicker even than the modern heart. A false science and philosophy had been at work for centuries, poisoning the European intellect. God, Christ, the whole Christian and supernatural order, had been discredited in the minds of young and old by the teaching of schools, academies, and universities. The inevitable consequence was that they should be brought into contempt both in public and private life; and that Irreligion should become the dominant intellectual and moral force, wherever Christian Faith had lost its hold on men's thoughts and men's lives.

It was to remedy this radical and growing evil in the New World as well as the Old, that Leo XIII. effected a total change in the teaching of Christian Philosophy among Catholics, by commanding that the works and method of St. Thomas Aquinas should become the basis of philosophical and theological teaching in all great Catholic schools. The principles and method of the great mediæval Doctor —the Pope was well aware of it—would afford a sure starting-point for the investigations of modern science, and provide the investigator with a light that could never fail him, and a guide that would prevent his steps from straying from the right path.

This was the purport of the encyclical *Æterni Patris*, issued on August 4, 1879.* It has borne everywhere most blessed fruits.

Everybody will remember, during the first years of the pontificate of Leo XIII. the repeated attempts made on the lives of European Sovereigns. Nor have the Republics of the New World been free from similar crimes. To

* See above, Chapt. xxx. pp. 479–492.

confine ourselves to our own country, who can forget the assassination of Presidents Lincoln and Garfield? That of Garfield occurred only a few months after the still more tragic death of Alexander II. of Russia. Already the Pope in his encyclicals had repeatedly and solemnly warned Governments and the Rulers of States of the fearful responsibility which they incurred by oppressing the Church, by bringing religion, her ministers, her laws and institutions into contempt, by allowing the wildest theories of both Cæsarism and Naturalism to be taught in the Universities, and to inspire legislators and magistrates. The Pope, like his predecessors, is no advocate of "the Divine Right of Kings." But no one insists more emphatically on the DIVINE ORIGIN of the power in every well-constituted Government, which is wielded by sovereign, or legislator or magistrate. GOD alone can give man lawful power over his fellowmen in society. To be sure, men in society may and do elect or designate their Rulers, their Legislators, their Magistrates, but the power with which these chosen ones are clothed is from God alone; the authority in them which challenges our reverence, our conscience, our obedience, must needs be derived from Him who is the AUTHOR of both man and society. Thus the fear of God must not depart from the hearts of those in authority, if they would wield aright the power entrusted to them; and the fear of God must ever be present to the conscience of the citizen, if his submission is not to be a degrading one. Thereby do the teachings of Christianity compel a respect for the dignity of human nature both in those who command and in those who obey.

The encyclical *Diuturnum* was published in the United States a week or two at most after the attempt on the life of President Garfield; and the exalted lessons it conveyed, and the noble Christian spirit it breathes, made a deep and salutary impression on the Protestant mind. What personage on earth could speak to the nations and their rulers with such authority and impressiveness as this?

Nor was it received with less of respectful attention in

Germany, where the venerable Emperor was still suffering from the wounds inflicted by an assassin; while in Russia, still paralyzed by the tragic death of Alexander, not all the hatred felt for Rome, nor all the rigors exercised by the imperial "Censorship" could prevent the encyclical from entering court and administrative circles, and being read with feelings akin to admiration and gratitude.

In very truth the principles promulgated in the encyclical on the origin and nature of the civil power in States, lie, just as do those on Matrimony, at the very foundations of Society; to destroy or alter them is to convulse the moral world.

"In order to secure justice in the exercise of authority, it is greatly in the interest of rulers to understand that power in the State has not been given for the private advantage of any one person, and that the administration of the State should be carried out for the utility of those who are governed, not for that of the persons deputed to govern. Let Sovereigns * imitate the examples given them by God, from whom they derive their authority. Let them set before their eyes His image in governing the State, presiding over their people with equity and fidelity, and blend with the rigor, which is sometimes needful, a fatherly love. Therefore is it that the Sacred Scriptures warn them that they must one day account for their trust to the King of kings and the Lord of lords, and that if they violate their duty they may feel certain of not escaping the rigors of the divine Judge ['For power is given you by the Lord, and strength by the Most High], who will examine your works and search out your thoughts: because being ministers of His Kingdom you have not judged rightly. Horribly and speedily will He appear to you, for a most severe judgment shall be for them that bear rule. . . . For God will not accept any man's person; neither will He stand in awe of any man's greatness, for He made the little and the great, and He hath equally care of

* The Pope uses the word *Principes*, which applies alike to Sovereigns in Monarchies, as well as to Supreme Magistrates in republics.

all. But a greater punishment is ready for the more mighty.' *

"When these teachings guard the State, there exists neither motive nor inclination for rebellious uprisings. A peaceful future awaits the honor and security of the sovereigns, and promises to the State tranquillity and safety. Thereby also is the dignity of the citizens best secured. For even in the very act of obeying they retain that honor which beseems the excellence of human nature. They perfectly understand that, in God's estimation, there is neither bondman nor free, but that there is only one Lord of all, 'rich unto all that call upon Him'†; and that they are willing to be subject and obedient to their Rulers, because these bear the image of HIM *cui servire regnare est*, 'whom to serve is to reign.'"‡

Not unwelcome to Americans can ever be such lessons as these, so pregnant with heavenly wisdom, and so well fitted to the necessities and the intelligence of the times.

No less timely, and no less pregnant was the magnificent encyclical *Humanum Genus* on the antichristian freemasonry, published on April 14, 1884. The non-Catholic public on this side of the Atlantic must not be deceived by the cry raised, either by the old antipapist bigotry against all acts of the Pope, or by the American Masons in good faith, who believed that the encyclical's denunciations confounded them with the antichristian conspirators of the European continent.

The reader who has followed us thus far will not have forgotten that the Freemasons of France, Belgium, and Italy united to celebrate in Rome, in May, 1878, the Apotheosis of Voltaire. It was Antichrist triumphing over the Papacy in the very city of the Popes. Then it was further resolved to erect in Rome, also, a statue to the apostate monk, Giordano Bruno, the apostle of atheism in Italy during the sixteenth century. The statue was solemnly erected in the summer of 1889, the centenary year of the great French Re-

* Wisdom vi. 4, 5, 6, 8. † Romans x. 12.

‡ "Leonis XIII. Acta II.," pp. 277, *et seq.*

volution. But during the interval between 1878 and 1889—in 1882—the Masonic press in France and elsewhere began to advocate the holding in Rome of a "Congress of Freethinkers." During the month of March, in that same year, a preparatory committee was organized in Paris.

At one of its meetings a certain citizen, Lepelletier, in the presence of Representatives Reveillon and Hugues, and amid the frantic plaudits of the audience, declared in the name of all the organizers of the forthcoming congress: "It is our duty to overthrow not only every tyrant on earth, but *the tyrant of heaven* as well; and we must all together make in Rome a solemn profession of atheism."* From Belgium came, about the same time, a proposition urging the establishment in Rome of "an Orient of universal Freemasonry, which would hold in that city the place, as it were, of the papacy of the sect, in order thereby to unite all the lodges in a common concordant action against religious fanaticism, which has for its head the Roman Pontiff; and it was suggested to convene, also in Rome, a general congress of Freemasonry, which should draw up statutes for a *Universal Grand-Mastery*, which with its *curia* would be for all secret societies what the Grand Orients are for their respective lodges—the supreme Areopagus of Freemasonry."†

The first suggestion toward carrying out this project was given by the *Antwerpin* Lodge in the Orient of Antwerp.

What we have mentioned in the preceding chapters about the programme and proceedings of the Grand Orient of Italy, as directed by Adriano Lemmi, must have told the reader that Freemasonry in Rome and throughout the peninsula no longer conspired in darkness, but combined and resolved in the full light of day to overturn the Papacy and to uproot religion from Italy. To this end Freemasonry, under the name of Illuminism, and various other

* Quoted from P. B. Casoli: *Cronistoria della Vita e del Pontificato di Leone XIII.*, p. 365.

† Ibidem, quoting *Le Journal de Bruxelles* of March, 1882.

disguises, had been plotting and working indefatigably from the beginning of the eighteenth century. The conspirators kept watch and guard around the Vatican, and looked forward with ill-restrained impatience to the not far-distant day, when they should drive the Pope and his cardinals from Rome, and leave the Catholic religion neither a vestige of freedom, nor a secure foothold on Italian soil.

It was no secret for Leo XIII. It should be none for Catholics everywhere.

It was time, therefore, to unmask and denounce the antichristian conspiracy at its last successful stage.

Ever since the fall of our first parents, the Pontiff reminds us, in beginning, the human race has been divided into two opposite camps or cities. The faithful servants of the Most High forming the heavenly city, or city of God, the enemies of God founding and upholding the earthly city.

"In the present age, however," the encyclical says, "such as favor the cause of evil seem to conspire together and to combine their unanimous and energetic efforts, impelled thereunto and assisted by the society of Masons, which is so widespread and so strongly organized. No longer concealing their plans or purpose, they encourage each other boldly to make war on the Godhead. They plot openly, and beneath the eyes of the world the ruin of the Church, and that with the avowed aim of utterly depriving Christian nations of all the blessings bestowed on them by their Saviour, Christ Jesus.

"Deploring as we must these evils, we are often forced by the charity which fills our soul to cry out to God: 'Lo, Thy enemies have made a noise, and they that hate Thee have lifted up the head. They have taken a malicious counsel against Thy people, and have consulted against Thy saints. They have said: Come and let us destroy them, so that they be not a nation.'*

"Amid such pressing danger, amid the ferocious and persistent war declared against the Christian religion, our

* Psalm lxxxii. 2–4.

duty it is to point out the peril, to indicate who are our enemies, and to resist to the utmost of our power their plots and artifices, so that those whose salvation is entrusted to us may not perish eternally; in order, too, that the kingdom of Christ, which we have undertaken to defend, shall not only remain in its integrity, but that it may receive new additions on every point of the globe."*

The encyclical next sketches the long conspiracy of the Masonic and affiliated societies on the continent of Europe, against Christianity and the Social Order established by it. Clement XII., in the year 1738, was the first Pope to sound the alarm. The succeeding Pontiffs, with few exceptions, denounced the Conspirators and warned Peoples and Governments of the presence in their midst of a secret enemy far more dangerous than ever had been the Mohammedan power. But the Conspiracy skilfully availed itself of the old strife between Church and State in all the Neo-Latin countries, invariably espousing the side of the Governments and Sovereigns, and urging them to enact and enforce more and more oppressive measures against the Church.

"Wherefore," Leo XIII. says, "the period of one hundred and fifty years sufficed to allow the Masonic Sects to increase beyond all belief. By insinuating themselves into every order and class of the community, either by artifice or by audacity, they have acquired such power, that they now appear to control States. This rapid and fearful increase has at length brought forth that mighty mischief to the Church, to the authority of Sovereigns, and the very safety of States, which our predecessors had foreseen so long beforehand. Things have come to such a pass that, in future, much is to be feared—not indeed for the Church, built on foundations too solid to be moved by the hand of man—but for those States themselves that are laboring under the all-powerful influence of the sects we are describing, or of others not unlike them, and which are only their tools and satellites.

* "Acta Leonis XIII.," vol. IV., p. 43 *et seq.*

"For these reasons it was that when first we were called to the government of the Church, we clearly saw and felt the necessity of opposing this great and growing evil with all the power of our authority."

We omit here the details of the organization of Secret Societies as given in the encyclical. The chief features of all such associations must be alike at all times and in all places. Doubtless our Masons throughout the entire English-speaking world have many things in common. But, giving American Masons at least credit for their explicit and formal repudiation of the subversive tendencies of the atheistical and antichristian propensities of their European brethren, we do not believe that the Holy Father had Americans in his mind when he thus paints the Sectarians who surround him in Italy:

"The initiated are made to promise, nay, to swear most frequently a solemn oath, that they never shall at any time or in any manner betray their associates, their signs or pass-words, or their maxims. These Masons then, like the Manichæans of old, use every possible endeavor, under false appearances and a system of dissimulation, to conceal themselves, and to have no witnesses of their acts but their own adepts. They seek convenient secret resorts where they meet as if associated for the pursuit of literature, of philosophy, or of erudition. They are fond of displaying great courtesy and elegance of language, and a great tenderness for the poorer sort of people. Their sole aim is to improve the condition of the masses, to place all the comforts and facilities of civil society at the disposal of the great majority.

"Even though they were sincere in these aims, they are not satisfied with them. Adepts are, moreover, obliged to promise and bind themselves to the strictest fidelity and obedience to their leaders and instructors. They are to hold themselves ready at a sign from the latter to execute the orders given: should they fail in this, they accept the direst punishment—nay, death itself. Nor does it unfrequently happen that men who have betrayed the secrets

of the lodges are punished with death. And this is inflicted so boldly and so skilfully that the assassin often escapes the eye and the hand of justice.

"Now, to dissemble, to be willing to hide in darkness; to bind to one's self by the strongest tie other men, as if they were mere slaves, and without any satisfactory explanation of why they are so bound; to employ men thus placed at the will of others to commit every species of crime; to arm them for murder, while securing impunity from punishment—all this bespeaks a ferocity which nature revolts at. Wherefore the association of which we here speak is proved to be equally opposed to justice and to natural rectitude both by reason and by the light of truth."

Our American Freemasons and others took mortal offence at Leo XIII. when this encyclical appeared, assuming it as a fact that his denunciations and descriptions were directed expressly against them. It is much to be questioned whether one man in a hundred thousand among them ever read the encyclical in its English garb, or took the pains to compare carefully with the context the garbled and mistranslated extracts published for the set purpose of creating prejudice or strengthening it. If the Pope's definition and characterization of Freemasonry as it now boldly manifests itself in Italy, France, and elsewhere, can apply to the Order as it exists in the United States and the British Empire, it was but natural that the members on this side of the Atlantic should have felt sore at being held up to the just animadversion of the Christian world. But our Masons, like those of Great Britain, deny all solidarity with the European Continental Lodges in their profession of atheism, in their antichristian and antisocial aims. Why, then, the wrath felt against the Pope?

"What we have said thus far," the encyclical continues, "and what we are about to say regarding the Masonic Sect, must be understood of the organization in its generality, and as embracing kindred and confederated societies. But it does not apply to individuals among their followers.

Among these there may assuredly be some, many even, who while rendering themselves guilty of sin by involving themselves in such associations, have nevertheless no personal share in the crimes committed by the body, and are ignorant of the ultimate purpose which Masonry is contending for. In like manner among the affiliated societies themselves, a few perhaps do not approve of certain extreme resolutions, which, although on the ground of the common principles of the Sect ought to commend themselves logically to all, excite abhorrence by their criminality. Again, some branches, on account of the peculiar circumstances of place and time, hold back from attempting what they would otherwise carry out, or what their bolder associates do not flinch from. Nor should they, for these reasons, be considered as not belonging to the Masonic federation, because the Masonic body must be judged not merely on its acts and achievements, but on the whole of its professed opinions." *

In the war now waged by what Leo XIII. very properly denominates "Naturalism," against the Supernatural Order and Revealed Religion in particular, and in general against everything that is not bald Materialism, there is no denying that European Freemasonry is the most conspicuous and most formidable hostile force. Indeed it is simple truth to say that Masonry marshals and leads to the assault all the scattered elements of radicalism and revolutionism.

"The Naturalists," the Pope says, "deny that God has revealed aught to us; they accept nothing like dogmatic truth; they will admit no truth that is above the reach of human intelligence; they will have no teacher whom men must obey in virtue of the office he holds. Because, therefore, the Catholic Church claims it to be her singular and exclusive privilege to teach the doctrines divinely committed to her and to guard their deposit together with the other Heaven-sent helps necessary to salvation, so that nothing shall imperil their integrity or their safety, so she

* Ibidem, pp. 50, 51.

draws on herself the bitterest wrath and fiercest attacks of these enemies."*

The entire encyclical should be read and meditated; its doctrines, denunciations, and prophetic warnings should be read and re-read, not by Catholics only, but by all who would know the causes of the deep unrest and revolutionary upheavals which disturb ancient Christendom, and who would learn where are to be found the remedies for the many confessed evils which are the bane of modern society.

After issuing this encyclical letter, the Pope, amid all his cares and labors, determined to prepare a solemn doctrinal exposition of all the principles which regard the origin and joint action of both Church and State in the modern social order.

This exposition, now so well-known as the encyclical *Immortale Dei*, was published on November 1, 1885, while the Pope was maturing his decision as arbitrator between Spain and Germany on the matter of the Carolinas Islands. It was hailed by the entire Christian world as the most important document which had, until then, emanated from Leo XIII. It is still considered by Catholic theologians and philosophers to be, under every point of view, a masterly statement of the true relations which must ever exist between every Christian State deserving of the name, and the Church of Christ, living in the State and working with it for the best interests of the citizens.

It reiterated the teachings contained separately in the encyclicals mentioned and analyzed in this chaper. Its principal feature is the lucid and pregnant description of the two coördinate societies, Church and State, destined to live and labor side by side, harmoniously, lovingly, efficiently, for the good, temporal and eternal, of mankind.

Nothing can appeal more powerfully to the reason and religious sense of American freemen than the following passages. After clearly demonstrating that human society is of divine institution, and that the power and authority which hold men together in society come from God, the

* Ibid., p. 51.

encyclical continues: "It is clear that a State constituted on this basis is imperatively obliged to fulfil, by a public profession of religion, the many most important duties which link society to the Godhead. Nature and reason bid every individual in the community to pay to God the homage of a holy and religious worship, because we are dependent on His power, because it is to Him we owe our being, and to Him we have to return: the same law of nature and reason bids the entire community to do in like manner. For men united together in civil society are none the less dependent on the Almighty hand than are simple individuals. Nor should the entire social body be less grateful to the Deity than individuals, since to Him they owe it that they live thus united, that His power guards them, that His providence showers on them blessings innumerable.

"Wherefore, just as no one may, without guilt, neglect his duties to the Godhead, and as the supreme of these duties is to embrace religion in heart and practice; nor should that be the religion which one may fancy, but that which God commands us to adopt, and which approves itself to be the only true religion among all others by certain and unmistakable marks: in the same manner States may not, without incurring guilt, act as if there were no God, or put aside all thought and care of religion as if it were a thing foreign to their purpose and profitless, or, again, select from among many forms of religion any that they pleased. It is, on the contrary, a bounden duty to adopt in worshipping the Godhead the manner and form prescribed by Himself."

And, after sketching the relative spheres and functions of the ecclesiastical and the civil society, the Pope resumes thus:

"Such, therefore, as we have briefly described it, is the Christian organization of civil society, one not drawn without due warrant or from mere imagination, but a society based on the loftiest and most solid principles, approved of by the natural light of reason.

"And this constitution of the Christian State presents no feature which can be said either to detract from the supreme authority of Rulers, or from the honor due them. So far from lessening the rights of the supreme civil power, the Christian order adds to it both more stability and more majesty. What is more, if we look further into this matter, we find that this constitution of the civil society possesses a great degree of perfection, which is lacking in States differently ordered; and from it the various parts of the body politic would derive many excellent and various advantages, if each would only keep to its own place, and fulfil therein the functions and duties for which it was appointed.

"And in very truth, when a Christian State is constituted and ordered as we have described above, then both divine and human interests are regulated in a becoming manner; the rights of the citizens are safeguarded; they are placed under the protection of the law of God, the law of nature, and the laws of the State; every duty of the citizen is both wisely defined and enforced at the proper time. Every member of the community knows that, on entering upon his uncertain and dangerous journey toward the Everlasting City, he has by his side safe guides to teach him the way, trusty helpmates to aid him to arrive safely. They understand, in like manner, that they have other helps and guides toward obtaining and preserving security of life, the goods of fortune, and the other advantages which make up the happiness of civil life.

"Domestic society there draws the requisite stability from the sanctity and unity of the marriage tie; the mutual rights and duties of husband and wife are regulated by a wise mixture of justice and equity; woman is sure of the honor due to her; the authority of the husband has its model in that of God Himself. The power of the father is tempered in accordance with the dignity of his wife and her offspring; in fine, the best provision is made for the care, the comforts, and the education of the children.

"As to merely political and civil matters in such a

State, the laws are enacted for the common good; they are governed by truth and justice, not by the will and deceptive judgment of the multitude. The authority of the Rulers is clothed with a character of sanctity far above what man could bestow, and is so restrained that it departs not from the dictates of justice, nor exceeds the bounds of moderation when it commands. The obedience yielded by citizens is both honorable and dignified, for it is not enforced by the servitude by which man holds man, but by the submission to the will of the Godhead, exercising His kingly power through our fellowmen. The knowledge and conviction of this truth make it clear to the mind how indisputably right and just it is to reverence the dignity of Rulers, to remain firmly and faithfully subject to the public authorities, to have nothing to do with seditious movements, so that the order established by the State shall be inviolably observed.

"In like manner the members of the community will count among their duties mutual charity, kindness, and generosity; the Christian man does not find himself violently drawn hither or thither by opposing interests, nor by apparently inconsistent duties; in fine, the countless treasures with which the Christian religion enriches even this mortal life of ours, become the possession of the community and of the State itself. Thereby is realized the saying, '*The condition of a Commonwealth depends on the form of religious worship paid to the Godhead: there is a strong and intimate relation and connection between the one and the other.*'" *

The celebration of the Pope's Sacerdotal Jubilee in January, 1888, and during the two following months, gave occasion to many incidents of extraordinary importance. Among the pilgrims from the South American Continent was a Brazilian Bishop, accompanied by some twelve negroes who had been freed from slavery on the occasion of the Jubilee. Moreover, as, among the persons canonized

* Sacr. Imp. ad Cyrillum Alexand. et Episcopos Metrop.—Cfr. Labbeum Collect. Conc. T. III. Leonis XIII. Acta, ibid., pp. 129, 130.

by the Pope in the first days of January, was the Blessed Peter Claver, called the Apostle of the Negroes, who had devoted to these victims of inhuman greed and tyranny more than forty years of his life, the Catholics of Brazil were moved by an extraordinary impulse to abolish slavery throughout that vast Empire.

The knowledge of this great purpose and the sight of the twelve African freedmen presented to Leo XIII. in the Vatican, as a Jubilee offering, and the first-fruits of the coming general emancipation, made a deep impression on the Holy Father.

On May 5th, the feast of Pope St. Pius V., who by the victory of Lepanto had shattered forever the maritime power of the Moslem, and saved Christendom from servitude, Leo XIII. addressed to the Bishops of Brazil the encyclical *In plurimis*, on Slavery :

"Among the many great demonstrations of filial love which nearly all nations have made and are still making in honor of our Sacerdotal Jubilee year, one above all others singularly touched us—the offering sent by Brazil of several freedmen from among the numerous slave population of that vast Empire. This love-offering, the fruit of Christian mercy, due to the zeal of members of the clergy, and of charitable laymen and ladies, was laid at the feet of God, the author of all good gifts, in thanksgiving for His having so far increased the number of our years. . .

"To us it was a most acceptable and most agreeable offering, especially as it confirmed us in the happy belief that Brazil was determined to rid itself completely of the inhuman institution of slavery. This public determination was encouraged by the open sympathy in the good work shown by the Emperor and the Princess Imperial, as well as by the Government, and by the acts of the Legislature. We, moreover, declared in January last to the Brazilian Ambassador the intense pleasure which this resolution caused us, informing him at the same time that it was our intention to help forward the cause of Emancipation, by writing a letter to the Bishops of Brazil on the subject of slavery :

"We hold toward the entire human race the place of Christ, the Son of God, who extended so warm a love to all men, that, on assuming our nature, he not only condescended to live among us, but took delight in being called the Son of man, publicly declaring that He had come down to dwell among us in order '*to preach deliverance to the captives;*' * to free from the worst of all yokes, that of sin, the entire human race; '*to re-establish all things in Christ that are in Heaven and on earth;*' † and so to raise up to the level of its pristine dignity the offspring of Adam dragged down so low by him. . . .

"It is, therefore, most befitting, as it is also the obvious duty of our Apostolic office, to cherish and promote most zealously everything tending to alleviate the manifold misery suffered by individuals as well as by communities: these sufferings are only the fruits of an evil tree, the consequences of our First Parent's Sin. These aids toward relieving human wretchedness, no matter of what nature they are, are not only powerful stimulants to humanity and true refinement, but help also toward that total restoration which the Redeemer of mankind, Christ Jesus, intended and willed.

"Now, among the many kinds of human wretchedness, we have deeply to deplore the existence of Slavery, to which for so many ages a large portion of the human family is subject, plunged in misery and abjection, in manifest opposition to what God and nature intended from the beginning. For the Sovereign Creator of all things had decreed that man shall exercise a certain lordship over the beasts of the field, the fishes in the waters, and the birds of the air, but not that he should dominate over his own fellowmen. 'Created,' says St. Augustine, 'a rational being to the Divine likeness, God would have man only lord it over the irrational creation, not that man should exercise dominion over men, but over the brute beast.' ‡ In this way, it is to be rightly understood that the condition of slavery was only imposed on one guilty of sin.

* Isaias lxi. 1. † Ephesians i. 10. ‡ Gen. i. 26.

Hence we find the word *slave* nowhere in the Scriptures till the Just Noe punished the sin of his son. It was sin, therefore, not nature, that deserved this name." *

The Pope then briefly describes the origin and history of human slavery, till, before the birth of our Lord, the majority of men among the most civilized peoples was composed of slaves. The horrible abuses and excesses are next rapidly enumerated. Then came Christ the Deliverer. The noble doctrines of the Apostles on human liberty and equality, on the divine dignity to which human nature has been raised in Christ, shone like light from heaven amid the gloom and misery of the old Græco-Roman world.

The fate of Slavery was sealed thenceforth. The complete work of emancipation, and the triumph of Christian Liberty and Equality, were to be the work of time and the glorious achievement of the Church. In the very first century, St. Clement, Pope and Martyr, the third successor of St. Peter, praises the heroic Christians, who, failing otherwise to free their fellowmen from bondage, exchange places with the slaves. Then came the time when the Church herself, freed from persecution, permitted the Lord's Day to be devoted to the manumission of slaves and the drawing up of the legal documents attesting their freedom. Her places of worship were thrown open to those who would perform this good work on the Christian Sabbath. The very furniture of the churches, the sacred vessels—nay, the funded property of the churches themselves, were often sold to obtain wherewith to ranson poor bondmen. "This," the Pope says, "is what Ambrose, Augustine, Hilary, Eligius, Patrick, and many other most holy men did not unfrequently." In the thirteenth century arose the two great orders of the Most Holy Trinity and of our Lady of Mercy, whose especial work was to free the Christians held in slavery by the Saracens.

After the discovery of America and the horrible cruelty exercised in the West Indies on the native populations

* Gen. i. 25; Noe c. xxx.

condemned to slavery by the Spaniards, especially when the African slave-trade was opened, the Sovereign Pontiffs interposed their authority, and stood like a wall of brass between the slave-master and his victim. Leo XIII. recites the glorious labors of his predecessors in favor of the African race, and then comes to his own present purpose:

"In a cause very similar," says the Pontiff, "we are deeply troubled by another care and pressed by a weighty solicitude. The shameful traffic of man in man has indeed disappeared from the seas, but it is carried on by land with exceeding cruelty, and to a very great extent, especially in some parts of Africa. Mohammedans, taking for granted the reverse opinion that the Ethiopian and other kindred races are scarcely superior to brute beasts, practise toward these the most horrible perfidy and cruelty."

Then follows a most moving and truthful picture of the slave-trade as it is still carried on in Equatorial Africa. Four hundred thousand unhappy human beings are driven from their homes annually across the Dark Continent, to the slave-marts in Egypt or along the coasts, one-half of the number perishing on the way:

"Who could help being moved by the thought of such a mass of misery?" the Pope exclaims. "We who represent the person of Christ Himself," he continues, "of Christ the loving Saviour and Redeemer of all peoples; we who rejoice at the thought of how many glorious merits the Church has acquired in dealing with every species of human suffering, can scarcely express the pity we feel for these most wretched African populations, or the unbounded charity which makes us open wide our arms to them, or the vehement desire we entertain to bestow on them every needful alleviation and assistance; and all this for the purpose of removing with the yoke of slavery that of superstition, so that, becoming servants of Christ, and coheirs with us to His inheritance, they may sweetly serve Him as their King. Would to God that all those who are placed over others in power and authority, who are jealous of the rights

of nations and humanity, who heartily desire the increase of the Catholic faith, would everywhere unite their efforts, at our prayer and exhortation, to repress, prohibit, and extinguish this slave-trade, than which nothing more infamous or more criminal can exist."

The encyclical concludes with golden words of advice regarding the conduct to be followed by both masters and slaves in carrying out the work of emancipation. "You should do your utmost," the Pontiff says to the prelates, "that both masters and slaves should enter upon this great work with the best mutual dispositions, with the most perfect good faith, resolved that neither clemency nor justice shall be violated; but that, on the contrary, every transaction shall be directed according to law, with a calm and Christian temper. As everybody wished slavery to be abolished, so it is to be earnestly hoped that emancipation will be completed without any offence to God or man, without any disorder in the State, and so as to secure to the slaves, for whose benefit all is to be done, solid and substantial advantages."*

The encyclical *Libertas*, published on June 20, 1888, would seem to crown this splendid edifice of dogmatical teaching regarding civil society and the Christian order:

"Christ, the Deliverer of the human race," the Pontiff writes in his exordium, "having restored our nature to its pristine dignity, and still further exalted it, added great strength to the human will. He enabled it to accomplish better things by helping it on the one hand with His grace, and, on the other, by setting forth as its reward the everlasting happiness of heaven. The Church, in like manner, has rendered and will ever continue to render to that free will, the glorious prerogative of our nature, the greatest services, inasmuch as it is incumbent on her to perpetuate throughout the ages the blessings won for us by Christ.

"Nevertheless, there are very many persons who believe that the Church is hostile to human liberty. This prejudice is begotten by the false and absurd notion which they have

* "Acta Sanctæ Sedis," vol. xx., pp. 545, *et seq.*

of the nature of liberty itself. They either form a wrong conception of it, or extend its sphere of action beyond due limits, making liberty embrace very many things in which, when rightly considered, it is found that man cannot exercise his free will.

"We have on other occasions," the Pope continues, "and in particular in the encyclical letter *Immortale Dei*, expatiated on what is called '*the modern liberties*,' distinguishing therein what is right from its opposite. We showed at the same time that whatever there was of good in such liberties was as old as truth itself, and that this the Church was accustomed to admit, both in fact and in practice. As to what there is of novelty in these liberties, it consists, if the truth must be told, in the unhallowed results bequeathed by troublous epochs, and produced by an unbridled passion for innovation. As, however, there are many persons who persist in maintaining that these very 'modern liberties,' even in their very defects, are the glory of the age and the necessary basis of social constitutions, so necessary, indeed, that without them no perfect form of government can be conceived of, so we have deemed it well, in view of the public welfare, to treat this subject separately."

There follows a masterly exposition of the nature of liberty. Coming to the necessity of *law* as "a rule of action," directing the free will of man to do what is right, and warning him away from what is wrong, the encyclical says:

"If one would seek why law is necessary to man, the prime reason thereof will be found, as in its radical cause, in free will itself, that is, in the necessity of preventing the acts of our will from departing from the light of right reason. And nothing so irrational and absurd can be said or thought of, as to maintain that man, because he is by nature a free agent, should therefore be subject to no law. Were such the case, it would follow that, in order to be free, one should be independent of reason itself. On the contrary, the truth is, that man, precisely because he is a free agent, requires to be bound by law. Therefore, law is the guide of man's actions, inducing him to do well by the prospect

of due rewards, and turning him from evil by the threat of punishment.

"Such is the first of all laws, *the law of nature*, which is written and engraved on the soul of every man, because it is right reason itself bidding him to do what is right, and forbidding him to transgress; and this commanding voice of our human reason can only have the binding force of law, because it is itself the voice and the interpreter of a higher reason, to which it is necessary that our mind and our liberty should be subject. For, inasmuch as the binding force of law consists in imposing duties and bestowing rights, it entirely depends on authority, that is, on the true power of creating duties and defining rights, as well as in giving the sanction of rewards and punishments to what is commanded. Now it is manifest that all these things could not be predicated of man, if he were the supreme law-giver assigning a rule to his own actions.

"Hence it follows that the law of nature is the *eternal law*, implanted in rational beings, and inclining them *ad debitum actum et finem*, 'toward the due act and end,' and this same is the very reason of God, the Creator and Governor of the universe.

"To this rule of conduct and these restraints against sin singular helps have been added through the divine goodness, all aptly designed to strengthen and direct the will of man. Of these, the first and the most excellent is the virtue of divine *grace*, which, by pouring light on the mind, and by imparting the strength of a salutary firmness to the will, impels it always toward moral good, and renders the use of its native liberty both more easy and more efficacious. It is, however, far from true to say that God's intervention renders the acts of the will less free. For the power of grace acts in the inmost recesses of the soul, and in accordance with its natural bent, inasmuch as it comes from the very Author of the soul and will, who moves all things in conformity with their nature. In fact, divine grace, as the angelic Doctor remarks, for the very reason that it comes from the Creator of nature itself, is wonderfully adapted to

the preservation of the proper nature of all and each, to maintaining the character, force, and efficiency of each.

"Now what has been said of the liberty of each individual in particular, this may readily be applied to men united together in civil society. For what reason and the law of nature effect in the individual man, that *human law*, promulgated for the common good of the citizens, effects in men united in civil society.

"Of human laws, some have for their object things of their nature, good or bad; the good they command us to do, the bad not to do, adding due sanction to the command. These commands, however, are not to be considered as deriving their origin from the social body, for just as society is not the author of human nature, even so is it not the creative principle of the good adapted to human nature, or of the ill which is contrary to the same. These, rather, are antecedent to human society, and must be traced up to the law of nature and the eternal law. The precepts of the natural law, therefore, as contained in human legislation, not only possess the binding force of human laws, but they moreover and especially contain the commanding force, much higher and more august, which is derived from the law of nature and the eternal law itself. And in this species of legislation the duty of the lawmakers in the State is pretty much this: to secure the obedience of the citizens by regulations embracing the entire community; by coercing the wicked and the vicious, so that, deterred from evil courses, these may enter on the right path; or, at least, be prevented from becoming a scandal or a danger to society.

"Other precepts of the civil power do not emanate directly and proximately from the law of nature, but are indirectly and remotely derived from it; they determine various matters for which nature only makes a general and universal provision. Thus nature enjoins on the citizens of a community to coöperate toward the public peace and prosperity; but as to the manner and extent of this coöperation, or to the affairs in which they should so coöperate,

nature does not specify, leaving it to human wisdom to determine. Now, it is in those laws regulating life devised by reason and prudence, and enacted by the legitimate authority, that human law, properly so-called, consists.

"This law commands all citizens to work for the end which society has in view, and forbids them to turn aside from that end. And this same law, in so far as it follows, and is in accordance with, the prescriptions of nature, leads men to do what is right, and turns them away from what is wrong. Hence, we may see that the *normâ* and rule of liberty entirely depends on the eternal law of God, not only in so far as individuals are concerned, but in respect to civil communities and human society.

"Wherefore, in human society, liberty does not consist in doing what one pleases, for this would only create trouble and confusion, ending in the oppression of the entire commonwealth. But liberty consists in this: that the civil laws should enable one more easily to live in conformity with the prescriptions of the eternal law. The liberty of the rulers does not consist in their having it in their power to command rashly and according to their caprice; for this also would be criminal and tend to place the commonwealth in the greatest peril; but the virtue of human laws must lie in this: that men should know them to emanate from the eternal law, and that no law should be sanctioned which should not be contained in that eternal law, as in the primal source of universal law. Most wisely, therefore, did St. Augustine say: 'I at the same time think that you perceive that in this temporal law there is nothing just and legitimate that men have not derived for their own benefit from that Eternal Law.'* If any power should, then, enact a law which is repugnant to the dictates of right reason and is baneful to the commonwealth, it would have no force of law, because it would not be a rule of justice, and would only turn men away from the good for which nature established society.

"The nature, then, of human liberty, in what sphere

* *De Libero Arbitrio:* l. i., c. 6, n. 11.

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soever we consider it, in the individual man as in society, in those who govern as in those who obey, implies the necessity of obeying the dictates of a certain sovereign and eternal reason, which is nothing else than the authority of God, who commands and forbids. Nor does this most just rule of God over mankind destroy or diminish liberty; on the contrary, it protects and perfects it. For the true perfection of every being in nature consists in its pursuing and attaining the end assigned to it. And GOD is the supreme end toward which human liberty should aspire."*

The encyclical then briefly mentions the constant zeal with which the Church has preached and inculcated these precious and salutary doctrines on liberty. To her is due, under Providence, the abolition of slavery in Christendom, the upholding of the brotherhood and true equality of all men, the spreading of civilization with the light of the Gospel wherever her missionaries obtained a foothold.

Coming to discuss the spurious imitations of genuine liberty, as we see them in our age, the encyclical describes false *Liberalism*, which is only another name for Naturalism and Rationalism:

"The disciples of this Liberalism," the Pope says, "contend that there is no divine power by whose mandates we should be governed in the conduct of life: every man, they say, is a law to himself. Hence comes that moral philosophy which they call *independent*, which, under pretext of favoring liberty, emancipates man from the observance of the divine commands, and thus opens the road to boundless licentiousness."

The encyclical mentions a mitigated kind of *Liberalism*, the followers of which will not be new acquaintances to our readers. "Not all *Liberals*," it says, "accept certain monstrous and baneful doctrines of their school, which are manifestly abhorrent to truth, and proved by experience to be the cause of immense evils. The fact is, that many of them, driven by the force of evidence, do not hesitate to confess—nay, they ingenuously declare it openly—

*"Acta Sanctæ Sedis," xx., pp. 593, and following, *passim*.

that liberty degenerates into license when it permits itself to trespass on the bounds of moderation, and turns its back on truth and justice. Hence, it should never cease to be regulated and governed by right reason, and, consequently, it must needs yield obedience to the natural and the Divine Eternal Law. There they stop, however, and say that man in his freedom should obey no other law of God save such as He makes known through the light of natural reason."

Another class of *Liberals*—statesmen and politicians especially—while admitting that religion and the law of God should regulate the life and conduct of private citizens, stoutly maintain that the State should have nothing to do with religion. This capital error the Pope had already exposed and condemned in preceding encyclicals, especially in the *Immortale Dei* on the Christian Constitution of States.

He concludes by reviewing the different kinds of false liberty claimed by modern politicians or publicists; the *liberty of worship*, the *liberty of speech*, the *liberty of teaching*, the *liberty of conscience*. . . . . There is a pregnant passage on *tolerance*. Under each head truth and error are carefully and lucidly set forth.

The teaching of Leo XIII. on the Christian Constitution of States has received additional emphasis from recent occurrences in France. On November 12, 1890, Cardinal Lavigerie, Archbishop of Carthage and Algiers, entertained at a banquet the admiral and officers of a French squadron then lying at anchor in the harbor of the latter city. In replying to a toast, the Cardinal said :

"In presence of the still bleeding past and the ever-threatening future, our supreme need at this hour is UNION; and union is also, allow me to remind you of it, the first desire of the Church and of her pastors in every rank of the Hierarchy. This union, undoubtedly, does not require us to blot out the remembrance of past glories, nor to abjure those sentiments of fidelity and gratitude which honor all men. Nevertheless, when the will of the people has been

clearly affirmed; when the form of a government, as Leo XIII. recently declared, contains nothing contrary to the vital principles of Christian and civilized nations; when, to save one's country from the destruction which threatens it, a firm adhesion without any mental reservation to that form of government becomes necessary, the time has come to say openly and at length that the experiment is made and over, to put an end to our divisions; to sacrifice all that conscience and honor permit, command even, each individual to sacrifice for the good of our country.

"This is what I teach the persons around me, and what I desire to see taught in France by our entire clergy. And in so speaking I am sure not to be rebuked by any authorized voice.

"Save this submission, this patriotic acceptance, nothing can secure peace and good order, preserve the world from social peril, and preserve the religion itself whose ministers we are.

"It would be folly to hope to sustain the pillars of an edifice without entering into the edifice itself, were it only to prevent those who would pull down everything from accomplishing their evil purpose. It would, above all, be folly to keep aloof, as some do still, notwithstanding recent shameful occurrences, thus giving our ever-watchful enemies the spectacle of our dissensions or our animosities, and instilling into the heart of France discouragement, the forerunner of the greatest calamities."*

Of course, Cardinal Lavigerie, in thus counseling the Catholics of France to cease their divisions and unite in rescuing their country with its republican constitution from the Antichristian Sectarians who were ruining it, did not thereby intend to approve, or to induce his countrymen to approve, directly or indirectly, the acts of the present oppressors of France. By cordially adopting and upholding the Republic as a republic, and uniting their votes and best efforts to elect to Parliament a majority of Christian Rep-

* Quoted from an article of Mgr. Schroeder, in the *American Catholic Quarterly Review* of January, 1891.

resentatives, men loyally attached to their country and its existing institutions, they would prevent the utter extinction of Religion in France, nay, the gradual extinction of the French people as a nation. They would do more: they would revive and restore to its old-time vigor the faith of the majority of Frenchmen, and stamp out every germ of the immorality which now accelerates in the ancient kingdom of St. Louis the decrease of the population.

This, in the mind of the Cardinal, was a sacred and lofty patriotic purpose, that might well prompt him to defy prejudices, the misinterpretations of parties, and the loud outcries of Royalists, Imperialists, and the all-powerful Masonic sects.

As was to be expected, the French bishops were divided; so were their clergy; so was the religious press.

The official or quasi-official organs of the Vatican, in Rome, maintained a prudent silence. Soon, however, the Holy See spoke out in no hesitating or uncertain tones. One of the French bishops, the Bishop of Saint Flour, wrote to the Holy Father on the grave discussion which had just arisen. The Cardinal Secretary of State thereupon hastened to dispel the Prelate's doubts.

"Your letter of November the 19th was duly received," he says. "In it you mention the serious dissentiment which has lately shown itself in France regarding a most weighty subject. Such a dissentiment should all the more carefully be avoided that it is needful to maintain among Catholics the greatest possible union of wills.

"As to the opinion and judgment of the Apostolic See on the matter in question, you can easily ascertain it from the doctrine unfolded in the acts which have emanated from it. These evidently show that the Catholic Church, whose divine mission embraces all times and places, has nothing in its constitution and its doctrines which is adverse to any form of government, since any one of these forms can contribute to and maintain the State in the highest prosperity, provided they be carried out with justice and prudence. This means that the Church, rising superior

to the changeable forms of constitutions, to the struggles and passions of parties, looks chiefly to the increase of religion and the salvation of souls, which are to it the supreme good, on the care and promoting of which she is obliged to bestow all her zeal and activity.

"With such thoughts and such a purpose the Holy See, following the traditions of all past ages, not only pays due regard to the State Authorities (whether such State be governed by one ruler or by many), but enters into relations with them by receiving their ambassadors and sending them its own; it also negotiates with them and decides questions regarding the mutual interests of both Church and State. The fulfilment of this high office, which dominates all merely human concerns, never prejudices the just rights which may belong to certain persons, as was wisely declared by Gregory XVI. of holy memory, who thereby followed the examples of his predecessors, in the Bull *Sollicitudo* of August the 7th, 1831.

"Wherefore let the same zeal for the good of religion which guides the Holy See in negotiating with States and in fulfilling toward their Rulers the mutual official duties, be for the faithful a rule of conduct not only in their private but in their public life. For this reason, wherever the interests of religion require it, and no just and peculiar* reason stands in the way, it is but right that the faithful should take an active part in public affairs, in order that by their intelligent care and influence the institutions and laws shall be framed in accordance with justice, and that the spirit and beneficent power of religion may act upon the whole body politic.

"Now with regard to the Catholics of France, it is most certain that they would do what is both timely and salutary, if, taking into consideration the condition in which

*Such peculiar reason for abstaining from taking part in the political life of the nation exists in Italy, where the temporal sovereignty of the Holy See, which is a thing transcending mere local and national interests, and vitally concerns the Church Universal, has been usurped by the Piedmontese Government.

their country has so long been, they would enter upon a road leading more speedily and more effectively to the noble end which I have been describing.

"Toward accomplishing such a purpose, the wise and concordant action of the bishops would contribute not a little, the prudence of the faithful would contribute much, and the action of time in its progress would do still more. Meanwhile, as the urgent need of safeguarding religion and the fundamental principles of social order appeals to the solicitude of all men who have at heart the salvation of human society, it is in the highest degree expedient that the Catholics in France should unite for this one purpose, and take upon themselves this task, which is of a nature to call forth their energies and their magnanimous zeal.

"To use the Church and the energies of the Catholic population for a narrower purpose, or to throw away their strength in angry partisan strife, would only serve to turn men's minds away from the pursuit of the supreme spiritual good, toward the attainment of which these energies should be directed. Forces thus wasted would bring neither national salvation nor glory. They would only work serious injury to the illustrious French nation by permitting the lofty national standards of right and truth to be lowered in the contest, together with these magnificent enterprises and Catholic traditions, which are the common inheritance of the French race, and from which France ever drew surpassing power and unsurpassed glory.

"In conclusion, I cherish the firm hope that the Catholics of France, whose religious zeal and singular love of country are so well known, will come to understand aright what duties are imposed on them by the necessity of the times, and, obeying the advice of their pastors, will go to work with that perfect accord of thought and action which can alone enable them to reach securely the wished-for goal."*

Thus wrote Cardinal Rampolla. To make still more

* From the Latin Text in the *American Ecclesiastical Review* for February, 1891.

clear the teaching of the Holy See, as well as the real meaning of Cardinal Lavigerie's brief address, we place before the reader the following extract from a pastoral letter in which the latter communicated this address to his clergy:

"After all," he says, "I shall only remind you of what has been said again and again in my other pastoral letters, namely: that the duty and the honor of French Catholics demand that they should not permit the actual situation of the Church in France to continue any longer. To do this there is only one practical means, that recently recommended by the Sovereign Pontiff: to take openly and resolutely a share in our public affairs—not, indeed, as adversaries of the established form of government, but in claiming to exercise their rights of citizenship in the Republic which governs us.

"This adhesion should not be the act of men suddenly carried away by a sentiment, nor the act of enthusiasts. It should be an act of submission, an act dictated by reason, and for us Catholics a conscientious act, dictated by the explicit counsels of the Holy Father.

"It is, no doubt, true that people have been accustomed in France, in consequence of the attitude assumed by a great number of the men who uphold the Republic, to look upon it as an impious and sectarian government. But, notwithstanding that, the republican form in itself has nothing that necessarily makes it so. The only government in the world at this day which has the characteristics of a true and perfect Catholic government, is that of Ecuador; the only other one in which the freedom of the Church suffers no infringement is the Republic of the United States.

"Once you will have adhered to the Republic, you must resolutely make use of the rights it bestows on you, in discussing and directing the affairs of our country, and thereby contribute toward founding the great national and conservative party, which is alone able to make our political struggles bear real fruit, make our government stable, and thus inspire that confidence which is an indispen-

sable need as regards the exterior. It would be one of the most deplorable spectacles recorded in history which we should give were we to continue to allow the whole world to see us silent, and apparently indifferent, in presence of all the outrages consummated or meditated against the Church.

"It would be everlasting infamy in the eyes of all future time for all of us—bishops, priests, faithful—did we undertake nothing to defend the Faith in presence of all the ruins which are being heaped up around us, and thereby to cause the destruction of the Church in France, for the poor satisfaction of separating ourselves from the aspirations of our country, and of blindly following the lead of parties—several of which are honorable, to be sure, but all of which are proved to be powerless.

"Once we have placed ourselves on the same plane with our fellow-citizens, we Catholics possess the same right which they do: to associate for the defense of our cause, among ourselves at first, and afterward with all those who are willing to be the defenders of justice and liberty.

"I repeat it, on this depends the salvation of France."*

The latest solemn utterance of Leo XIII. on the subject of slavery is the circular letter addressed to the bishops of the Catholic world, calling their attention to the horrors of the slave-trade in Central Africa, and ordering a collection to be taken up yearly, on January 6th, the Feast of the Epiphany, in favor of the missionaries and others engaged in the equatorial regions of the Dark Continent, in preaching the Gospel and arresting the horrible traffic of man in man:

"The Catholic Church," the Pope writes, "embracing as she does all mankind in her motherly love, has had, from the beginning, nothing more at heart than to see the heavy yoke of slavery, which oppressed the great majority of men, lifted from their necks and utterly done away with. She, the watchful guardian of her Founder's doctrine,

* From the French text in *L'Univers* of November 21, 1890.

remembered that He had taught in person, and through His Apostles, that all men are linked together by the ties of brotherhood, being descended from the one parent, redeemed by the same price, and called to the same eternal beatitude; she, therefore, undertook to plead the forlorn cause of the slave, and became the champion of liberty, advocating it gradually and temperately as the times demanded. She succeeded thus, by constantly pleading for freedom with prudence and wisdom, in obtaining the boon sought for in the name of religion, justice and humanity. This was a service rendered to the well-being of the nations, and to civilization itself.

"Nor did the zeal of the Church in procuring the emancipation of slaves grow tepid in the course of ages. On the contrary, the more fruitful was it in its daily results the more ardently it shone forth. This is a fact attested by the most authentic monuments of history, which commend to the gratitude of posterity our predecessors in the Papal chair, among whom are most conspicuous St. Gregory the Great, Hadrian I., Alexander III., Innocent III., Gregory IX., Pius II., Leo X., Paul III., Urban VIII., Benedict XIV., Pius VII., Gregory XVI., who bestowed their care and labor in suppressing slavery wherever it existed, and took precautions lest the evil tree, once cut down, should again put forth its shoots.

"This glorious inheritance received from our predecessors could not be repudiated by us. We have, therefore, omitted no opportunity of openly denouncing and condemning the fearful bane of slavery. Hence the letter we wrote on May 5, 1888, to the Bishops of Brazil, addressing them our congratulations on what, both in public and in private, had been so meritoriously done toward the work of emancipation, and, at the same time, showing how opposed human slavery is to both religion and the dignity of human nature.

"In very truth, while we were writing that letter, our soul was much moved by the sad condition of human beings held in servitude by others. But much more bitter

was our grief at hearing of the awful sufferings of the entire populations of certain countries in Central Africa. It is a sad and horrible thing to have to think and say, as we have learned from unquestionable authority, that wellnigh four hundred thousand Africans, without distinction of age or sex, are yearly carried away by sheer force from their rude villages, laden with chains and driven along by blows, across the continent to the slave-marts, where they are set up for sale like cattle.

"This pitiful tale, told by eye-witnesses, and confirmed by the explorers of Equinoctial Africa, has filled us with an intense desire to succor these wretched populations, and to lighten their misery. Wherefore we lost not a moment in sending our Beloved Son, Cardinal Charles Martial Lavigerie, whose apostolic zeal is well known to us, to the chief cities of Europe, for the purpose of exposing the horrors of the slave-trade, and of obtaining for its countless victims the active sympathy and help of sovereigns and citizens.

"We have, on this point, to thank Christ our Lord, the loving Redeemer of all peoples, for not permitting our solicitude to remain unrewarded: thanks to Him the seed has fallen on a genial soil, and promises an abundant harvest. Both Governments and Catholics from every part of the world—all those indeed who have a regard for the law of nations, and the sacred rights of humanity—began to ask each other how they ought best to unite their efforts in order to put an effective stop to the inhuman traffic in men. Not long ago the representatives of the European Powers met in Congress at Brussels, and more recently still a convention of private gentlemen assembled in Paris, both assemblages aiming to accomplish the same purpose, and enabling us to foresee that the cause of the negro race shall be defended and promoted with an energy and constancy proportioned to the sufferings of that unhappy people. We, therefore, again profit by this opportunity to return our grateful thanks to the European sovereigns and other men of good will, praying fervently Almighty God to

bless their designs and enterprises with a prosperous issue.

"However, besides the solicitude we feel for doing away with slavery, there is another care which more nearly concerns our ministry, and that is to have the Gospel preached throughout the African Continent, so that the divine light of its truth may dispel the dense darkness in which its superstitious tribes are living, and lead them to become sharers with us in our inheritance of the Kingdom of God. For, wherever Christian manners and laws obtain; wherever religion has so educated men that they are observant of justice, and hold in due honor the dignity of human nature; wherever the spirit of charity inculcated by Christ has a widespread influence; there neither slavery nor cruelty nor savageness can exist: there, on the contrary, reigns gentleness of manners with Christian liberty, adorned by civilization.

"Already a number of Apostolic men, the pioneers of Christ's soldiers, have entered these countries, and have given not their labors only, but their lives for the salvation of their brethren. The harvest, however, is great, while the laborers are but few. It is needful, then, that others led by the Spirit of God, fearless of danger, discomfort, and fatigue, should go to the regions where the shameful human traffic is carried on, in order to bear to the natives with the blessings of true liberty the light of the Gospel truth.

"Such a mighty undertaking, however, demands adequate resources. We need great sums of money to provide for the training of missionaries, to meet the expenses of long journeys, the preparation of mission buildings, the erection and furnishing of churches, and other such indispensable things; and these outlays must be met for several years in succession, until the missionary settlements are able to be self-sustaining.

"Would to Heaven that we had ourself the means to pay for all this! But Catholics and their Bishops are well acquainted with the straitened circumstances in which we

are placed: we therefore appeal to you and to them with all a father's earnestness, and commend to your united charity a work so holy and so salutary. We wish all to take part in it." *

* "Acta Stæ Sedis," vol. xx.

292

CHAPTER XXXVII.

LABORS OF LEO XIII. IN FAVOR OF HIGHER STUDIES IN AMERICA—THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGING FOUNDED, CONFIRMED, AND GLORIOUSLY RUNNING ITS RACE—LAVAL UNIVERSITY, QUEBEC, AND ITS GREAT SUCCURSAL IN MONTREAL—LEO XIII. FOUNDS THE UNIVERSITY OF OTTAWA—UNCEASING LABORS OF THE POPE, AND OF CARDINALS GIBBONS AND MANNING IN FAVOR OF WORKINGMEN—THE APPROACHING EPISCOPAL JUBILEE OF 1893.

IT may surprise a superficial reader to observe how small a space in the biography of Leo XIII., is taken up by the Church in the United States. In a preceding chapter* we confined ourselves to a succinct relation of the proceedings of the Plenary or National Council of Baltimore in November, 1884, and to mentioning the project formed by the Prelates and most heartily encouraged by the Pope, of founding in Washington a great Catholic University. Of this great institution and its auspicious beginnings we shall have more to say before concluding this chapter. Of the Church in the United States in its relations with the Holy See during the present Pontificate, we have this to say:

Thanks to the perfect freedom left to the American Hierarchy by both the Federal and the State Governments, to advance the best interests of religion, and thanks as well to the indefatigable zeal of Bishops, Priests, and the Religious Orders, and to the exhaustless generosity of the laity, the Catholic Religion throughout the length and breadth of the Republic grew and prospered beyond all precedent, beyond all belief.

* Ch. xxviii.

The Sovereign Pontiff from his watch-tower had only to contemplate, in the full delight of his heart as Pastor and Father, the peaceful, steady, glorious growth of a Church, which was to his much-tried soul as beautiful as a vision of Eden in its springtide. There were no anxious or protracted diplomatic relations needed with the Washington Government. President, Ministers, and Congress took no thought of what concerned the affairs of the eighty-one dioceses and five Vicariates Apostolic, which extended from Maine to Oregon and Alaska, from the great northern lakes to the Keys of Florida and the Rio Grande. The Vicar of Christ found within the vast territory of the Union no hostile or jealous secular authority to check or thwart his own in the full and free exercise of its prerogatives. And none ever interfered with the authority of Archbishop or Bishop in the government of his flock.

Scarcely less free was the Holy See in its relations with the churches of British America. Nor was the progress of religion in the Canadian Confederation a matter of less consolation to the Supreme Pastor.

Leo XIII. wisely profited by this blessed liberty to encourage in both countries the movement which had set in in favor of higher education. The opening of "The Catholic University of America" at Washington in November, 1889, following as it did the solemnities of the first centenary of the American Hierarchy, and the celebration of the first Congress of Catholics in the United States—gave the Holy Father unspeakable delight. The Papal Delegate, Monsignor Satolli, expressly sent to grace with his presence these solemnities and assemblages, was greeted with a hearty welcome by the citizens everywhere and received respectfully by the public authorities. The President of the United States and his Ministers did not hesitate to manifest their interest in these proceedings by attending them in person.

The Pope, however, had not waited till the autumn to express his sympathy and stimulate both clergy and laity in their patriotic zeal. At the first dawn of the preceding

springtide, the 7th of March, he addressed a Brief to the Cardinal-Archbishop of Baltimore, and his Brother Prelates, approving of the coming Centennial solemnities, and regulating on certain essential points the Catholic National University :

" A cause of great joy to us is the zeal you display in protecting the piety of your Catholic people, and in providing for the manifold needs of your respective Dioceses, and, in particular, in the pains you take to obtain the means of bestowing, both on your clerical youth and lay students, a good education, and in having them taught the principles of all divine and human knowledge in accordance with the rule of faith. For this reason we were very glad to read the joint letter you wrote us at the close of the last year, in which, speaking of the Catholic University of Washington, you mention that the work undertaken has so far progressed that you have everything ready for opening the course of Theology. Moreover, we received with pleasure from the hands of the Rector, our Venerable Brother, the Right Reverend John Keane, Bishop of Iassa, whom you had deputed to us, the Statutes and Rules of your University, which you submit to our authority and judgment.

" And in this connection, we deem worthy of all praise the thought which led you to celebrate the centennial year of the birth of your Hierarchy, by founding, by the inauguration of your University, a monument and everlasting memorial of that most happy event.

" In order, therefore, to fulfil your just wishes, we have been careful to lay before some chosen Cardinals of the Congregation of Propaganda the Statutes and Rules aforesaid, to be by them examined and reported to us for our approbation. Now their opinion thereupon having been made known to us, we are most happy to fulfil your wishes; and we therefore, by this present letter, approve the Statutes and Rules of your University, and by our authority confer on the same the rights belonging to a rightful and legitimate University.

"We therefore bestow on your School of Higher Studies (*Academiæ Vestræ*) the power to raise to the Academical Degrees such of your pupils whose learning, after due examination, shall be found satisfactory; and in like manner to confer the degree of Doctor, both in Philosophy and Theology, as well as in Canon Law and other sciences in which it is customary to bestow such a distinction, whensoever in the progress of years the courses in these sciences may be opened.

"It is our will, moreover, that you, our Beloved Son, and you, Venerable Brothers, should watchfully superintend the proper system of studies and the teaching given to the pupils in your University, whether you do so yourselves or through Prelates chosen by you and to whom you will entrust this care.

"But, inasmuch as the See of Baltimore holds the first rank among those of the United States of North America, we grant the Archbishop of Baltimore the power and authority of Moderator or Chancellor of your University.

"We wish, besides, that the system of studies or the programmes of matters to be taught in the University, especially those of Philosophy and Theology, shall be submitted to this Holy See for our information, in order that its approval may ratify and confirm them, and that the teaching of the University in every department of knowledge may be so regulated that young clerics and laymen alike shall have the means of satisfying to the full their noble craving for scientific knowledge.

"Among these scientific courses it is our wish that a school of Pontifical Law and Public Ecclesiastical Law be established, for we know that this special science is of peculiar and great importance at the present time.

"We now exhort you all, without doing violence to the liberty of any one, to affiliate to the Catholic University your seminaries, colleges, and Catholic establishments of education, as is prescribed in the statutes. In order that more abundant fruits may be gathered from the varied teaching of the University, it is our wish to see admitted,

especially to the courses in Philosophy and Theology, not only such students as shall have ended their college courses in conformity to the prescriptions of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, but also such as are about to begin the study of these sciences.

"Considering, however, that this University must not only reflect great honor on your country, but must also greatly contribute to extend the abundant and salutary benefits of sound education and Catholic piety, we have a right to hope that the faithful in America, with their wonted magnanimity, will so liberally help forward the great work now begun as not to disappoint your expectations.

"We, therefore, having established by this letter of ours the University of Washington, forbid the proceeding to create any other such an institution without previously taking counsel with the Apostolic See.

"What we in this letter declare and decree must be to you a manifest proof of our zeal and solicitude for the daily increase and prosperity of the Catholic religion in your country.

"In fine, we earnestly beseech the God of all goodness from whom proceedeth every best boon and perfect gift, to crown with success your undertakings to the joyous fulfilment of all your wishes; and that such fortunate issue may not fail you we bestow most lovingly in the Lord, as an earnest of our sincere affection, the Apostolic Benediction on you, Beloved Son, on you, Venerable Brothers, and on the whole clergy and people subject to you, to be a pledge of all heavenly graces.

"Given at Rome from St. Peter's, on March 7th, the Feast of St. Thomas Aquinas, in the year 1889, of our Pontificate the twelfth."

The cause of university education in Canada, as the following Pontifical Documents plainly show, was a subject of deep concern to Leo XIII. The first of these relates to the Montreal Succursal of the Laval University:

"For a long time in the past" [the Brief begins] "the attention and care of the Roman Pontiffs have been be-

stowed on that part of Canada known by the designations of French and Lower Canada, for the purpose of making the progress of the Catholic religion therein the means of advancing both the public and the private prosperity. Indeed, from the moment that the arrival of successive bodies of European immigrants brought larger elements of enlightenment into that country, Clement X. bethought him of establishing the episcopal see of Quebec, which is looked upon as the parent of the various dioceses that owe their origin to French colonists in the countries of North America. On this See Pius VII., in 1819, bestowed archiepiscopal title and rank; and it was assigned its proper metropolitan jurisdiction, when, twenty-five years later, Gregory XVI. created the ecclesiastical province of Quebec. We also have made it our care to add something further; for in view of the increase of the Catholic population, we judged it to be for the interest of religion to divide that Province into two, and in due course of time we bestowed on the See of Ville-Marie or Montreal archiepiscopal honors and rights, and, as was befitting, assigned to it its own suffragan sees.

"Nor has the provident care of the Apostolic See been satisfied with doing all this for the faithful people of that country. When the course of time permitted it to do so, it took thought of providing for the right and thorough education of youth. Wherefore our illustrious predecessor, Pius IX., in answer to the prayer of the Bishops of the Quebec province, gladly took steps toward founding in the city of Quebec a Catholic University. And on this he bestowed, by his Apostolic Letters of May 15, 1876, all the lawful rights of a university, giving it for Protector the Cardinal Prefect of the Propaganda for the time being, and for Chancellor the Archbishop of Quebec. In this same Bull he empowered this University—justly named *Laval* University in honor of the first most devoted Bishop of Quebec—to create Doctors and to grant the other academical degrees in the various faculties. The Bishops of the Province were also exhorted and urged to affiliate their semi-

naries and colleges to the University; and to these same Bishops was entrusted the care of watching and seeing to it that nothing contrary to the faith or sound doctrine crept into the teaching, or anything against good morals into the discipline, of the University.

"In that same year (1876), in order that the benefits of such a sound education should be extended to as many as possible, and for the purpose of honoring in a special manner the illustrious city of Montreal, the Propaganda was pleased, and its determination was approved by our predecessor, that university courses should be opened in that city and a Succursal of Laval University established there.

"It was then decreed to teach there all the arts and sciences taught to the pupils of the great Quebec school, these (Montreal) schools, however, to be under the control of the University Council, which has the government and control of Laval University, and that it should be subject as well to the watchful care of the Bishops of Lower Canada, under the presidency of the Archbishop of Quebec. Lastly, we have appointed the Archbishop of Montreal to be Vicé-Chancellor of the Succursal. From this arrangement no small increase of higher instruction has been derived in favor of the Canadian youth. The professorial chairs are filled by most distinguished scholars, many of whom were trained in the Gregorian University* in our Roman Seminary, and our Urban College, and thanks to their coöperation the sciences are successfully cultivated, especially those of Theology and Philosophy, in accordance with the doctrine of St. Thomas Aquinas, which we have restored in all Catholic schools. As it happens, however, in all human institutions, the very diversity of interests has given rise to certain conflicts and dissentiments. These, unless put a speedy end to by the authority of the Holy See, might seriously endanger the permanence of these excellent institutions, and make people fear that all the good thence hoped for would be frustrated. For there

* The "Roman College" under the Jesuits, so called after its founder, Gregory XIII.

arose forthwith in the minds of not a few a wish to have a number of independent academies (or schools of higher studies); while the attention of the pupils, diverted from the pursuit of the studies before them, was absorbed by partisan discussions and opinions.

"In spite of the wordy agitation thus begotten, we are happy to find that the Laval University at Quebec is still flourishing and in the enjoyment of great prosperity; while at the same time the university schools in Montreal are so well organized that nothing is there wanting toward a complete course of instruction in theology, law, medicine, and the arts.

"This state of things justifies us, therefore, in offering our warm congratulations to our venerable brothers, the archbishops and bishops of Lower Canada, and to the other Catholic clergymen and laymen who have contributed by their labors or their money to the creation and equipment of so useful a work, as well as to those who, in obedience to the bidding of this Holy See, have affiliated to the university the seminaries and colleges of both the one and the other Province. For this helps toward establishing a common standard of teaching and educating youth, and thus knits together in bonds of closer and stronger unity the populations of Canada.

"Inasmuch, however, as we can have nothing more at heart than to see this union of souls increase from day to day, and that we devoutly wish to secure the durability of this university, which is so powerful and effective in creating such union, we, above all things, most earnestly exhort the prelates of French Canada to show forth the pastoral zeal for which they are so much distinguished, in continuing to help by their watchful care the Archbishop of Quebec, seeing to it that nothing hurtful to the integrity of our holy Faith or to good morals shall gain an entrance into that honored abode of the sciences (Laval University).

"Furthermore, whatever has been done, decided and decreed by this Holy See or its authority, regarding the

Laval University, we hereby ratify and confirm, and we, in especial, declare that this university alone is acknowledged and held by us to be the Catholic University of Lower Canada, sufficiently fitted and equipped with the means necessary for the proper and perfect education of youth; nor shall we suffer any other Catholic university distinct from the same to exist in that country with powers to grant academical degrees.

"As to the Succursal University of Montreal, we will that it be preserved as the second seat of the Laval University, and that it shall be considered as the Laval University itself, fulfilling its teaching office in Montreal. The Pro-Rector of this Succursal shall be selected by the Bishops of the Montreal Province, and presented by them to the University Council, which cannot reject him except for reasons to be approved of by the said Bishops.

"The Council of Laval University shall exercise its jurisdiction both in its House in Quebec and in that of Montreal, in accordance with the powers granted to the Council by the royal charter. But, the better to provide for peace and concord between the Council and those who administer the Montreal Succursal, we decree the following dispositions, which we are quite sure that the Council will faithfully observe in a spirit of devotion to the Holy See:

"In the Montreal Succursal the Professors and Deans of Faculties shall be elected in accordance with the manner of proceeding at present in use in each of the Faculties, and shall be accepted by the aforesaid Council, unless the Archbishop of Montreal should object to their being so accepted. But when they have been accepted, they can be removed by the Council, provided, however, that the said Archbishop shall approve the reasons for their removal.

"In the Faculty of Arts, embracing Letters, the Natural Sciences, and the branches applied to instruction in the various industrial pursuits, let there be right and power to elect professors either from the members of the clergy,

regular and secular, or from among the laity, in conformity with existing usage or necessity.

"In preparing the lists of matters called Programmes, laying down the subject matters and proceedings in the examinations held for the degree of Bachelor of Arts, we deem it best to keep the present method and custom, namely: that these Programmes should be used in Montreal, with the consent of the directors of the affiliated colleges. It is in conformity to this custom that these Programmes shall not be altered save with the consent of the representatives of these same colleges, or of those who are delegated by them. The preparation of the other Programmes, or Examination Papers, is left to the authority and care of the Doctors in each Faculty at Quebec and in Montreal respectively, in conformity with the rules laid down in the statutes, and these Programmes in like manner shall not be altered without the consent of the Doctors in the respective Faculties, or of those authorized to represent them.

"Inasmuch, however, as there exists in Montreal the College of St. Mary's, directed by the members of the Society of Jesus, and which is distinguished by its careful teaching and the number of its pupils, we kindly grant, in order not to derogate entirely from the ancient privileges bestowed on the Society by the Apostolic See, that the Jesuits themselves do examine their own pupils, and bestow on such as they deem worthy of it a written certificate attesting the bearers to be deserving of the same honorific degrees conferred on young men of the same acquirements by Laval University in the affiliated colleges. The University Council, on the presentation of such certificates, shall deliver diplomas like those granted to its own graduates.

"The Bishops of both the Quebec and the Montreal Province shall meet once a year to inform themselves of the teaching and discipline in the university; and they also shall decree by common accord whatever regulations the necessity of the times demands regarding all these matters.

"Indeed, we trust to their prudence to pluck up at once by the roots all the germs of discord which may henceforth show themselves, and that the university may ever win greater and greater fame.

"Again, as from its very beginning this institution has been supported by the powerful authority and protection of the Queen of England, so in the future we hope that this support shall not fail it. We trust in like manner that it shall ever possess the favor and friendship of the illustrious men who govern the Canadian Federation, as well as the Province of Quebec.

"Above all, we persuade ourself that the Catholics of Canada, renouncing all causes of dissension, shall unite their efforts and labor to render this great university a monument to last forever, increasing daily in prosperity and well-being."*

The other important Brief takes the first step toward creating a Catholic university in the city of Ottawa:

"As the Apostolic See has bestowed at all times the utmost zeal and diligence in protecting the integrity of faith and a moral education, even so has it been most watchful in procuring institutions for Catholic youth, where they might be taught the arts and sciences, where both intellect and heart should be so formed as to promote the private and public welfare of the social body; nor has the Holy See failed, whenever occasion required, to employ both its authority and its pecuniary means to enhance the dignity of such institutions, and to promote their stability and prosperity.

"For these reasons it gave us much pleasure to learn that, so far back as the year 1848, there existed in the famous city of Ottawa in Canada, a college for the education of Catholic youth, founded by the late illustrious Joseph Eugene Guigues, a Priest of the Congregation of Oblates of Mary Immaculate, and the first Bishop of Ottawa; that this College had made steady progress; the College build-

* From the Latin text in the "Acta Sanctæ Sedis," vol. xxi., pp. 513. *et seq.*

ings had been much enlarged; a library with a museum and abundant scientific apparatus had been added; and that the Institution was frequented by a large concourse of students attracted from far and near by its high reputation; and, in fine, that this college was raised by a Bill of the Canadian Legislature, in 1866, to the rank of a State university, with all the due rights and privileges granted by the civil authority to like universities.

"Such was the prosperous and promising condition of the College of Ottawa, when the Holy See was petitioned by the Superior General of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, by the Professors of the various college faculties, and by the Archbishop of Ottawa, who prayed that the same College of Ottawa, so deserving of commendation for manifold reasons, should be promoted by the authority of the Holy See, and in conformity with its way of proceeding, to the rank and lawful rights of a Catholic university.

"We deemed that such a petition should be willingly granted. We knew what advantages would accrue to a great school of higher studies in the far-famed city of Ottawa, enjoying metropolitan rank, being the seat of government, situated in a central position with regard to the other cities of Canada, easy of access to all travelers, and deriving such great lustre from the presence of the distinguished men who compose the Legislature and Councils of the Confederacy, and administer its Government.

"We know also with what zeal our beloved sons, the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, have devoted themselves to the education of youth, bestowing gladly both their labors and their pecuniary resources on such a noble work; how ardently the Superiors of this Congregation have ever fostered among their men the sentiment of obedience to the Holy See and to their respective bishops; how they employed the very best scholars of the Congregation to teach in the College of Ottawa, several of which Professors obtained the degree of Doctor in this city, in our Gregorian University of the Society of Jesus.* Nor did these Supe-

* The Roman College.

riors omit to see to it that Philosophy and Theology should be taught in accordance with the principles and method of St. Thomas Aquinas. Hence it happened, as we are well aware, that from among the pupils of these professors of Ottawa College many illustrious men have gone forth who have won for their masters both renown and respect.

"After duly considering all these facts, and yielding to the prayers of our Venerable Brother, Joseph Thomas Duhamel, Archbishop of Ottawa, to those of the Superior General and Members of the Congregation of Oblates of Mary Immaculate, and of other distinguished citizens of Ottawa, by this Brief, to the greater glory of God, and for the increase of the Catholic religion, as well as for the glory and welfare of the Dominion of Canada—the College of Ottawa, founded for the education of Catholic youth by the Congregation of Oblates of Mary Immaculate, the teaching and government of which are carried on by the Priests of that Congregation, subject to the authority of this Holy See and to that of the Archbishop of Ottawa, is by canonical institution raised by us to the rank of a Catholic University; and to this same University we grant the power to confer the Degree of Doctor and such other academical degrees in every department of science as the usual statutes and laws of universities authorize.

"Inasmuch, however, as it greatly concerns the welfare and reputation of the University to have a body of good and suitable laws framed in accordance with prudence, and for its wise government, we will and decree that the statutes and by-laws of the said University shall be as speedily as possible sent to this Holy See, in order that after mature examination they may receive additional force from our sanction.

"It is, moreover, our will that our Venerable Brother, the Archbishop of Ottawa, and his successors, shall fill the office of Chancellor in said University; and that the same Archbishop and his successors, together with the other Bishops of the Provinces of Ottawa and Toronto, who shall affiliate their seminaries, colleges, and other like

establishments to the said University, shall have the charge of superintending the teaching of right and sound doctrine therein.

"We furthermore bestow on this University the power, similar to that granted to the University of Quebec, to accept into the ranks of its alumni the students trained in the seminaries, colleges, and other schools of the ecclesiastical provinces of Ottawa and Toronto exclusively, and to confer on such alumni the same favors as those granted to the pupils of the Ottawa High School of Studies."*

FATHERLY SOLICITUDE FOR THE CAUSE OF IRELAND.

The sending of Mgr. Persico to Ireland in 1887 was most certainly intended by the Holy Father as a signal proof of his affectionate sympathy for the National Cause. His wish was to see that no objectionable, unlawful, or criminal agency was at work to injure it in the eyes of the civilized world. It was a kindred motive which inspired, during the rebellion of 1641, the sending to Ireland of the Nuncio Rinuccini. Let us hear Leo. XIII.:

"We have often, from the supreme elevation of our Apostolic office, bestowed our care and thought on your Catholic fellow-citizens. Our regard for you has been more than once expressed in published letters, from the perusal of which any one may clearly gather the degree of affection that we entertain for Ireland.

"Besides the provident measures taken by our Congregation of the Propaganda during these last years, and authorized by us, there is sufficient evidence of our disposition in the letters again and again addressed by us to our Venerable Brother Cardinal McCabe, Archbishop of Dublin.† And this is also shown in a discourse quite recently made by us to a numerous delegation of Irish Catholics, who had come to congratulate us and to express their wishes for our health and welfare, as well as to thank us for the affection shown by us for Irishmen. Moreover, during the last months, when it was resolved to erect in

* From the Latin text of the Brief *Cum Apostolica Sedes*.

† See extracts from these letters in Chapter xxvi.

this our good city of Rome a church in honor of St. Patrick, the great apostle of Ireland, we not only most cordially encouraged the project, but shall in the future help it forward to the best of our ability.

"At the present moment, however, while, on the one hand, we cease not to cherish that same fatherly affection, we cannot conceal, on the other, the deep pain caused us by the information brought to us of occurrences of a serious gravity in Ireland. We learn that great excitement has been caused by the decree of the Congregation of Inquisition, forbidding as illicit the means adopted in several places in the national struggle, and designated by the names of 'Plan of Campaign' and 'Boycotting.' What is still more to be deplored is the fact that not a few persons are found to persist in calling the people together in turbulent meetings; that in these assemblages imprudent and dangerous opinions are advocated, and the authority of the decree itself is assailed, and that the purport of the decree is falsely interpreted and perverted. Indeed, they go so far as to say that no one is obliged to obey it, as if it were not the true and proper duty of the Church to judge of the right and wrong in human actions. The conduct of such agitators is a wide departure from the rule of conduct of Christian men, whose characteristic virtues are self-control, modesty, and obedience to the lawful authority. Nor, furthermore, should we, in forwarding a good cause, in any way seem to follow the example of men who endeavor to accomplish, by tumultuous proceedings, objects in themselves not righteous.

"All these circumstances are all the more serious that we have been most diligent in considering things under every aspect, so as to arrive at a thorough and certain knowledge of Irish affairs, and of the grounds on which your people rest their claims. We have information which justifies our opinions; we have questioned yourselves face to face; and, besides, we last year sent as our delegate to you a man of approved merit and grave character, who was charged with the duty of investigating the truth

with the greatest diligence, and of faithfully reporting it to us.

"For this very solicitude the Irish people have been at the pains of publicly testifying their gratitude to us. Is it not, therefore, temerity to say, as some persons do, that we have given judgment in a case not sufficiently known to us? especially as the things we have condemned are also condemned by all fair-minded men who, not being declared partisans in your national struggle, take a calmer view of its issues.

"In like manner, there is injustice to us in the supposition that we take but little interest in the cause of Ireland, or that the wretched condition of her people gives us but very little pain. On the contrary, no one can be more grieved than we are by the misery of the Irish people. There is nothing which we desire more earnestly than that tranquillity should be restored to their country, and that, with the consequent prosperity so justly deserved by them, the land should at length breathe in peace. We have never denied them the right to contend for improvements in their condition. But, on the other hand, are we to suffer that, in the struggle for improvement, they should open up a field for criminal deeds? Why, by the very fact of appealing to the evil passions of greed and the conflicting interests of political parties, the cause of Ireland would be made to mix up together right and wrong. It has been our endeavor constantly to dissuade from what is not right, and to turn Catholics away from every act condemned by the laws of Christian morality.

"Therefore it was that we gave timely counsels to the Irish people to bear in mind their obligations as Catholics, and not to attempt anything contrary to natural right, or not permitted by the law of God.

"The late decree was, then, a thing for which they could not be wholly unprepared; all the more so that you, Venerable Brothers, while assembled at Dublin, in 1881, bade your clergy and people to be on their guard against all such things as these, namely: whatever is contrary to

public order and charity, the refusal to pay one's just dues . . . . , outrages toward the person or property of others, to resist violently the laws, or the persons who fulfil a public office, to form clandestine associations, and all such things. . . . These commands of yours, founded on justice, and most timely in their nature, deserved our praise and sanction.

"Notwithstanding all this, when we behold your people carried away in the wrong direction by the old ardor for greed, and as there was no lack of evil counsellors to inflame their passions, we clearly perceived that something more definite in the way of precepts was needed than the general directions regarding justice and charity we had before given. Our duty would not permit us to suffer that so many Catholics, whose salvation must be our care, should pursue the precipitous and slippery path which could only end in revolution rather than in relieving the popular sufferings.

"Things must, therefore, be viewed in the light of truth. Ireland must see in that very decree of ours the affection of one who loves her, and who desires her prosperity—for this reason, that nothing is more hurtful to any cause, no matter how righteous in itself, than to bring to its promotion violence and injustice."

Certain it is that enormous and constant pressure has been brought to bear on the overburthened Pontiff, to obtain from him some open declaration, directly or indirectly condemnatory of the National Party in Ireland. But, notwithstanding the interpretation put upon the Rescript on the "Plan of Campaign and Boycotting" by the too sensitive Irish prejudice, any serious-minded Irishman, on examining calmly these documents and the authentic explanation of the Pope's own purpose, must acquit Leo XIII. of the charge of favoring England as against Ireland.

ENLIGHTENED AND CONSTANT ZEAL OF LEO XIII. TO PROMOTE THE WELFARE OF THE LABORING CLASSES.

As we have seen, one of the chief cares of the Holy

Father, from the first days of his Pontificate, was to enlist in favor of the toiling millions the charity and zeal of the wealthy, the educated, the influential in every land. He had been, during his long episcopate in Perugia, most truly the father and protector of the laboring poor. He omitted nothing that the most zealous and devoted of pastors could devise for the intellectual, moral, and material improvement of the laborer's condition. Among his very first public utterances after his elevation were warm encomiums and exhortations addressed to the Belgian and French societies organized in favor of workingmen.

In his encyclical on Socialism the Pope recommended, as one powerful means for bettering the lot of the toiler, for sanctifying his home, securing the Christian education of his children, and for securing him effectively against the accidents of illness and want in old age, the re-establishing in all Catholic communities of workingmen's guilds after the model of the Mediæval Guilds, but adapted, in their constitution and by-laws, to the circumstances of modern times. His counsels wonderfully stimulated, in France and Belgium, as well as in Germany, the organization of Labor Guilds of this kind. Another means, more potent even than these Christian sodalities, in the judgment of Leo XIII., would be the Third Order of St. Francis, also modified so as to meet the requirements of modern social life, and embracing in its membership, as it did in the lifetime of the Holy Founder, men and women of every rank, class, and profession.

What Leo XIII. has written on this subject is so pregnant with instruction that it cannot fail to be admired by all who seriously seek a remedy for the ills of modern society. Not long ago the Protestant population of our chief American cities was startled by the appearance in their pulpits of a preacher habited like a Benedictine monk, and calling himself a monk, though he had never been a Catholic, nor had he been at any time in communion with any Catholic bishop or with the Holy See. He seemed to be in good faith; preached a curious jumble of half-Catholic

and half-Protestant doctrines, and invoked even the testimony of miracles to sanction his strange creed and erratic conduct. Still, men—business men of hard practical sense, and educated men of rare intelligence — listened with eager curiosity and half-credulous wonder to this sporadic production of Protestant monasticism. "Father Ignatius" was a living protestation of the need felt in sects outside of the Catholic Church, of that higher life led by Elias and John the Baptist, by Anthony and Athanasius, by Augustine and Benedict, by St. Dominick and St. Francis of Assisi.

Let the men of our time listen to what Leo XIII. says of this last-named angelic man, the great social reformer of the thirteenth century, the man whose spirit of divinest charity and exalted self-denial the Vicar of Christ would fain render incarnate and widespread among the Christians of the present day :

"The Deliverer of the human race, Christ Jesus," the Pontiff writes,* "is the ever-flowing and unfailing fountain of all the blessings which come down to us from the infinite goodness of God. This is so truly the case, that He who hath once saved the world shall continue to be its Saviour throughout all future ages; '*Neither is there salvation in any other. For there is no other name under Heaven given to men, whereby we must be saved.*'† Whenever, therefore, either by the infirmity of nature or by the fault of men, it happens that mankind become morally degenerate, and seem to require some extraordinary help to rise from their decadence, it is an imperious necessity to have recourse to the same Christ Jesus, and to believe that in this lies the greatest and most assured means of safety. In His divine virtue and its surpassing efficacy, we have the means of repelling all dangers or of remedying all evils. Our cure we may look on as a certainty, provided that mankind be brought back to the profession of Christian wisdom and to the observance of the Gospel precepts.

"It so happens that it is while the evils we mentioned

* Encyclical *Auspicate* of Sept. 17, 1882. † Acts iv. 12.

are making themselves felt, and when the time appointed by Providence for their alleviation has dawned, that God raises up all of a sudden a man among men, not one from among many equals, but one prœminent and standing alone, to whom He intrusts the task of saving society. And this is precisely the very thing which occurred at the close of the twelfth century or a little thereafter; but the man who did most to accomplish such a providential work was St. Francis.

"The period in which he appeared is well known, as are its characteristic virtues and vices. The souls of men were deeply imbued with the Catholic faith, and it was a glorious thing to see the multitudes who passed over to Palestine, all aflame with fervent enthusiasm, and bent on victory or death. Nevertheless, the popular manners were tainted by licentiousness, and nothing was more needful than to revive among men the spirit of the Christian religion.

"Now the very principle of Christian virtue is that generous disposition of the soul enabling one to bear patiently with hardship and difficulty. This is shadowed forth in the Cross, which all who choose to follow Christ must take up after Him. That same generosity teaches one to renounce all attachment to the things of earth; to exercise a stern mastery over one's self; to bear with adversities with resignation and composure. Finally, charity toward God and one's neighbors is alone the mistress and queen of all virtues; and its force is so great that it does away with all the troubles which attend the performance of duty, making labors, how great soever, not only bearable but pleasant.

"The world was very poor in such virtues in the twelfth century, when the multitude, entirely given up to human pursuits, were crazed by the greed for honors and riches, or spent their lives in luxury and the gratification of their passions.

"A few men were all-powerful, and their might was nearly all used to oppress the wretched many; nor were the persons who by their profession owed to others the

light of example, exempt from these vices. Charity was, in too many places, wellnigh extinguished; hence the daily increase of such moral pestilences as envy, jealousy, hatred. So alienated from each other and so embittered were the hearts of men, that neighboring cities were ready, on the slightest provocation, to wage a ruinous war; that private citizens were wont to arm against each other in murderous strife.

"It was in such an age that St. Francis's lot was cast. It was among this generation that he set about, with equal simplicity and constancy, holding up in his words and actions to a world in decrepitude, the true mirror of Christian perfection.

"In very deed, just as at the same time the Patriarch Dominick Guzman was wont to defend the integrity of our heaven-sent doctrines, and to dispel the mists of heresy by the light of Christian wisdom, even so did Francis, whom God was guiding to sublime heights, succeed in arousing Christians to the practice of virtue, and to bring back to Christ men who had long been wandering far away from Him. It was by no chance accident that the youthful Francis heard the words of the Gospel: '*Do not possess gold, nor silver, nor money in your purses; nor scrip for your journey, nor two coats, nor shoes, nor a staff.*'* And again: '*If thou wilt be perfect, go sell what thou hast, and give to the poor . . . . and come, follow Me.*'† The young man took them as if addressed to himself in person, and forthwith put away from him all that he owned. He changed his raiment; chose poverty to be his companion and helpmate for the rest of his life, and gave to his Order for its foundations these sublime precepts of the Gospel virtues which he had so magnanimously embraced.

"From that hour forward, in the midst of an age addicted to extreme effeminacy and luxury, that man led a life of repellent poverty and discomfort. He begged his bread from door to door. He practiced all that was most repugnant to flesh and blood. He not merely suffered the

* St. Matthew x. 9, 10. † Ibidem xix. 21.

excited populace to make him a plaything for their jibes, but sought their insults with an insatiable avidity. The folly of the Cross of Christ he adopted as the supreme wisdom; and the more his intellect penetrated its august mysteries, the more did he become convinced that in no other thing could he more surely find wherein to glory."*

Writers the most hostile to the Catholic Church have vied with each other in celebrating the unearthly beauty of this saint's character. His seraphic love of the Creator, of the crucified Redeemer of mankind, of all the members of our race purchased with His blood, is still the theme of poet, painter and sculptor. The love for the Infinite Majesty of the Godhead, which transported that soul beyond itself, embraced all living and inanimate things. To him and to his followers, who resembled Francis in poverty, humility, and the divine spirit of self-crucifixion, the multitudes flocked wherever they preached. Their very appearance in city or country-place was in itself a sermon most eloquent of the virtue of the Gospel. These men were the living images of Jesus of Nazareth.

Hence it was, as Leo XIII. in his encyclical affirms, that not unfrequently "the entire population of a town or hamlet would beseech St. Francis to accept them as his disciples. It was also this which impelled the holy man to establish the Confraternity of the Third Order. Into this he admitted persons of every rank and age and sex, without allowing them to break up their family ties, or to renounce the care of their households. This brotherhood he prudently governed, not so much by rules expressly devised for it, as by special dispositions taken from the Gospel precepts, and to the rigor of which no Christian man could object. The members were to observe the law of God, and that of the Church. They were to avoid all party divisions and quarrels; they were to respect strictly what belonged to the neighbor; they were only to bear arms in defence of religion and their country; they were to be temperate both in diet and raiment; to avoid all that sa-

* "Acta Leonis XIII.," vol. iii., pp. 142–149.

vored of luxury; to avoid the seductive pleasures of the dance and the drama."*

The Pontiff then recites the marvelous progress made by this *Third Order* all over Christendom, till its membership was counted by millions, among whom were kings, queens, popes and cardinals, with persons of every degree, down to the lowliest children of toil.

It was a new moral springtide, covering all Europe and reproducing everywhere the most blessed virtues of the apostolic age.

This confraternity Leo XIII. wished, above all things, to recall to flourishing life in every Christian land. "Should it so flourish," he says, "with it would spring up into glorious life practical faith and piety. The unrestrained covetousness of perishable things would die out in proportion; nor would it be found so hard and so intolerable as the multitude think it, to keep our passions subject to the dictates of virtue. Men then would be bound together in the bonds of brotherly concord, and would love each other, while they would reverence the needy and the unfortunate, in whom they would behold the Person of Christ Himself.

"Besides, all who are thoroughly imbued with the spirit of Christianity are firmly convinced that they are in conscience bound to obey what lawful authority enjoins, and bound, as well, to wrong no human being. This disposition of the soul is the moral power most efficacious of all toward utterly extinguishing every public disorder, violence, insult, the rage for innovation, and the party jealousies which divide and distract communities. For, in all these elements of disorder, Socialism finds its initial forces and its weapons.

"Moreover, what now constitutes for statesmen the most difficult of all problems, the relation between wealth and poverty, would find its best solution in the firm persuasion that the poor have a dignity of their own; that the rich man should be merciful and beneficent, while the poor man should be content with his condition and his industry;

* "Acta III.," pp. 149, 150.

and that, inasmuch as neither the one nor the other is born for the enjoyment of perishable goods, they both must do their best to win heaven—the poor man by patience, the rich man by a generous liberality.

"For these reasons we have long and ardently desired that every individual Christian should apply himself to imitate, as far as in him lies, the example of St. Francis of Assisi."*

The repeated and eloquent appeals of the Sovereign Pontiff have been reëchoed by the archbishops and bishops of the Catholic world. The Third Order of St. Francis has thereby received an extraordinary increase. In this the indigent poor and the laboring classes have been the most benefited.

The society of St. Vincent of Paul, one of the many spontaneous charitable organizations which have sprung up in the fertile soil of Catholic France, had, long before the pontificate of Leo XIII., bestowed blessings innumerable and priceless on the poorer classes in that country. The benefactions of this noble and numerous body of men were, under God, one of the most powerful means of keeping alive in the hearts of the poor, in the great cities particularly, the light of the Christian faith, which so many agencies and influences constantly tended to extinguish.

The society, like the Third Franciscan Order, was, of its nature, destined to flourish in every civilized country. And no one more fervently blessed its labors or more heartily favored its increase than Leo XIII. The Brotherhood of St. Vincent of Paul being, wherever it exists, recruited from the very flower of the Catholic laity, kept a whole army of faithful, zealous men as a great force ever ready to coöperate in every effort made to improve the condition of the laboring and artisan classes.

It was in this brotherhood that the Pope and the bishops in Catholic lands found the distinguished laymen who display at this day such extraordinary and successful energy in organizing workingmen's clubs, in infusing into

* Ibid., p. 154.

them so thorough a Christian spirit, and in making them resemble, in this nineteenth century, in all their best features, the Labor Guilds of the Middle Ages. From this same Society of St. Vincent of Paul come the wealthy manufacturers, who, like M. Léon Harmel and his son, employ their best efforts to improve, educate and protect the workingman and his family, to protect his home against immorality, and to secure him and his from the accidents of ill-health, chronic infirmity and old age.

Leo XIII. has thus labored to enlist all the vital forces of Catholicism in the peaceful crusade set on foot to elevate the condition of the toiler, to solve the formidable labor question without calling in the aid of the State, or without exposing the laboring masses to the disturbing action of Socialism.

On February 24, 1885, a numerous deputation of French workingmen, headed by their employers and guides, presented the Pope with an address. His answer made a deep impression at the time. The Count de Mun and the Messrs. Harmel were the spokesmen on the occasion. To them France owes the establishment of *l'Œuvre des Cercles Catholiques d'Ouvriers*, which covers the country with its network of Guilds.

"Your great work is deserving of all praise," says the Holy Father, "and we are bound to bestow our solemn approval on the inspiration that led you to found it. You were alarmed by the disorder and confusion begotten in the minds and manners of men by the revolutionary doctrines. You therefore determined to study, in the light of Christian teaching, the great social truths, and to make these known especially to the industrial classes.

"You became aware that the evils to which the majority in these classes are a prey are mostly to be traced to the utter neglect of Christian practices, and to the influence of false principles. For, when a workingman ceases to find in religion the support and consolation he needs, more than any other man, in order to bear with the hardships of his lot, he will seek for comfort in low pleasures,

and will give full rein to his passions. Hence the loss of his morality, and a great peril to social order. Recent and frequent convulsions attest the truth of all this.

"We therefore congratulate you on the generous and unceasing efforts made by you to bring back to the principles of Christianity the numerous families devoted to industrial labor. We heartily praise the consoling results obtained by you. Continue to enlarge the circle of your success, especially for the benefit of workingmen. Political agitators are anxious to use these as instruments for their own ambitious purposes. They deceive laborers by empty promises. They flatter them by exaggerating their rights, without ever saying a word about their duties. They fill their hearts with hatred toward property-holders and the rich. And, when they think that the hour for carrying out their pernicious designs has come, they push their dupes headlong into mad ventures which can only benefit themselves.

"Not so does the Church of Christ deal with these toilers. She is a loving and unselfish mother, whose only aim is to secure the happiness of her children. She applies to the ills they endure the only efficacious remedies. For she alone can solve the formidable problems that keep the social world in agitation. We have, on more than one occasion, pointed out both solutions and remedies. We have besought the faithful Catholic people in every land to revive these wisely provident institutions—the workingingmen's guilds—which, in a more genial period, grew up under the inspiration of the Church, to the great profit, both temporal and spiritual, of the needy and laboring classes.

"These guilds afforded the workingman all facility for fulfilling the duties of Christian piety; they gave every workman a thorough training, and a sound education to his children. They secured to him help and charitable succor in sickness and misfortune, and maintenance in his old age. Such societies fill the hearts of their members with love, not with the hatred which divides masters from

their workmen. They make the latter respect and obey their employers, and love their own toil; while they impress on employers the conviction that men of all conditions are brothers in Christ; that charity and gentleness should temper the commands of those in authority, and that justice should regulate the actions of all.

"Should these blessed institutions flourish among you, then would men see the end of the fratricidal struggle just mentioned by you, which, unheard of in the ages of faith, is so fruitful of calamity in our days."*

The ideas and sentiments expressed in these extracts were repeated, month after month, week after week, to workingmen's deputations come from European countries, from France and Belgium in particular. They were reiterated in letters to various prelates, and to prominent laymen connected with workingmen's clubs. In France, where Catholic proprietors, capitalists and manufacturers had initiated a great movement in favor of the laboring classes, Leo XIII. encouraged and stimulated these hopeful efforts. The French toilers, benefited so deeply and so widely by the organizations thus approved by the Holy Father, and set on foot by such men as Count Albert de Mun, the two Harmels, and Abbé Garnier, were fain to testify to the Holy Father, in Rome itself, their sentiments of gratitude and veneration. National pilgrimages to Rome of workingmen, composed of deputies sent by the various trades and clubs, assumed such formidable dimensions that, to avoid all semblance of a political demonstration, they were divided into successive bands of ten or five thousand each. These stout-hearted toilers were received at the Vatican with a true fatherly welcome. The solemn services celebrated for them in St. Peter's were most impressive. They made the great Dome of Michael Angelo and the lofty naves of the Basilica vocal with the beautiful national melodies—the hymns so dear to the French workingman. And not one of these pilgrim toilers returned to their homes and workshops without bear-

* "Acta Leonis XIII.," v., pp. 188–190.

ing with him some substantial token of love bestowed by the hand of him who covets, beyond all other titles, that of Father of the Poor.

When, after the death of the Emperor William I., and his too short-lived son, Frederick III., Prince Bismarck suddenly fell from his seat of power behind the Throne, William II. turned to him whom Germany had styled the "Prince of Peace," to invoke his aid in solving the labor problem. In the International Conference, convened in Berlin, Leo XIII. had his representative, and made his voice heard. The Holy See could not commit itself to any solemn utterance or public act which could be interpreted as advocating or favoring State Socialism. It well beseemed a Pope to insist, in favor of workingmen everywhere, on having Governments decree the observance of the Sunday's rest. For this a strong plea was put in by the Prince-Bishop of Breslau, who represented Leo XIII. Some of the French deputies resisted the choice of the Sunday as the day of weekly rest from toil. But the idea has gone forth in France: it is seed cast in soil where it is sure to grow and bear fruit in due season.

Meanwhile, in Germany, as well as in France and Switzerland, not only the repose of the Sunday and its hallowed observances, but the pregnant Gospel notion of brotherly charity and needful justice toward the laborer and his family are fast gaining ground. There will be other international assemblages convened to advocate and enforce the rights of the working classes. Whoever sits on the chair of St. Peter cannot fail to uphold the views and maxims of Leo XIII.

The fatherly solicitude of the Pontiff has, however, made itself felt here in America, and in a sense favorable to the laboring man, while carefully avoiding to interfere with the just and legitimate rights of capital.

In 1885 occurred the controversy about the "Knights of Labor."

A feature of the gigantic struggle between capital and labor at the present day is the union of capitalists, specu-

lators and great producers of every denomination into what is known as "Trusts," "Combines," "Alliances," etc., as a set-off to the Trades-Unions and combinations of workingmen. As we know by experience, the enormous capital disposed of by such "Trusts" enables them not only to regulate at will the market prices of almost every product of human industry, but to fix also the wages of the laborer. Even when the laborers of a whole district, or an entire country, unite to demand of their employers a more equitable return for their day's toil, their demands must be vain unless a sense of justice should induce the latter to yield. But what chance can even the most formidable strike, with a fund of one or two hundred thousand dollars to fall back on, have, as against a combination of capitalists who can command one or two hundred millions?

Then, again, these millionaires can and do meet in a privacy into which no outsider may intrude, and form their plans in absolute secrecy—plans which involve the prosperity of the entire commonwealth. This money-power controls governments, legislatures, courts of law. Industry, trade, international commerce, the value of every marketable article are at the mercy of these combinations of capitalists.

What wonder that, in order to protect themselves, the populations of toilers should also combine, and surround their meetings and plans with such secrecy as they may? What wonder, too, if strikers, maddened by a deep sense of the injustice done to them, and clearly perceiving, in many instances, that the public authorities were on the side of the money-power, should commit certain excesses?

We are not pleading for secret societies of any kind, which we condemn most explicitly; nor making the apology of the Knights of Labor in the present or in the past; nor justifying their unjustifiable acts. . . . . We are explaining the situation which led to the establishment of that society. It contained a very large number of Catholic laborers, and these were men who could not and would not

give their names to any secret society, or any illicit organization condemned by the Church.

It unfortunately happened, in 1885, that either a branch of the Knights of Labor, or some body bearing their name, was established in Montreal by a Jew, named Heilbronner. These men assumed all the outward Masonic symbols of a secret society, and committed certain acts which were denounced by the public press. The attention of the ecclesiastical authorities was drawn to them, and a pastoral letter of the Archbishop of Quebec solemnly condemned by name the Knights of Labor.

Thereupon, the officers of the society in the United States appealed to the Archbishop of Baltimore, submitting to him for examination their constitution and by-laws. Archbishop Gibbons, who was thoroughly acquainted with all the difficulties of the Labor Question in America, and who, like all true churchmen, was in touch with the laboring classes, and in sympathy with their sufferings and grievances, resolved to sift to the bottom the accusations brought against the Knights of Labor. He called a meeting of the Archbishops in the United States. All but two of them declared that it would be neither just nor politic to condemn the Knights. The proceedings of the Archbishops, together with the documents submitted to their judgment, were communicated to the Suffragan Bishops, of whom sixty out of sixty-three ratified the decision of the Archbishops. The question meanwhile was formally laid before the Holy See. In 1887 Archbishop Gibbons, who had, in June of the preceding year, been raised to the cardinalate, went in person to Rome, drew up a memoir deprecating any solemn condemnation of the Knights of Labor, and thereby convinced the Roman authorities of the wisdom displayed by the American Hierarchy.

Not in the United States alone, but in England, the most eminent members of the Catholic Hierarchy have taken up the cause of the laboring man, pleading for justice, and only justice, in the name of religion and humanity.

In the Catholic Congress of Liège, held in the autumn

of 1890, the labor question, in its present aspect and difficulties, was discussed by the best friends of the laborer. A letter from Cardinal Manning was read, pointing to the only practical solution which seems possible without invoking the aid of State legislation—without, indeed, seeking for interminable diplomatic discussions, and a special International Congress, that should agree on the maximum of the daily hours of labor and the minimum of the laborer's daily wages.

"My last word," the Cardinal says, in conclusion, "will appear, perchance, violent and bold. I do not believe that it will be ever possible to establish peaceful relations between employers and workmen so long as we shall not have acknowledged, fixed and established, *publicly*, a just and proper standard regulating profits and salaries; a standard after which should be drawn up all free contracts between Capital and Labor.

"Moreover, inasmuch as values in commerce are subject to necessary variations, all such free contracts should undergo a periodical revision every *three* or *five* years, and that in order to maintain the mutual agreement on the contract. This condition should be inserted in the contract itself."

The word "*publicly*," having been interpreted in some quarters as meaning "*legislatively*," Cardinal Manning wrote to dispel all doubts as to his meaning in the letter to the Bishop of Liège:

"By the word '*publicly*,'" he says, "I mean 'by open and acknowledged agreement.'

"The proportion or measure mentioned by me must be determined by the employers and their workmen.

"The periodical revision should also be determined by the same contracting parties.

"All recourse to the legislature should be, as much as possible, avoided in these matters."

In a subsequent letter on this same subject the Cardinal enlarges on this idea of a solemn and public compact between Capital and Labor, fixing once and forever the

proportion or just measure of the profits of labor, as well as the salary due to the laborer.

Here is this noble document:

"My Dear Mr. Van Overbergh: The passage which you quote from my letter to the Congress of Liège expresses my deepest conviction. But, in order to come to this principle of a just proportion, the sincere and voluntary coöperation of the capitalists is absolutely needed.

"For a hundred years capitalists have deliberately concealed their enormous profits, and all this time labor has been bought at the lowest price.

"Last year the strike of workers in the mines had for motive the fact that the profits made by capitalists had increased *eighty per cent.*, while the remuneration of the workingmen had hardly increased *thirty per cent.* I could furnish many more such instances.

"The absolute obstacle at this moment is the refusal of capitalists to declare their profits. Free contract is held to be most sacred, and overrules the breadless worker. Under such conditions there is no such thing as freedom of contract. This freedom is only a cruel mockery.

"In the beginning the principle of proportion regulated agriculture.

"The *métayer** system proves it to evidence.

"Here the fruits of the earth are a something palpable. No one can hide them away.

"In like manner, changed into a money payment, the principle still exists, because the prices of this produce are recorded and made public.

"But in manufactures and workshops all is concealed.

"Nevertheless, the prices mentioned in commercial operations afford many clues on which to calculate the profits made by capitalists.

"Finally, however, this system of justice can only

* The French *Dictionnaire de l'Académie* says that "a *métairie* is a landed property cultivated by a farmer who gives for his rent one-half of the farm-produce, or such other proportion thereof as has been agreed upon by the contracting parties."

become a reality by establishing mutual relations of confidence and sympathy between employers and their workmen.

"*The first step toward it is, to change selfish hearts* —a labor far more difficult than that of the coal-mines.

"Before reaching this happy result we shall have a very hard road to travel, perhaps serious dangers to encounter. The world of labor is organizing, and, for the most part, capitalists are blind.

"I have launched this bold proposal, because I believe it in conformity with both natural and supernatural justice, to which, after all, we shall be compelled to come. . . . . "*

Such is the attitude toward the laboring classes, in their present gigantic struggle for justice, of the two most eminent churchmen in the English-speaking world. They only express the sentiments and teachings of the present Supreme Pontiff. The Pope in Rome and Cardinals in England and America give voice to the sympathy ever felt for the children of toil, the poor and the weak, in every Christian age.

Everywhere in the ancient countries of Christendom, cardinals, bishops, priests, and great-souled laymen are working together like one man, under the guidance of Leo XIII., to secure the just rights of the workingman, to assure the existence and permanent comfort of his home, and to protect its sanctities amid the deluge of modern unbelief, licentiousness and social anarchy.

It is no new battle which the Church is fighting for the weaker classes. But she is fighting it with the new and fearful odds against her of hostile Cæsarism and Socialism, of the antichristian conspiracy of the Masonic sects on the one hand, and the conspiracy of the money-power on the other.

The great groups of Catholic associations in Europe are devoting their best efforts to the study of the manifold labor problem: the fearful hardships of working by night,

* Translated from the French in *l'Univers* of Nov. 25, 1890.

the danger to the home and to society of the employment in factories of women and children; the regulation of the hours of labor; the fixation of a just and remunerative price for the day's labor. The almost insurmountable difficulties which concurrence in production opposes to the demands made by the laborer, that he shall not be overworked, and that he shall have his work repaid by a just proportion of the profit it yields, become daily more formidable, not to say hopeless, from the combinations now formed by capitalists in every known field of industry.

Still, the Church, which survives revolutions and dynasties, and her Pontiffs, who are heirs to the promises of Christ and to His unspeakable love for the poor and the lowly, are a divine, immortal and victorious force ever wielded for right and justice.

Their action may be as slow as the working of the elemental energies beneath the snows of the longest winters; but these energies will surely bring about the return of springtide and summer and harvest.

And so, amid all these cares to occupy the thoughts of the octogenarian of eighty-two, and all these persecutions in Italy, in France, in Russia, and elsewhere, to weigh upon his heart, and a frame bending beneath the burden of years, we leave Leo XIII. for the moment.

242

APPENDIXES.

APPENDIXES.

APPENDIX A.

The Roman universities, like those of Bologna, Paris, Oxford, etc., were a union, chartered by both the ecclesiastical and the civil authorities, and teaching all the branches or sciences needful to the great liberal professions of theology, law, and medicine. They did more than this, however ; for they deserved their appellation of "university" by teaching all that was worth learning in human and divine knowledge—*universitas scientiarum et artium*.

This will be fully seen and understood from a brief sketch of the University of Sapienza as it existed under the fatherly and generous government of the Popes. It was founded by Boniface VIII. in 1303, a Pope who, whatever be his supposed or real demerits, certainly had the merit of being both a scholar and a most enlightened promoter of the highest scholarship. Besides the Sapienza, which still remains as a national monument to his liberal genius, the traveller will be shown, in the museum of the old University of Bologna, a statue in hammered bronze plates erected to him by the Bolognese professors and people in grateful testimony of his protection of their rights.

The Roman university lived on through the disastrous years of the Papal exile at Avignon, as well as through the vicissitudes of the great schism. It was then enlarged by Eugenius IV. (Colonna), Nicholas V., and by the clever Spaniard, Alexander VI. The great Franciscan monk, Sixtus V., bestowed on it much care and liberality, and from his time, as is related in the text, it began to be called the *Sapienza*. His immediate successors continued this munificent protection. Leo X. reformed its constitution and organization, gave it new statutes, appointed handsome salaries for the professors, erected the university chapel, and endowed two chaplaincies for its service. Gregory XIII., the Bolognese Ugo Buoncompagni, encouraged still further higher studies by granting to all students taking out the degree of doctor a life annuity of twenty-five crowns. Sixtus V. did far more, enlarging, repairing, beautifying the university buildings, and creating a congregation or standing committee of cardinals to superintend its teaching as well as all studies in the Roman schools. Alexander VII. completed it, as the inscription in front of the church testifies.

To name the Pontiffs who added to its efficiency, enlarged the sphere

of science within it, or enriched by princely contributions some one or several of the university departments would be tedious. One would really seem to be sketching, in so doing, the progress of every one almost of those sciences of which the nineteenth century is as proud as if they had been unknown to preceding ages.

Innocent XI., while persecuted and oppressed by Louis XIV, founded the Theatre of Anatomy at the instigation of the celebrated anatomist Lancisius. Clement XI. made splendid additions to the library. Benedict XIV. decreed that the professorial chairs should only be obtained by a public *concursus*. He also made ample provisions for the chairs of mathematics, physics, and chemistry, and provided theatres for experimental physics and anatomy, with suitable apparatus. Later Pontiffs added other chairs according as the progress of science or the needs of the age demanded.

The French under Bonaparte closed all these schools, as they had done to the schools of Milan, Bologna, Pavia, and other Italian cities. Restored by Pius VII. and then suppressed, the Sapienza was once more reopened on his restoration in 1814.

But the greatest benefactor of this university was Leo XII., who, as above stated, renovated this establishment and all the other educational establishments in Rome and the Papal States. Five colleges composed the Sapienza or Roman University—those of theology, philosophy, law, medicine, and philology.

"The academical year," says Dr. Donovan, "commences on November 5 and ends on June 27, during which interval gratuitous lectures are given in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, Syriac, and Chaldaic; in botany, chemistry, natural history, anatomy, physiology, pathology, pharmacy, and surgery; in algebra, geometry, physics, mechanics, hydraulics, optics, astronomy, mineralogy, and archæology; in sacred eloquence, dogmatic theology, and Sacred Scripture; in the law of nature, the law of nations, canon, civil, and criminal law. The schools of the Academy of St. Luke are also attached to the university, forming part of the edifice, and in them the pupils are gratuitously taught painting, sculpture, architecture, geometry, perspective, optics, anatomy, history, mythology, etc., by eleven professors, forming a distinct establishment, under the direction of a president. Pius VII. instituted a school of engineering, which was remodelled by Leo XII. The number of students . . . generally exceeds one thousand."*

Besides the University of the Sapienza there was the Roman College, or Gregorian University, still more numerously attended, the various national colleges sending their pupils to its schools. Then there was the Propaganda, a university in itself and the great nursery for heathen and non-Catholic countries.

All these great schools were endowed with more than princely magnificence by the successors of the Fisherman, whose object was to make all

* "Rome, Ancient and Modern," by Rev. J. Donovan, D.D., vol. iii. c. 11.

sciences the handmaids of religion, the zealous servants of the God of all knowledge. Museums, libraries, collections of all the rarest monuments of ancient and modern art, were at the disposition of students and professors—all these rare treasures and scientific apparatus receiving continual additions from each reigning Pontiff and the cardinals and other prelates, who emulated the enlightened zeal of the popes.

Thus was Rome made the intellectual as well as the religious head of the civilized world, the limited revenues of the Popes permitting them to foster all the arts of peace, while their people, without a great standing army or navy, knew nothing of the load of taxation which at present renders their lot well-nigh intolerable.

The University of Sapienza, like all the schools of Rome, continued to be fostered and developed by Gregory XVI. and Pius IX. till the Piedmontese occupation of Rome superseded the authority of the Holy Father, to the great detriment of education as well as of literary and scientific progress.

APPENDIX B.

Among those who contended for this premium was the Rev. Tobias Kirby, D.D., a young Irish priest, who had come to Rome in 829 and has lived there ever since. Of course he lost the prize, although his dissertation on the same subject, printed at the request of Leo XIII., and now before us, is a most creditable performance.

"I was not personally acquainted with Monsignor Pecci at the time," said to us the other day this venerable prelate, now Archbishop of Ephesus, "and did not make his acquaintance till long afterwards while he was Cardinal Bishop of Perugia. Meeting him one day in the Vatican, I made bold to introduce myself—not a very difficult thing, for nothing could exceed the affability and unaffected goodness of His Eminence. After exchanging the first sentences required by courtesy, I asked him if he were the same young distinguished jurist who, in 1835, bore off the prize on 'Appeals to the Supreme Pontiff in person.' He replied, with a smile, that he was; and I told him I had come after a long lapse of years to do homage to him as to my victor in that contest. It was a very pleasant introduction; for the eminent prelate, revered throughout all Italy for his learning, his eloquence, and his many virtues, was not loath to recall the academical struggles of long ago, when young men contended apparently for a paltry sum of money. After the death of Pius IX. and the elevation to the papal chair of Cardinal Pecci," Dr. Kirby went on, "I happened to be in the Vatican to pay my homage on a certain occasion. 'Holy Father,' I said, 'I have found the dissertation you were inquiring about, among my papers.' 'Have you, indeed?' he replied. 'Well, I should much like to see it, and you must publish it.' Thus it was my little pamphlet saw the light. But," continued Dr. Kirby, "you can see in this little trait the charming humility and simplicity of the Pope's character. To those whom he is acquainted with personally, or who are in any

way admitted to his intimacy, he is on the throne what he was fifty years ago—a man utterly devoid of self-consciousness and self-seeking."

Dr. Kirby dedicates the printed dissertation to the Pope in a graceful Latin address not unworthy of Leo XIII.'s classic taste. "Deign, Holy Father," he says, "to accept these unscholarly pages as a part of the spoils of those vanquished by you at the beginning of your glorious career. Accept them also as some slight earnest of the ancestral faith and devotion toward your Holiness—that is, the Chair of Peter—which I imbibed with my mother's milk. 'For we Irish,' to use the words of my fellow-countryman, St. Columbanus, 'are firmly attached to the Chair of St. Peter. Rome, in truth, is great and her fame is wide-spread. But in our country she is only great and illustrious through that Chair. Because of the two Apostles of Christ you of Rome are almost heavenly beings, and Rome is by them the head of all the churches on earth.'

"So, kneeling at the feet of your Holiness, I ask a blessing for myself, for this college, and my native Ireland; I also pray God to guide your Holiness by His light in the government of the Church, so that even as you were always the victor in the beginning of your sacred warfare for the truth, so you may continue to vanquish all the enemies of the Church to the end."

APPENDIX C.

The cardinals are the immediate counsellors and coadjutors of the Pope, who divide with him in Rome the enormous labor of governing upwards of two hundred million Catholics spread all over the globe, and of transacting in the centre of Catholicity the vast business pertaining to this administration.

This complex business is divided into various departments and subdepartments, at the head of which is a "Congregation," or standing committee, of cardinals, assisted by a staff of the most eminent jurists, canonists, theologians, and specialists, who, as consultors and referendaries, thoroughly sift each matter submitted to the congregation before it is pronounced upon by the cardinals in session, and then reported to the Sovereign Pontiff for his sanction. The decision thus sanctioned is then signed by the cardinal president of the congregation and by the secretary, and is final, generally speaking.

These congregations, as one may imagine, are very numerous, the same cardinal often doing service in several—a service so laborious that no one who has not been in Rome and followed attentively the working of this great and complicated administrative machinery can have any notion whatever of the continual and enormous fatigue thus imposed on the resident members of the Sacred College.

Here are the names of the most important of these congregations:

1. *Inquisition*—Not that established in Spain as an instrument of state policy, and often maintained in its cruel and unsparing measures in spite of the remonstrances of the Holy See, but the *Roman Inquisition*,

whose object is to watch over the purity of the Christian doctrine in every part of Christ's flock. Its judgments are merely doctrinal.

2. *The Index*—For the condemnation of books contrary to faith and morals.
3. *The Propagation of the Faith*, or *Propaganda*—It does the work of Christ's Vicar by taking all possible means to spread the faith in heathen lands and to restore it in lands distracted by heresy.

   It has a special *sub-congregation* for the superintendence of all churches belonging to the Oriental Rites, and a special commission of three cardinals for revising and correcting of Oriental ecclesiastical books.
4. *Examination of Bishops.*
5. *Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs.*
6. *Bishops and Regulars*—Judges appeals from the decisions of bishops, hears causes between bishops and members of religious orders, examines and approves the rules of all monastic orders.
7. *On the State of Regulars or Religious Orders.*
8. *The Sacred Penitentiary.*
9. *The Congregation of the Council*—Interprets the doctrine and disciplinary decrees of General Councils.
10. *Congregation of Studies*—For the studies within Rome and all Italy. To this the present Pope has joined a commission on historical studies.
11. *Sacred Rites.*

APPENDIX D.

THE RIGHT OF VETO IN PAPAL ELECTIONS.

The three acknowledged Catholic Powers, France, Spain, and Austria (as well as Portugal, according to some authors), had, by moral compulsion or in recognition of some great service rendered to religion, obtained the right of *veto* or "exclusion" in a conclave. If a certain candidate happened to be obnoxious to the sovereign of any of these kingdoms, he had a right to protest through his ambassador against the choice of such candidate, thereby "excluding" him from all chance of being elected. This right or privilege could only be exercised once during the conclave by any Power, and that before a two-thirds vote had been cast for any candidate. Once such vote had been given the election was over, and no *veto* or "exclusion" availed to invalidate it.

There is no instance on record of such right of "exclusion" having been exercised by Portugal.

The last instance of "exclusion" was that exercised by Spain in the conclave which, in January, 1831, elected Gregory XVI. The person thus excluded was Cardinal Giustiniani, who on the morning of January 7 received twenty-one votes, within *four* of the required two-thirds. Thereupon the Spanish Cardinal Marco communicated to the dean of the Sacred College and to Cardinal Odescalchi, nephew to Giustiniani, a note of Pedro

Gomez Labrador, ambassador of the King of Spain to the Holy See, dated December 24, 1830, and expressly "excluding" Cardinal Giustiniani.

The note was read to the Sacred College immediately after the ballot which gave Cardinal Giustiniani twenty-one votes. This venerable man at once advanced with a joyous air and step into the middle of the chapel, and, after expressing his surprise at such "exclusion" coming from the King of Spain, who had bestowed on him during his nunciature at Madrid signal marks of esteem and favor, he continued :

"Of all the benefits bestowed on me by his Majesty [Ferdinand VII.], that which I look upon as the chief and the most grateful to me—at least in its consequences—is that he has this day excluded me from the lofty dignity of the Pontificate. Conscious as I am of my own infirmity, I could never have anticipated the danger of being burdened with so heavy a responsibility. Still, perceiving during these last days, to my surprise, that I was thought of in this respect, I was filled with heartfelt grief. To-day, as this load of anxiety is removed from me, my peace of mind is restored. . . ."

It was no secret that Cardinal Giustiniani was utterly opposed to his own elevation to the Papacy. In this he resembled Cardinal Pecci.

Upon this right of *veto* in connection with the conclave of February, 1878, we may quote the following words : "This privilege, which so often proved to be injurious to the interests of the Church, would be still more in our times, when governments have become entirely separated from the Church. The grounds on which it was originally granted having thus ceased to exist, the privilege itself thereby ceased to exist. A journal said something about this *veto*. But, whatever may have been the dispositions of those who could have claimed the privilege, it is certain that no move was made in that direction, and that the governments showed that they disclaimed it, or rather that they knew they had lost all right to it. Thus it is that, even in the midst of new persecutions, the Church succeeds in freeing herself from bonds and impediments which she had to bear with in other circumstances, but which were far from being desirable or serviceable to her."

APPENDIX E.

"Venerable Brothers : The matter on which we have undertaken to address you is already well known to the public. As, however, it regards the common welfare of all nations and constitutes a revival of a most honorable customary function of the Apostolic See, we have thought that the transaction deserved to be related to you by ourselves on this important occasion.

"In the month of September last we were requested, both by the Emperor of Germany and the King of Spain, to take upon ourselves to arbitrate between them in the dispute arisen concerning the Carolinas Islands. We gladly accepted the office thus entrusted to us, in the hope of helping the cause of peace and humanity. We therefore examined and weighed

in the balance of an impartial and equitable judgment the arguments of both parties, and then submitted certain propositions as a basis on which both should agree, and which we hoped would prove acceptable to them.

"Spain alleged many reasons in support of her right to that distant portion of Micronesia. She was the first nation whose ships had reached those shores, and this fact was acknowledged by the most distinguished geographers. The very name of Carolinas attested the Spanish title. Besides, the kings of Spain had often sent thither apostolic men as missionaries, and of this the annals of the Roman Pontificate afford confirmatory proof; for there exists a letter of our predecessor, Clement XI., to Philip V., written in 1706, and praising the king for having equipped and furnished a vessel to transport missionaries to these islands. He moreover exhorts his Majesty to continue to propagate the Christian name and help procure the salvation of multitudes of men.

"The same Pontiff also wrote to Louis XIV. beseeching him to oppose no obstacles to the happy issue of an enterprise so happily begun by his royal grandson. Again, Philip V. appointed in aid of these missions (to the Carolinas) a sum of two thousand crowns. Furthermore, none but the Spanish nation ever did anything to help to bring the light of the Gospel to the islanders. Finally, none but these missionaries have ever given any information to the world on the manner of living and customs of the natives of the Carolinas.

"From this series of facts, viewed especially in the light of the then existing international law, one clearly perceives that the right of Spain to the Carolinas Islands stands forth well established. For if any right of domination can be justly founded on the fact of enlightening barbarous peoples, it must be granted that those who had endeavored to convert them from pagan superstition to the Gospel truth contributed most to their civilization, since to our holy religion belong all the forces capable of humanizing men. On this principle was founded the right of possession in more than one instance, particularly in the case of islands in the ocean, many of which bear names given them by religion.

"Seeing, therefore, that a long and well-founded public opinion conceded to Spain the possession of the Carolinas Islands, it cannot be wondered at if, when this dispute arose, the Spanish people were so excited that there was great danger for the internal peace of the kingdom and for its friendly relations with other powers.

"To these arguments Germany opposed others, also based on international law: that to hold a landed possession residence is necessary; that, taking into account the facts of modern history, international law sanctions the rightful ownership of unoccupied land by holding it and using it; that so long as such lands are not so held by occupation and use they are to be accounted as belonging to no owner. Wherefore, considering the fact that the Carolinas had not during a century and a half been occupied by Spain, the islands should have been adjudged the property of the first person taking possession of them. In support of this it was alleged that some such dispute as the present having arisen in 1875, both Germany

and Great Britain affirmed that they would never acknowledge the right of Spain to the ownership of the Carolinas.

"Seeing how divided between contrary opinions men's minds were, we endeavored to prevent further dissension; and, taking into account the respective rights and interests of the two contending nations, we confidently laid before them a plan for bringing about a peaceful settlement. We were guided only by our sense of equity, and, as you are aware, both disputants willingly agreed to our plan.

"So then a thing happened of which the present direction of public opinion did not afford much hope. Providence willed that two great and illustrious nations should do homage to the highest authority in the Church by asking it to fulfil an office so much in harmony with its nature, to preserve by its action the threatened peace and harmony between them. This is the fruit of that salutary and beneficent influence which God has attached to the power of the Sovereign Pontiffs. Superior to the envious jealousy of its enemies, and more mighty than the prevailing iniquity of the age, it is subject neither to destruction nor to change.

"From all this, too, it becomes manifest how grievous an evil are the wars waged against the Apostolic See and the lessening of its rightful liberty. For thereby it is not merely justice and religion that are made the sufferers, but the public good itself, since, in the present perilous and changeful condition of public affairs, the Roman Pontificate would confer far greater benefits on the world if, with perfect freedom and unimpaired rights, it could bestow all its energies in promoting, without impediment, the salvation of the human race.

"The discovery made by Spain, in the sixteenth century, of the Carolinas and Palaos Islands, and a series of acts done by the Spanish government in these same islands at different times and for the benefit of the native populations thereof, have, in the opinion of the Spanish government and people, created a title to sovereignty over the same, based on the maxims of international law which were in vogue and followed in that age when such conflicts arose. Indeed, when we take into consideration this series of acts, the truth of which is confirmed by various documents in the archives of the Propaganda, it is impossible to deny the beneficent labors of Spain in favor of these islanders. And it is further to be remarked that no other government at any time extended to these islands a like beneficent action. This explains the unbroken tradition, which cannot be overlooked, and the strong feeling of conviction among the Spanish people respecting this sovereignty—a tradition and a conviction which, two months ago, manifested themselves in such outbursts of warmth and animosity that they seriously threatened to compromise momentarily the interior tranquillity of the kingdom and the relations existing between the two friendly governments.

"On her side, Germany, as well as England, declared expressly in 1875 to the Spanish government that they did not acknowledge the sovereignty of Spain over these islands. Far from such acknowledgment, the Imperial government is of opinion that nothing but the effective occupa-

tion of a territory can constitute sovereignty over it; and such occupation of the Carolinas by Spain never has been effected.

"It is in conformity with this principle that Germany acted in the island of Yap, and on this point the Mediator is gratified in declaring that the Imperial government acted with perfect honesty, which is also acknowledged by the Spanish government.

"Wherefore, and in order to prevent this divergence of opinions from becoming an obstacle to an honorable settlement between the two governments, the Mediator, after duly considering the whole question, proposes that in the new convention to be agreed upon both parties accept the formulas of the Protocol concerning the Soulou (Iolò) Archipelago, signed at Madrid the 7th of last March by the representatives of Great Britain, Germany, and Spain, and that the following points be adopted:

"'First Point: The sovereignty of Spain over the Carolinas and Palaos Islands is affirmed. Second Point: The Spanish government, in order to render its said sovereignty effective, binds itself to establish, as soon as possible, in this archipelago a regular administration, with a force sufficient to preserve order and protect acquired rights. Third Point: Spain proffers to Germany full and entire freedom of commerce, navigation, and fishing in these islands, as well as the right to establish there a naval station and a coaling depot. Fourth Point: To Germany is also secured the liberty of making plantations in these islands, and there founding agricultural establishments on the same footing as Spanish subjects.'

"ROME, from the Vatican, October 22, 1885.

"L. CARD. JACOBINI."

ADDENDA.

THE JUBILEE OFFERINGS OF THE CHRISTIAN PEOPLE TO LEO XIII.

Now that the Pope's Jubilee year is ended, and that the wealth poured out at the feet of the Common Father of Christendom, on this occasion, has been by him returned, in so far as it could be, to the most needy portions of his immense spiritual family, it may interest the reader to have some notion of the variety, the nature, and the value of these gifts.

Be it said here, first of all, that these gifts, like the magnificent and universal demonstrations of filial affection and respect shown to Leo XIII. during the Jubilee festivities, were the manifestations of Catholic reverence for the Holy See, for the Pontiff held a captive in his palace by the antichristian revolution, much more than the attestation of personal regard for the man who occupies the chair of Peter. Doubtless admiration for the genius and great qualities of the Pope had much to do with the extraordinary and unprecedented enthusiasm shown in St. Peter's on January 1, 1888, and on several other occasions thereafter. But, as Leo XIII. well understood, and again and again publicly expressed it, this splendid profession of faith, of attachment, of devotion, was paid to the divine office of the Papacy, now so fiercely assailed, much more than to the Pope who fills it, though never so gloriously.

When the movement was first started—in Bologna, especially—for celebrating worthily the fiftieth anniversary of Joachim Pecci's elevation to the priesthood, the most sanguine little dreamed of the gigantic proportions that movement would assume before the first day of the year 1888.

One thing not usually mentioned in speaking of the bewildering list of these Jubilee gifts is the sum presented to the Holy Father by the people of the entire Christian world, as the offering for his Mass on that memorable morning of January 1, 1888.

It has ever been the custom in the Catholic Church, when asking of the priest to be remembered in a special manner during the Holy Sacrifice, to make him a small offering in money. The rich give more—*much* is never expected—the poor give the mite they can; the very poor are not refused because they can give nothing. When, as we are told by St. Luke, Joseph and Mary brought to the Temple in Jerusalem the Divine Infant—at once the Great High Priest and the Victim of the New Law—they gave to the priest such poor offering as their means permitted. It

was in obedience to the law that those who ministered at the altar should be enabled to live by the altar.

The whole Catholic world wanted, on the morning of January 1, 1888, a special remembrance from the Vicar of Christ celebrating his Jubilee Mass. A subscription was started in Bologna, and limited in every instance to a few pence, so that all might contribute ; and so popular did it prove, and so eager were all Catholic men and women in every land under the sun to have a place in the thought of their venerable High Priest celebrating his fiftieth anniversary above the shrine of the Holy Apostles, that when Count Acquaderni on the last day of the year 1887 presented the aggregate sum to the Holy Father, it amounted to millions of dollars. And yet a great portion of this offering was still on its way !

Since then every penny of that has gone back to the needy ones of the flock, to support thousands of the expropriated priests, monks, and nuns driven from their homes and reduced to worse than beggary by the Italian Government ; it has gone to support the missions among the heathen in both hemispheres, and to help stop the plague of African slavery, and the desolating raids of the African men-hunters.

So, like the vapors rising from the bosom of river and lake and plain and upland, settling in clouds on some lofty mountain-top, and there dissolving in rain—every drop of the fertilizing moisture is sent back to where it came from, to river and lake, to upland and plain—every penny sent to the Holy Father by the hands and hearts of his people has been returned to the people for their sorest needs.

But this was only one, though the most touching, of the Christian people's money-offerings to their parent on the day of his heart's great joy. There was not a diocese in the Christian world that did not send its love-offering of Peter's Pence, besides, as we shall see presently, gifts of great artistic or commercial value.

Thus the Diocese of Paris sent, through the hands of its saintly Archbishop, 200,000 francs, or 40,000 dollars in money, together with a magnificent tiara, a master-piece of the jeweler's art, enriched with precious stones. It was this tiara the Pope wore in St. Peter's on January 1. The Diocese of Lyons sent him a money-offering scarcely inferior to the above; and from the silk-looms of that city issued exquisite fabrics, which pious and skilful hands made into church vestments ; and these were only a part of what the Catholic people of both cities vied with each other, and with their brethren throughout France, to do in honor of the venerated chief of their religion. Aye, all through France, every city, town, and hamlet, every province and diocese and parish, showed a holy rivalry in testifying to Leo XIII. their love and devotion and heartfelt generosity. This wonderful munificence of the French Catholics, which surpassed itself during the Pontifical Jubilee, did not prevent the offerings toward the Propagation of the Faith from reaching a higher figure in 1888 than in the preceding years. As is well known, France contributes more to the support of that admirable society than all the other Christian nations put together. It was even said, during the Jubilee year, that France, in money and the

profusion of her most precious gifts of every description, sent as much to the Vatican as the rest of the Catholic world.

We remain within the limits of simple historical truth when we say that France surpassed herself on this occasion, and was approached by none.

Mr. J. Cornély, who was in Rome during the Jubilee festivities, writes * on January 9, 1888: "During the reception of the French pilgrims, yesterday and to-day, upwards of 500,000 francs in gold were handed directly to the Pope by the pilgrims themselves. Just in front of me was a family of ten persons, the head of which carried a purse of newly coined twenty-franc pieces—twenty thousand francs in all—and weighing more than thirteen pounds."

All these donations were outside of the regular diocesan contributions.

Belgium, especially dear to Leo XIII., tried to rival and to outstrip France in generosity. The King and Queen set the example. The Ministers—all Catholics—the nobility, the commercial and industrial classes, and the Belgian peasantry and townsfolk, were not behind in the good work. The Catholics of Holland, a small but energetic minority, were worthy of their Belgian brethren. In Germany the Emperor William I. sent to the Pope the mitre blazing with priceless gems, which the latter wore on entering St. Peter's for his Jubilee Mass. The German Catholics—Prussians, Hanoverians, Poles, Bavarians, &c.—had not waited for the encouragement given by the Emperor to organize their Jubilee demonstration. What they did was only surpassed by their French brethren on this side of the Rhine. The heart of the people everywhere was in their work, and went with their gifts to the feet of the Holy Father.

People asked themselves in Rome, seeing how feeble he was, how overworked were both mind and body, whether he would live to see his Golden Jubilee. But when pilgrims began to arrive in Rome, as the great day approached, and poured forth with their moving addresses, not only the expression of the filial devotion, but this stream of golden generosity, the aged Pontiff was lifted above himself by the daily and hourly proofs of that living faith.

There had been, in 1877, on the occasion of the Episcopal Jubilee of Pius IX., an exposition of Catholic works of art in Rome. It was a novelty, and by many it was deemed a success. For the Jubilee of Leo XIII. another and like Exposition was announced as to be held in the Vatican Palace. The Catholics of every land were invited to send thither the choice production of their arts and industries. The result was a something which far exceeded the dreams of the most sanguine.

The halls and galleries at first set apart for this Exposition were found too small before the month of December had begun, and one of the great interior courts adjoining was prepared to receive the various products yet to come. Temporary building after building was erected there,

* "*Rome et le Jubilé de Léon XIII.; Notes d'un Pélerin.*"

the commissioners appointed to superintend the Exposition deeming that each structure would be more than amply sufficient for their purpose; but all proved miserably inadequate.

On January the 9th, 1888, M. Cornély tells us how things then stood in the Vatican Exposition: "Eighteen hundred cases already unpacked; five hundred at the Vatican not yet opened; eight hundred at the railway station in Rome; and nine hundred on their way to Rome. . . . Value of the objects already received or announced, *sixty* millions of francs (twelve millions of dollars); gifts in money received, fourteen millions of francs (two millions, eight hundred thousand dollars). The Pontifical household did not expect either such multitudes of pilgrims or so many objects for the Exposition: they are at their wits' end."

In the money-offerings sent to the Pope, the object of Catholics was, first, to help render the Holy Father a little more independent of the Italian Government, by enabling him to carry on the vast administration of the Universal Church; then to supplement the crippled resources of the Propaganda, a part of whose property had, in 1884, been seized upon by the Piedmontese masters of Rome and converted into Government securities; and finally, to aid the Holy Father to carry on the apostolic labor of foreign missions all over the globe, a labor which he had enormously developed under his pontificate.

The varied wealth of the industrial arts and the Fine Arts accumulated in the Exposition was left absolutely at his disposal for the same noble purposes. And right nobly were they disposed of according to the intentions of the donors.

But how describe this incredible love-offering of the Christian world?

For the Holy Father's own use in his sacred functions, the piety of the faithful in every land had produced copes, chasubles, stoles, albs—priestly and pontifical vestments of the most costly material and the most exquisite workmanship; marvelous embroideries; laces such as the world had never seen before; chalices of the purest gold and the most beautiful designs, enriched with the rarest gems; and with works from the jeweler's chisel, more rare and more precious than any gem; monstrances equally magnificent in material, design, and execution, and all ablaze with diamonds and rubies and emeralds.

The Convents of poor and faithful Ireland sent Leo XIII.—in laces of their own manufacture, in sacred vestments, and other specimens of Irishwomen's handiwork—offerings which deeply touched the heart of the Pontiff. In their extreme poverty, and amid sufferings we need not here describe, the Irish people found means to send to the Pope a money-offering which was eloquent of their preternatural generosity, but which was only "the widow's mite" in the estimation of the royal-hearted nation.

From the Republics of Spanish America were sent stirring addresses, professions of fidelity and devotion to the chair of Peter, magnificent donations in money and presents, in works of gold and silver, which bespoke the undying faith of the Spanish race. From every diocese in the United States, from Canada and all British North America, came to

the Holy Father the most consoling testimonies of gratitude and devotion, accompanied by substantial pledges of the popular piety.

Our Indian Missions joined in the universal jubilee, and American priests and lay-pilgrims laid at the feet of the Pope curious specimens of the handiwork of Indian women and maidens; all the more precious in the eyes of the Supreme Pastor that they spoke of a return to civilized life through the practice of the Gospel virtues, and that this first step on the road of true progress would be followed steadily up.

Similar presents came from the Missions of South America, of Oceanica and Australia, of China, and all the countries of Asia and Africa. Everywhere it was the same spirit; filial love, reverence, and gratitude prompting the children of every clime and race to do homage to the common Father.

And to all these missions throughout both hemispheres the gifts arrayed in the Vatican—a sight which had never before been beheld—were to return with a hundred-fold usury, in more ample funds to support the missionaries, to build churches and schools, and to relieve the manifold needs of populations entering upon a new existence.

In the vast halls of the Exposition pilgrims saw and described, in terms of genuine enthusiasm, the thousands upon thousands of suits of church vestments. Most of these went to supply the poor missions of every continent. There were pyramids of chalices and of other utensils employed in Catholic worship. They also found their way to the new Christian colonies of Equatorial Africa, of Western, Central, and Eastern Asia; to the poor churches of Japan and Australia and New Zealand; to the lowly Christian altars among the island groups of the Pacific; to the missionary settlements, old and new, which Leo XIII.'s fatherly zeal fostered in the vast regions of South and North America.

To these went, also, the greatest portion of the objects of art which loving hands and hearts had prepared for the Vatican Exposition. Many a painting, a piece of sculpture, a master-piece of mechanical skill, with the products of the latest and most advanced manufacturing processes, graces at this moment, after having shone at the Vatican, the episcopal churches lately erected by Leo XIII. in the East Indies, in China, and elsewhere.

The mementos of the Sacerdotal Jubilee of 1887–1888 now gladden the eyes and hearts of the peoples of both hemispheres. The generous donations of the wealthy and the gifted among the great Catholic family have already passed through the hands of the Holy Father to enrich the poor of Christ in every land.

But we have abstained from speaking of the offerings of sovereigns and princes. Among those of Christendom only two heads of states—the King of Italy and the President of Guatemala—abstained from sending to the Vatican either Jubilee offerings or congratulations. As an offset to this unchristian spirit, Christian sovereigns all over the world vied with each other in the royal munificence of their presents, and the expression of their respect and veneration for the Prisoner of the

Vatican. The Emperors of Turkey and Morocco, the Bey of Tunis and the Khedive of Egypt, the Shah of Persia, and the Emperors of China and Japan—all, for the first time during the Christian ages, united in this great act of homage to the representative of the Prince of Peace.

But among all the offerings sent by the Catholic world to the throne of Christ's Vicar, that which most touched his heart was that presented to him by a Brazilian bishop in the name of his brethren—twelve emancipated negro slaves, the first fruits of the law just passed abolishing slavery in the Brazilian Empire. It was a glorious consummation—the fetters falling from the limbs of these bondmen in the very year when Peter Claver, "the slave of the negroes for ever," was canonized by Leo XIII. And then were to follow in quick succession, like a flood of thanksgiving from the heart of the Pontiff, the beautiful Encyclical letter on emancipation to the Archbishops and Bishops of Brazil, and the two other magnificent Encyclicals on slavery and on liberty. At the same time Leo XIII. sent Cardinal Lavigerie, Archbishop of Carthage, through the capitals of Europe, like another Peter the Hermit, to preach to sovereigns and peoples a crusade against African slavery.

He succeeded. The slave trade in Africa is doomed, and its doom dates from the Sacerdotal Jubilee of Leo XIII.

This is some of what the peoples did for the Father of Christendom to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of his elevation to the Priesthood; and this is also some of what he did for the people in the year of his Jubilee.

INDEX.

INDEX.

Abolionan, Mgr., elected Patriarch of Babylon, confirmed by Sublime Porte, 384.
Abyssinia, hindrances to Christianity in, 403.
Academies, annual, instituted by Mgr. Pecci in Perugia, 151.
Academy of St. Thomas, Rome, instituted, "Transactions" of, 153, 154, 489.
"Acta Leonis XIII.," quoted, 318, 330, 333, 342, 364, 378, 400, 410, 414, 428, 429, 445, 473, 482, 491.
Alexander II. of Russia, letter of, to Leo XIII., 373; sons of, sent to Rome, 374.
Alfonso XII. of Spain in the Carolinas affair, 545; death of, tribute to, 547.
Allocutions of Leo XIII.; the first, 315–318, 408; on outrages at funeral of Pius IX., 440–443; on Carolinas affair, 550–552, 610–613.
America, Catholicism on continent of, 344; French missionaries in, 495–498.
Anarchism—see *Socialism*.
Ancillon, Johann P., on Papacy in middle ages, 537.
Angelis, Cardinal Philip de, sufferings of, 214, 277; death of, 276; affection of Pius IX. for, Camerlengo, 277, 278.
Anne, St., affection of Mgr. Pecci for, 135; churches of, at Auray (France), Quebec (Canada), Youghal (Ireland), 136.
Annunciation, church of O. L. of, inscription at by Joachim Pecci, 74.
Apostolic See—see *Holy See*.
Aquinas, St. Thomas, method of, 152; adopted by Mgr. Pecci, 153; Academy of, instituted, 153, 489; Sixth Centenary of, 153; philosophy of, prescribed for Catholic schools, 483; praise of, by Leo XIII., 486, 488; homage paid to, by councils, 488.
Athanasius, St., College of, for Greeks founded, 380; improvements in, by Leo. XIII. 381; countries represented at, 382.
Audo, Joseph, Patriarch of Chaldea, piety of, 383.
Augustine, St., quoted, 330, 427, 485.

Baccelli, Dr., determines to exclude religion from schools, 351.
Bahtiarian, Mgr., creates schism in Armenia, 385; seeks absolution, 386.
Ballarini, Mgr., 157.
Ballerini, Father, quoted, 71, 124.
Baltimore, Third Plen. Council of, convened, 445; opened, blessing from Pope, 453; response, 454; telegram of, to Card. McCloskey, 454; closed, 455; pastoral letter of fathers of, 455–460; work of, for education, Catholic University, 460, 461; *schema* of, approved by Leo XIII., 461.
Barberini, Cardinal Antonio, scholarships founded by, in Propaganda, 532.
Belgian College, Rome, founded, 125, 126; predilection for, of Mgr. Pecci, 124.
Belgium, why separated from Holland, 111; results of constitutional government in, 112; secret societies in, 112, 113, 117, 121; school system in, 114, 115; queen of, devoted to Christian education, 115, 116; Catholics of, deceived in accepting constitution, 121; feeling of people of, for Mgr. Pecci, 123, 127, 128; societies for workingmen in, 314.
Benevento, Italy, description of, 91; results of French rule in, brigandage in, 92, 93; affection of people of for Mgr. Pecci, 94–96; brigandage in, eradicated, 97, 100, industry and commerce revived in, 100; cession of, asked by King Ferdinand, 100; refused by Pope, 101.

Bible, mutilated translations of, in cities of The Marches, 214.
Bismarck, Prince, disposed to meet the Pope, 343 ; meaning given by, to Culturkampf, 355 ; account by, of advances to Leo. XIII., 472–474 ; on results of Culturkampf, 474 ; steps of, toward reconciliation with Holy See, 475 ; views of, as to Catholics, changed, 549.
Boccali, Mgr. Gabriel, 157 ; Auditor of His Holiness, 570.
Bonnechose, Cardinal de, account by, of Cardinal Pecci in conclave, 302.
Borromeo. St. Charles, zeal of, for education, 143 ; established catechism classes, 143, 144.
Boschi, Archpriest, 157.
Bosnia and Herzegovina, hierarchy erected in, 379.
Brigandage in Italy in 1838, 92, 93, 97, 98; adventure of Mgr. Pecci with, 99.
Brommel, Bishop von, of Liége, position of, on education, 124.
Brunelli, Prof. G., reminiscence by, of Mgr. Pecci, 150, 157.
Brussels, University of, its irreligious character, 117, 118 ; efforts of Catholics for, defeated, 119.

Calixtus II. fosters devotion to shrine of St. James of Compostella, 556, 557.
Camaldolese of Monte Corona, hardships of, 242, 244.
Cantù, Cesare, opposes suppression of monasteries, 245.
Capraca, Cardinal, as legate to Paris, 80.
Carafa, Prof A., in Collegio Romano, 68.
Carbonari, power of, in 1820, 104 ; Central Lodge of, on temporal power of Pope, 206.
Cardinals, College of, their labors, 263 ; Cardinal Pecci's duties as member of, 264 ; deaths in, in 1877, 275–277 ; confirm last protest of Pius IX., 290; prepare for conclave of 1878, 292, 293; Amat, Morichini, Catterini invalids, 293 ; members present and absent, 294; unhampered in election, 294, 295; character of members, 295 ; distinctive colors at, 297; pay homage to Leo XIII., 304, 312 ; as counsellors to Pope, 317 ; council of, for filling Italian sees, 361 ; congregations of, 569, 608; list, 608, 609.
Carnicchi, Canons, 157.
Carolinas Islands, discovered and settled by Spaniards, 541, 542 ; mission abandoned, title lost to Spain, 542; Yap occupied by Germany, 544, 545 ; dispute settled by Holy See, 546, 549–552, 610–613.
Carpineto, description of, 37, 38, 40.
Catholic church, dark hours of, 33, 34 ; despoiled by Napoleon I., 49, 51; revival of in Great Britain, 129; bishops of, protest to King Victor Emmanuel, 180–185 ; attempted destruction of, by Julian the Apostate, 182; temporal dominion of, 199; independent of state, 215 ; right of, in matrimony, 226; courts of, and control of education in Umbria abolished, 238, 239; alone has jurisdiction of Religious Orders, 241 ; treated as a foreign power, 248; relations of, to state, 250 ; war against, not an open one, 280; hatred for, the cause of social evils, 322; the promoter of civilization, 324–326; able to restore modern society, 337; preservation of, in Italy, seemingly hopeless, 354; troubles of, in Turkey, 382, 388; progress of in Persia, 395–388; in China, 398–401; in Japan, 402; in Abyssinia, 403; revival of, in England, 406, 407; in Scotland, 407, 410; clergy of, in Ireland, not united, 423; results of union of, 426 ; birth of hierarchy of, in United States, 451 ; growth of, in United States, 456 ; compatible with American institutions, 459 ; persecution of, in Germany, 464–478; sole aim of, 484; in ancient France, 494 ; in modern France, 495–519 ; relation of Religious Orders to, 503 ; and civil government. 507; institutions of, oppressed in France, 513, 514; wins esteem of Germàn government, 548, 549.
Cavour, Count Camillo di, part taken by, in Italian revolution, 104 ; on ecclesiastical property, 242.
" Cenni Storici," quoted, 71, 77, 119, 133, 301, 302.
Charles Emmanuel IV. driven from

Italy, his character, becomes a lay brother, 86.
China, letter of Leo XIII. to Emperor of, 398; resented by France, 401.
Cholera at Rome in 1837, 82.
Cicernacchio, ——, resolution of, excommunicating Pius IX., 289.
Cittadini, Mgr., death of, 134.
Civilization, Cardinal Pecci on, 280, 281; the Church the promoter of, 324–327; indebted to Religious Orders, 504; in Germany — see *Culturkampf*.
Clerical Abuses Bill, Italy, passed, 270.
Collegio Romano, Vincent Pecci at, 65–71; professors at, 68, 491; students of, as Jubilee pilgrims, 72. students of, visit Leo XIII., 349; means of education at, 491.
Collegium Urbanum — see *Urban College*.
Colletta, Pasquale (brigand), captured, 97.
Cologne, Archbishop of, persecuted by Prussian Government, 469; Leo XIII. to, on science, 481.
Communism—see *Socialism*.
Compostella, Spain, pilgrimage to; restored by Leo XIII., 554; history of pilgrimage, 555–558.
Conclave, right of veto in, instances of, 609–610; Conclave of 1878, first official act at, 290; held in Sistine Chapel, 291 ; Laws regarding, 292; customs followed in former conclaves, 292, 293; opening ceremonies of, 295; ceremonies of enclosure at, 296; furniture and accommodations at, 297; first ballot at, 298, 300; second ballot, 300, 301; third ballot, Cardinal Pecci chosen, 302, 303; Conclave closed, 304.
Condé, Count Henri de, reminiscence by, of Mgr. Pecci, 122, 123.
Congress, Catholic, at Würzburg, 469.
Conscience, Mgr. Pecci on liberty of, 228, 229.
Conservatorio Pio, Perugia, finished by Mgr. Pecci, 158; teachers at, 159.
Constantius, St., note on, 263.
Coquerel, Athanase, on Holy See in middle ages, 540.
Courts, ecclesiastical, abolished by Siccardi Laws, 237, 238.
Culturkampf, in Germany, beginning of, 281, 466; Leo XIII.'s war on, 343; Bismarck's name for, 355; effect on the empire, 474; still active in 1884, 477; extinguished, 478.
Cyril, St., work of, for Slavs, 377; Leo XIII.'s encyclical on, 378; his death, 380.

Depretis, Agostino, counts German emperor and ally, 343.
Doctrine, Christian, societies of, established in sixteenth century, 143; promoted by the Borromeos and Francis Xavier, 143, 144; established by Mgr. Pecci in Perugia, 146; urged upon priests, 147.
Döllinger, Dr. Joseph von, inspires warfare against Church; organizes Old-Catholic Church, 465.
Dominion, Temporal, pastoral on, 198; not a dogma of faith, 201; Frederick II. and Mazzini on, 205; Leo XIII. on, 339; needed to secure liberty of Pope, 530.
Donnet, Cardinal, description by, of Cardinal Pecci in conclave, 301.
Dupanloup, Bishop F. A., works of, on Holy See, 199.

East, zeal of Leo XIII. for, 339, 384; progress of Christianity in, 382–404; educational schemes for, 462, 463; French missionaries in, 496.
Education, in Italy, dechristianized by Napoleon I., 51; in Belgium, religious and godless, 113; public and denominational schools contrasted, 114; strife for in Belgium, 115, 124; of priests, should be superior, 125; Mgr. Pecci's zeal for in Perugia, 146, 149, 154, 167; lay, Mgr. Pecci's zeal for, 158; defective, Mgr. Pecci on, 230–232; on undenominational, 232–235; Leo XIII. on, 331–333 ; in United States, 460, 461; promotion of, in Rome by Leo XIII., 479 ; in France, 499. 500, 511, 513.
Emmanuel, King Victor, convention of, with Napoleon III,, 173; protest to, against civil marriage, 220–224; usurps royal *exequatur* in appointing priests, 247; death of, 287.
Encyclicals of Leo XIII.; *Inscrutabili*, 319–333; on Socialism, 363–

367; on Sts. Cyril and Methodius, 378; on Christian Philosophy, 483–489.
England, visit of Mgr. Pecci to; 128–130; diocese of Leeds erected, 361; revival of Church in, 406, 407; hierarchy restored to, 409; zeal of in planting colonies, 543; note of, to Spain on Carolinas, 544; desired dissolution of American Union, 553. See *Great Britain.*
Europe, Powers of, hostile to Church under Pius IX., 33.
Exequatur, royal, usurped by Victor Emmanuel, 247; history of, 342; right of, abused by Italian Government, 341.
Ex hac augusta, bull, 379.
Ex Supremo Apostolatus Apice, bull of, promulgated by Leo XIII., 313, 408.

Falk, Dr. (Prussia), May Laws of, 466, 467, 472, 474; resigns office, 476.
Family, Christian, Leo XIII. on, 330–333.
Federazione Piana, La, Rome, protests against centenary of Voltaire, 347.
Ferdinand II. of Naples asks cession of Benevento, 100; refused, 101.
Forbin-Janson, Bishop de, 119.
Fornari, Mgr. (Cardinal), Nuncio at Paris, 110.
France, Revolution in (1793), spreads to Italy, 47; destruction by armies of, 49, 51; exactions in Italy by army of, 100; visit of Mgr. Pecci to, its condition in 1846, 130, 131; violation by, of States of the Church, 197; resents intercourse of Holy See with China, 401; foremost Catholic nation till 1870, effects of Commune in, 493; ancient devotion of, to Papacy, 494; zeal of missionaries of, 495–498, 505; religious revival in, 496, 498; education in, 499, 500; irreligious forces in, 501; loyalty of bishops of, to Church, 502; Religious Orders in, 503–507; distinguished members of—Lacordaire, Monsabré, De Ravignan, Félix, Guéranger, Pitra, Cahier, Martin—504; Catholics of, on declaration of Religious Orders, 506; government of, seeks dissension among Catholics, 507; apathy of Catholics in, 508, 510; dark outlook for, 509; oppression of clergy of, 511–518; attempts of, to plant colonies, 543; desired dissolution of American Union, 553.
Franchi, Card. Alexander, as Secretary of State, character, 335; his death, Leo XIII.'s eulogy, 336.
Francis of Assisi, St., hatred for, of revolutionists, his aims, 266; object and growth of Third Order, 268, 269.
Franciscans, of Carpineto, 56, 57; Third Order of, 57; Cardinal Pecci Protector of Third Order, 264; his address on, 265; growth of Third Order, 268.
Frederick II. of Prussia on temporal power of Pope, 205.
Freemasons, society of, in Belgium, 121.
Frère-Orban, system of godless schools of, 113.
Fulvio della Corgna, Cardinal, founds seminary of Perugia, 147.

Gambetta, Léon, war of, against the Church, 502.
Garibaldi, Giuseppe, as leader of the revolution, 104; desire of, to possess Rome, 174; apotheosis of, in Rome, 560.
Gasparian, Bishop, of Cyprus, creates a schism, 385; is forgiven by Leo XIII., 386.
Gastaldi, Archbishop, of Turin, thanked by Leo XIII., 361.
Germany, hostility of, to Church under Pius IX., 33; present friendly relations of, 36; negotiations with, of Leo XIII., 338, 343; pilgrimage from, to Leo. XIII., 355; sufferings of Catholics of, letter of Leo XIII. to them, 361. Socialism in, 366, 367; American Bishops on Culturkampf in, 458; Papal Infallibility in, 464; Old Catholics in, 465; Religious Orders in, suppressed, 465; working of May Laws in, 466, 467, 475; loyalty of Catholics in, 468; Catholics of, united, 468, 469; action of Catholics of, in congresses, 468, 469; laws guaranteeing religious liberty in, repealed, 469; number of Catholics in Prussia in 1873, 469; "reptile press" of, 470; Church Bill for, passed, 476; con-

dition of Catholics in, in 1884, 476; seeks locations for colonies, 542, 543; takes possession of Carolinas Islands, wrath of Spain, 544, 545; notifies Spain, German flag insulted, 545; asks Holy See to arbitrate, 546; result, 546, 549–552, 610–613; changed views in as to Catholics, 548.
Gibbons, Cardinal James, president of Third Plenary Council, 445; made cardinal, 463.
Giunta Liquidatrice seizes Propaganda property, 524.
Giustiniani, Cardinal, excluded from election to Papacy, 609, 610.
Gladstone, William E., Land and Coercian Acts of, 423; tribute to, 478.
Government, constitutional, workings of, on Continent and among English race, 111; results of, in Belgium, 112, 113.
Great Britain, revival of Catholicism in, 129, 406–419; non-Catholics in, their joy at seizure of Rome, 288; change of public opinion in, 406; disputes in, between Religious Orders and bishops, 411, 412; decided by Leo XIII., 412–415; duty of, to Ireland, 420, 421; enforces Coercion and Crimes Acts for Ireland, 423, 431.
Greece, college at Rome for natives of, 380; proposed Catholic school at Athens, 462, 463.
Gregory XVI., treatment of, by English and American press, 105; visit of, to Perugia, 106; settles dispute of Belgian Catholics, 124; recalls Mgr. Pecci from Brussels, 126; reasons for, 127; mortal illness of, his character, 131, 132; appoints Mgr. Pecci Archbishop of Perugia, 134, 135; intention of, to preconize Mgr. Pecci 254.
Gregory the Great quoted, 414.
Guibert, Cardinal Joseph H., protests against suppression of Religious Orders, 502; letter of, on oppression of French clergy, 511–518.
Guilds, mediæval, splendid results of, 103.
Guizot, François P., on the Papacy, 538.

Hassun, Cardinal Antony (Armenia), deposed by government, 386; recalled, created cardinal, 387.
Herculanus, St., note on, 263.
Holland, refusal of, to grant religious liberty to Belgians, 111; hierarchy of, restored, 409.
Holy See, attempted removal of, by Napoleon I., 64; right of *exequatur* of, usurped, 247; commissions Cardinal Pecci judge in ecclesiastical causes, 263; ambassadors to, offer homage to Leo XIII., 308; as restorer of civilization, 326; benefits of, to Italy, 327; rights and duties of, 328; correspondence of, with Russia, Switzerland, 344; designs of, for education in East, 462, 463; devotion of French Catholics to, 494; sole purpose of, 507; value of, when independent, 523; its ancient office as mediator, 537, 538; two instances, 541; in the Carolinas affair, 546; relations of, with Spain, 547, with Germany, 548; probable benefits of, as mediator in U. S. civil war, 552–554; some of the duties of, 569–571.

Illuminism in Belgium, 112.
Indépendance Belge, Le, on spoliation of Propaganda, 536.
Infallibility, Papal, how received in Turkey, 385, in Germany, 464, 465.
Infidelity—see *Irreligion*.
Inscrutabili, encyclical, 319.
Ireland, state of, under English rule, 129; Leo XIII.'s interest in, 335, union of, with England, how cemented, 420, by equal justice and Home Rule, 421; famine and violence in, 422, caused by hard-hearted landlords, 422, 424; Coercion Act for, 422, 423, Land Act, 423; origin of Land and National Leagues in, 424; union of clergy with people, results of, 424, 425; National party in, birth of, 424, at first unorganized, afterward united, 425; Leo XIII.'s letters to bishops of, 426, 429; right of people of, 427; their pride as Catholics, 429; Crimes Act for, suppression of Land League, 431; Dr. Walsh's influence in, 432.
Irreligion in Italy in 1841, 104, 105, 108; force of, in 1846, 145; theories of, 227; in United States, 457; in France, 495, 500.

Italy, government of, hostile to Catholicism, 33; people of, sunk in infidelity, 108, 109; conduct of people of Northern Italy on religious festivals, 137; demonstrations in, against religion in 1846, 137, 138; irreligious propaganda in, in 1846, 144, 145; danger of people of, 145, 146; government of, issues Programmes of Studies, 157; sequestrates ecclesiastical property, 180, 240; alone in conscripting priests, 185; famine in, in 1854, 187; work of Revolution in, in 1846–78, 196; honey-combed by Revolution, 196; interfere with Church's rights, 251; methods of, in choosing priests, pensions suspended priests, 252, 253; Parliament of, passes Clerical Abuses Bill, 270; government of, desires to prohibit pilgrimages at Pius IX.'s Jubilee, 271; non-interference of, at Pius IX's death, 290; plan of, for reconciliation with Pope, 319; promises non-interference with bishops, 340; promise broken, 341; prohibits catechism in Catholic schools, 350; allows full liberty to non-Catholic schools, 350, 351; seizes schools in Rome, 352; delays Spanish pilgrims, 356, 357; proposes to do without religion, 403; value to the nation of independent Papacy, 523; government of, seizes Propaganda property, 524, 525; decision of courts on, 525, 526, action universally reprobated, 529; specious reasoning on, 533.

Jacobinism in Italy, 103, 104; in France, 494.

James the Elder, Apostle, work of, in Spain, body conveyed to Compostella, 555; ancient pilgrimages to tomb of, 556, body secreted, 557, identified and proved, 557, 558.

Japan, Catholicism in, Leo XIII. to Emperor of, 402.

Jesuits suppressed by Clement XIV., restored by Pius VII., 52; of Viterbo, zeal of, 53; college courses of, 66; eminent as theologians, 75, 76; dispute of, with University of Louvain, 124; system of, adopted by Mgr. Pecci, 151; St. Thomas's method enjoined on, 152; in Armenia, 387; in China, 400; in Germany, 464; suppressed there, 465, 466; in France, suppressed, 505.

Joseph II. of Holland, attempt of, at unchristian education, defeated, 118.

Journal des Débats on spoliation of Propaganda, 536.

Journalists, Congress of, in Rome, 357; address of Leo XIII., 358; often dictate policy to religious superiors, 357; those friendly to conciliation rebuked, 358.

Jubilee proclaimed by Leo XII., 71.

Kenrick, Archbishop P. R., at Baltimore Council, 454.

Kirby, Rev. Tobias, reminiscence by, of Leo XIII., 607, 608.

Kiupelian, Archbishop, schismatic patriarch of Armenians, elected, 385; consecrated, renounces his rank, seeks forgiveness, 386.

Kostka, St. Stanislas, holy memory of, in Rome, 83; Mgr. Pecci receives orders in chapel of, 82–87.

Lambruschini, Cardinal, his friendship for Mgr. Pecci, 91.

Laurenzi, Mgr. Charles, consecrated coadjutor to Cardinal Pecci, 275; circular of, on election of Leo XIII., 306.

Lawrence, St., note on, 262.

Legge, ——, quoted, 289.

Leibnitz, Gottfried W., on Holy See as mediator, 540.

Leo XII., vigorous reign of, 63, 65; proclaims a Jubilee, pilgrimages during, 71; his humility, 72.

Leo XIII., achievements of reign of, 34, 36. *In early life:* birth of, 37, 40; his preference for name Joachim, 43; goes to Rome, 52; epigram by, 55; at Viterbo, 55, 59; at the Collegio Romano, 65; his proficiency, 66, 67; chosen as defender of philosophy, 68, forbidden by physicians, 69; tribute to, by faculty, 69, 70; selected to present address to Leo XII., 72; cuts inscription at church of O. L. of Annunciation, 73, 74; chooses secular priesthood, 75, 84; again selected for public disputations, 76, 78, recorded in college journals, 77; receives degree of S. T. D., lays aside name Vincent, 78,

79; chooses service of Holy See, 79, 91; wins prize for best essay, 79; receives degree of D. C. L., friendship of Cardinal Sala for, 80, of Cardinal Pacca, 81; appointed Domestic Prelate, leaves academy, 81; appointed Referendary to *Segnatura*, 81, to congregation *di Buongoverno*, 82; zeal and courage of, during cholera, receives subdeaconship and deaconship, 82, priesthood, 86.

Diplomatic career: Appointed Governor of Benevento, 91; attacked by typhoid fever, 93, recovery, 96; measures of, against brigandage, 97, 98; wise administration of in Benevento, 99–101; appointed Delegate of Spoleto, sent to Umbria, 102; improves Perugia, 106; institutes reforms through Umbria, 107; recalled, 109, appointed Apostolic Nuncio at Brussels, consecrated Archbishop of Damietta, 110; at the court of Brussels, 115; interest of, in college of St. Michael, 117; visits University of Louvain, address, 119–121; influence of, with King Leopold, 122; affection of, for Belgium, 123, for Belgian College, allays disputes among Belgian Catholics, 124; keeps Belgium from Ronge schism, 125; recalled from Brussels, 126; visits England, 128, received by the queen, 129, impressions received during the visit, 130; visits France, her condition, 130, 131; arrives at Rome, effect of his visit to England and France, 131.

At Perugia: Made Bishop of Perugia, 134, 135; pilgrimage of, to tomb of St. Francis, 135; affection of, for St. Anne, enters Perugia on her feast, 135, 136; his hard task, 138; means used for preserving his flock, 139; his zeal for education, establishes Christian Doctrine Societies, 146; decrees fixed hours for services, 147, 169; zeal for Diocesan Seminary 147, 151, 156, 157; anecdote of, by Brunelli, 150; adopts method of St. Thomas, 151, 153; founds Academy of St. Thomas, 153, 168; care of, for seminarians, 155, 167, his method of punishment, 156; work of, on "Humility," quoted, 156; some pupils of, 157; his admirable system of education, 168; sanctions Conferences of St. Vincent de Paul, founds Society of St. Joachim and Pious Union, 169; his private habits, 172; relations of, with Piedmont government, 172, 173; advice of, to priests, 174, 175; pastoral of, on Clerical Conscription, 177; Commission of, to purchase freedom of clerics, 178; protest of, against clerical conscription, 180–185; quells rioting in Perugia in 1846, 186; work of, in famine of 1854, 187, 188; organizes Commission of Charity, pastoral on, 188; work of, in "Massacre of Perugia," 190; averts bloodshed in invasion of 1860, 190; futile mediation of, for a priest's life, 192; sued for admonishing his clergy, 193; efforts of, with government, in behalf of religious, 194; zeal of, for lay education, Apostolic Visitor to university, 158; Visitor to Collegio della Sapienza, 158; labors of, for Conservatorio Pio, 158; founds Conservatorio Graziani, for girls, and Magdalen Asylum, 160; founds Antinori Foundling Asylum, Domini Hospice, 160; pastoral visits of, 161, works of, for orphans, 162; restores Duomo, 164; churches in Perugia built and restored by, 164; care of, for the arts, skill in finance, 165; establishes Congregation of Holy Places, 166; character of pastorals of, 197, 199; pastorals of, on Magnetism, 197, on Temporal Dominion, 198; Pope should be independent, 203, 205; letter of, to Holy Father on Minghetti's circular, 207; joins with bishops in protest, 215; letter of, to king on civil marriage, 220, 224; pastoral of, on Current Errors, 227, 235; protest of, against abolishing ecclesiastical courts and religious education, 239; against suppression of monasteries, 241, 244; protests fruitless, 245; remonstrance of, on royal *exequatur*, 248, 253; Gregory XVI.'s intention to preconize, 254; preconized by Pius IX., 255; intercedes for insurgents of 1848–50, 256; celebration of preconizing of,

256, 259; his discourse, 258; celebration of Silver Jubilee of, 260, 263; prayers recorded at, 262, affection for, of the Perugians, 256–259, 261; asked to accept See of Frascati, judge in ecclesiastical causes, 263; member of six congregations, habits, 264; Protector of Third Order, 264; address to members, 265; to deliver address at Pius IX.'s Jubilee, 271; the address, 272–274; consecrates Mgr. Laurenzi his coadjutor, 274; appointed Camerlengo, to leave Perugia, 278; pastorals of, on Catholic Church and Nineteenth Century, 279; on Church and Civilization (2), 279–284, at death of Pius IX., 283; orders body of Pius IX., in state in St. Peter's, 290.

As Pope: Prepares for conclave, 292; receives twenty-three votes, dismayed, 300; receives thirty-eight votes, 301; pleads his unfitness, 302; his qualities for the office, 302, 303; elected, accepts, selects name, 303; adoration to, 304; proclaimed to people, joy in Rome, 305; first blessing of, to people, 310; his coronation, 311; receives homage of Sacred College, 312; restores Scottish hierarchy, 313, 408; bull on, 409, 410; letter of, to Paris society for artisans, 314, to Belgian society, 314; first allocution of, 315–318, encyclical *Inscrutabili* of, 318–333; no compromise of, with Revolution, 320, 342; on civilization, 324, 326; on Papacy, 327; appeal to governments, 330; on family and education. 330–333; interest of, in Ireland, 335; his eulogy of Cardinal Franchi, 336; policy of, defined, 337, 342; on modern society, 337; negotiations with Germany, 338, 343; spoliation of Holy See, 339; address of, to Federazione Piana, 347, to Pontifical veterans, 348; has to create schools, 352; receives German pilgrims, 355; letter of, to Cork, 356; Spanish pilgrims to, hardships of, 356, 357; offerings to, of pilgrims, 357; address of, to Catholic journalists, 358; gives access to Vatican Library, creates council of Cardinals, 360; letter of, to German Catholics, 361; encyclical of, on Socialism, 362–367; negotiations of, with Russia, 373, 374; encyclical of, on Sts. Cyril and Methodius, 378; gives hierarchy to Slaves, 380; improves Greek College, 381; success of, in healing schisms in Turkey, 383–387, founds Armenian College, 387; sends Cross of Order of Pius IX. to Persian princes, 397; letter of, to Chinese emperor, 398; to Emperor of Japan, 402; to Shoa Gallas, 403; bull, *Ex Supremo Apostolatus Apice*, issued, 408; constitution, *Romanos Pontifices*, on English Religious Orders, 412; his grasp of Irish question, 421; letter of, to Irish bishops, 426; on Irish secret societies, 427, 430; allocution of, on outrages at Pius IX.'s funeral, 440; why a Prisoner in the Vatican, 442, 443; bull of, convening Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, 445; tribute to, of fathers of Council, 460; letter of, on U. S. Catholic University, 462; interest of, in German persecutions, 467; skill of, in negotiations with Germany, 471, 472; letter of, to Archbishop of Cologne, 473; triumphs over Culturkampf, 478; work of, in education, in Rome, 479, 489–492; on Christian philosophy, 480–489; on science and Socialism, 481; on St. Thomas's philosophy, 483, 486, 488; letter of, to French bishops, 503–505; sanctions declaration of French Religious Orders, 506; opposition to, 509; blamed for, 509; at Urban College, 521; on seizure of Propaganda property, 526–531; statement on, sent to foreign governments, 531–535; asked to arbitrate in Carolinas affair, 546; allocution on, 550–552, 610–613; restores pilgrimage to Compostella, 554, 558, as Godfather to Alfonso XIII. of Spain, 558, 559; Prisoner of the Vatican, 560, 561; arduous duties of, 563, 569–572; his simple habits, 564, 573; his impressiveness at the altar, 564, 565; celebrating Mass, 566, 567; giving Communion, 567; manner of, at audiences, 568, 569, 572; his breakfast, 569; attention of, to details, 570, 571; ordinary meals of,

573; his labors during the night, 573, 574; reminiscence of, by Dr. Kirby, 607, 608.
Leopold I. of Belgium, character of, 113; against denominational schools, 114; his opinion of Mgr. Pecci, 122, decorates him, recommends him to Pope, 128; requests Pope to preconize Mgr. Pecci, 131.
Liberalism in Belgium, 121.
Lichtenstein, Prince von, advances to succor Perugia; induced to not enter city, 186.
Louisa Maria of Belgium, devotion of, to Christian education, 115, 116; veneration of, for Mgr. Pecci, 122, 123.
Louvain, University of, restored, 119; dispute of, with Jesuits, 124.

Magnetism—see *Spiritualism*.
Maistre, Count de, quoted, 202.
Mancini, Signor, untruthful account by, of outrages at Pius IX.'s funeral, 443.
Manera, Professor, establishes academy at Gregorian University, 78.
Marches, The, bishops of, remonstrate with Piedmontese governor, 213; sinful excesses permitted in cities of, 214.
Marie Clotilde, Queen, driven from Italy; death of, 86.
Marriage, civil, imposed on Umbria, 193, result, 220, 223; Mgr. Pecci's letter on, to king, 220–224; "Declaration" of bishops on, 221, their Remonstrance, 224; Leo XIII. on Christian, 332.
Maryland, U. S., religion in early, birth of U. S. hierarchy, 451.
May Laws, in Germany, passed, 466; working of, 466, 467, 468, 469; canceled, 478.
Mazzini, Giuseppe, part of, in Italian Revolution, 104; desirous of possessing Rome, 174; on temporal power of Pope, 205.
Mérode, Count Felix de, 123.
Methodius, St., Apostle to the Slavs, 377; Leo XIII.'s Encyclical on, 378; death of, 380.
Miglietti, Signor, letter of, to Italian bishops and clergy, 207.
Missionaries, French: Jogues, Goupil, Lallemand, Brébeuf, Rasles, Champlain, La Salle, Marquette, Cheverus, Dubois, Bruté, Maréchal Flaget, Dubourg, Odin, Marie de l'Incarnation, Marguerite Bourgeoys, 495, 497, 498.
Missionary Herald, letter to, against Catholicism in Japan, 402.
Monaco la Valletta, Cardinal, 350; efforts of, for religious education, 352, 479.
Monte di Pietà revived by Mgr. Pecci, 161.
Monti Frumentari established by Mgr. Pecci, 187, 190.
Montpellier, Canon (Bishop of Liégel), 110.
Murphy, Count, quoted, 203, 537, 555.

Naïb Sultaneh, of Persia, tolerates Catholics, 396; decorated with Grand Cross by Leo XIII., 397.
Napoleon I., wars of, 46; hostility of, to Church, 49; seizes Church property, 49, 51; attempts removal of Holy See, 46, 64; restores Christian worship in France, 494.
Napoleon III., withdrawal of, from Italy, 198.
Nasr-ed-Din, Shah, character of, 395; attitude of, to Christians, 396.
Newman, Cardinal J. H., on renegade priests, 236.
Nina, Cardinal Lorrenzo, as Secretary of State, 336; Leo XIII. outlines his policy to, 337–342.
Notre Dame, church of (Paris), communion at, 518.

Occult Force, in Belgium, 112, 113; in Italy, 132; plan of, for destroying Italian Church, 315; in Germany, 361; in spoliation of propaganda, 533.
Odescalchi, Cardinal, confers orders on Joachim Pecci, 82, 84, leaves the cardinalate to become a novice, 85.
Old Catholics of Germany, church of, 465; demand legal recognition, 471; sympathy of Church of England with, 471.
Olivaint, Father, society of, for artisans, 314.
Orders, Religious, in Italy, property seized by Napoleon I., 49, 56; struggles of, 56, 57; zeal and learning of 76; suppressed, 177; Monastic, in Umbria, suppressed, 240, value of, 242, 340; hardships of members of, at suppression

246; assisted by Pope, 247; effects of suppression of, in Rome, 348; disputes of, with English bishops, 411, 412; settled, 412–415; suppression of, in Germany, 466; in France, 496, 505; their suppression, 502–508, 513; relation of, to Church, 503; civilization indebted to them, 504; aid of, to the suffering, 505; objects of, 506, 507.
O'Reilly, Rev. Bernard, works of, quoted, 93, 271, 277, 282, 287, 292.
Osouf, Mgr., of Japan, at Baltimore Council, 454.
Ourousoff, Prince, insulting action of, to Holy See, 373.

Pacca, Cardinal, recommends Joachim Pecci to the Pope, 81.
Paix, Collège de la (Namur), trouble from faculties to, 124.
Papacy—see *Holy See*.
Parocchi, Cardinal, work of, for education in Rome, 352, 479, 490, 491; weekly report of, 571.
Pastoral Letters of Mgr. Pecci: on Clerical Conscription, 177; on Magnetism, 197; on Temporal Dominion, 198; on Current Errors, 227; on Catholic Church and Nineteenth Century, 279; on Church and Civilization (2), 279–284.
Patrizi, Professor, learning of, 76.
Pecci, The, residence of, 38; names and ages of, 40; history of, 41, 42; Count and Countess, character of, 42, 45; Countess as member of Third Order, 58; her death, 59–62. Count, death of, 101.
Pecci, Mgr.—*See Leo XIII.*
Perrone, Prof. G., learning of, 76; founds academy at Gregorian University, 78.
Persia, Christians protected in, 396; princes of, decorated by Leo XIII., 397; future of, 398.
Perugia, Italy, description of, results of mediæval guilds in, 102, 103; revolutionary teachings in, 105; Strada Gregoriana in, built by Mgr. Pecci, 106; reforms in, by Mgr. Pecci 108; a centre of revolutionary activity, 127; popular enthusiasm at Mgr. Pecci's entry into, 136; rioting and ravages in, in 1846, 1849, 186; "Massacre" of, in 1859, 190, 191; insurrection in, in 1860, 191; filled with exiles, 192, disorders caused by, 193; institutions in, founded by Mgr. Pecci, 158–162; Duomo of, restored, 164; church of O. L. of Mercy in, restored by Mgr. Pecci, 164; citizens of, espoused cause of Gregory II., 206; letter of bishops of, to Pius IX., 207; monasteries of, desecrated, 240; celebrates Mgr. Pecci's elevation to cardinalate, 256–259, inscription on cathedral, 257; celebrates Cardinal Pecci's Silver Jubilee, 260–263; joy in, at election of Leo XIII., 306, 307.
Peter and Paul, Sts., centenary, in Rome, of martyrdom of, 173.
Philosophy, Christian, 480; results of false, 480–482; of St. Thomas, prescribed by Leo XIII., 483, encyclical on, 483–490.
Pianciani, Professor J. B., in the United States, 68.
Piedmont, authorities of, and Mgr. Pecci, 172, 173; attempt of, to force clergy to renounce Pius IX., 207–210; ecclesiastical courts abolished in, 237.
Pious Union of St. Joachim established, 180.
Pius VII. ill-treated by Napoleon I., 46; condition of Rome at return of, 50; restores Jesuits, 52; death of, 63; induces Napoleon to restore Christian worship in France, 494.
Pius VIII. elected, 81.
Pius IX., brilliant opening of reign of, 308, 309, its dark close, 33, 34; opinion of, of Mgr. Pecci, 132, 133; reply of, to King Leopold, 133; results of Act of Amnesty of, 133, 138; on civil marriage, 222; preconizes Mgr. Pecci, 255; esteem of, for Cardinal Pecci, 261, appoints him Protector of Third Order, 264; Episcopal Jubilee of, 270–275; protests of revolutionists at Jubilee of, 275; affection of, for Cardinal de Angelis, 277; proclaims Cardinal Pecci, Camerlengo, 278; failing, 278; last days of, 282, 283; last protest of, 287; "excommunicated" by populace in 1849, 289; death of, lying in state, 290; zeal of, for clergy, 348; removal of body of, from St. Peter's, 440, outrages at, 441, 442; refuses to receive German am-

bassador, allocution on persecutions in Germany 470; wish of, for avoidance of war in United States, 553.
Poland, unhappy lot of, 477; proper treatment for, 478.
Pontifical Institute, Rome, 492.
Pope, treated as usurper by Napoleon I., 49; exposition of office of, 201–206; custom on death of a, 290; funeral services at, 291.
Portiuncula, sanctuary of, at Assisi, 135.
Power, Temporal — see *Dominion Temporal.*
Priests, education of, in Perugia, 147–157, system followed, 168, 169; supervision over, by Mgr. Pecci, 170, 172; his instructions to, 173–176; position of, in Papal States, 174; conscription of, in Italy, 177, 340; fund for freedom of, 169, 178, 179; destitution of, in 1860, 179; "Pious Union" for needy, 169, 180; protest of Mgr. Pecci against conscription of, 180–185; mainly from poor families, 183; value of, in a nation, 183; treatment of, in 1860, 193; attempts made on, to renounce Pius IX., 207, 210; compelled to sanctify civil marriage, 223; renegade, in 1846–86, 236; how received by non-Catholics, their aims, 237; of Umbria, effect of suppression of monasteries on, 241; worthy, kept from their charges, pensions to suspended, 252, 253; Clerical Abuses Bill, punishing priests, passed, 270; effect on, of dispersion of Religious Orders, 348; Irish, influence of, with people, 424, 425; in United States 456, 461; in Germany, how affected by May Laws, 466–478; of Rome, education of, 489, 492; hardships of, in France, 511–516.
Propaganda, ecclesiastical colleges of in Rome, 520, 522; praised by Protestants, 522; value of, 523; property of, in Italy, seized, 524, 525; appeals to courts, 525, 526; Leo XIII. on, 526–535; object of, world indebted to, 527; its revenues diminished, 529, 536; belongs to entire Catholic world, its character, 532; government's reasoning on spoliation of, 533; finances of, in danger, how expended, 534; appeal for, to foreign governments, 535; sections of 569.
Protestants, interests of, defended by Leo XIII., 321; not feared by the revolutionists, 324.

Quattro Fontane, Rome, 125.
Quirinal Palace, former conclaves held in, 292; conclave of 1878, debarred from, 293.
Quod Apostolici muneris, encyclical, 362.
Quod Divinæ Sapientiæ, bull, 76.

Rei Catholicæ incrementum, bull, 445,
Religion—see *Catholic Church.*
Retreat, spiritual, object of, when introduced, 155.
Revolution, French, of 1789, 493, 497; of 1878, 493, 495.
Revolutionists, the, in Italy in 1846, their opposition to religion, 137, 138; power of, 145; work of, in 1846–78 196, 207–210; hatred of, for St. Francis Assisi, 266; protest against Golden Jubilee of Pius IX., 275; desire extinction of religion, 288; plan of, for reconciliation exposed by Pius IX., denounced by Leo XIII., 320; their warfare directed against Christianity, 321; press of, on mediation of Holy See, 554.
Riario-Sforza, Cardinal, character of, 80; labors of, death, 276.
Riforma, Rome, plan of, for destroying Church, 445.
Romanos Pontifices, constitution, 412.
Rome, the centre of Catholicity, 63, 64; action of anti-clerical clubs in, on Pius IX.'s Jubilee, 271; rabble in, "excommunicate" Pius IX., 289; services in at death of a Pope, 291; joy in, at election of Leo XIII., 305; at his coronation, 312; scenes in, at election of Pius IX., 308, 309; people of, receive Leo XIII.'s blessing, 309, 310 riotous acts in, at Leo XIII.'s coronation, 313; centenary of Voltaire celebrated at, 345, pious reparations for, 346, 347; plan for renovating, 354; no provision for Catholic worship, 355; pilgrimages to, in 1878, 355–357; Congress of Catholic journalists in, 357, 358; Greek College in,

founded, 380; improved by Leo XIII., 381; Armenian College in, founded, 387; outrages in, at Pius IX.'s funeral, 440–443; promotion of education in, by Leo. XIII., 479; ecclesiastical colleges in, 522; crowds in, during pilgrimages, 572, 573; universities of, 605–607.
Ronge heresy, kept from Belgium by Mgr. Pecci, 125.
Rosi, College, of Spello, improved by Mgr. Pecci, 109.
Rotelli, Mgr. 157.
Russia, The Russian Empire and the Slavonic Races, 372–380; Letter to Alexander II. 373.

Saint Michael, College of (Brussels) 116, 117.
Sala, Cardinal, friendship of, to Joachim Pecci, 80, 91; superintends cholera hospitals, 82.
Salvatorelli, Archdeacon, 157.
Santi, Dr. Baldassare (priest), condemned to death by court-martial, 191.
Sapienza, University of, origin of name, improved by Leo XII., 76; reorganized by Mgr. Pecci, 158; students of, visit Leo XIII., 349; history of, 605, 606; studies at, 606.
Satolli, Professors, 157.
Savings Bank, Perugia, established by Mgr. Pecci, 108.
"Scelta di Atti Episcopali" quoted, 171, 177, 179, 185, 190, 218, 224, 226, 235, 242, 245.
Scepticism—see *Irreligion*.
Schools, public and denominational, 114; education in denominational, 116; Belgian clergy in intermediate, 124; catechism in Catholic, prohibited in Italy, 350; in Rome, 479, 489–492; in France, 499, 500.
Scotland, hierarchy restored to, 313, 318, 408; bull on, 408–410; revival of Church in, 406; present condition of Church in, 410, 411.
Secchi, Professor A., in United States, his eminence, 68.
Seminaries, the discipline needed in, 154.
Seminarii Romano and Pio—see *Collegii Romano* and *Pio*.
Seminary, Diocesan (Perugia), care of Mgr. Pecci for, 147, 148; 156, 157–168; issues Programme of Studies, 157.
Siccardi Laws, in Piedmont, working of, 237.
Sistine Chapel, not used for lying in state of Pius IX., 290; conclave of 1878 held in, 295.
Slavs, apostles of, 377; zeal of Leo XIII., for, 378; pilgrimages of, to Leo XIII., 378, 379; hierarchy for, established, 379; debt of, to Sts. Cyril and Methodius, 380.
Socialism, doctrines and history of, 363, 364, 367; force of, in France, 508; in Germany, 366; fruits of, 367; errors of, Leo XIII. on, 481.
Societies, secret, in Italy in 1841, 104, 105; repressed in Umbria, 107; in Belgium, 112, 117, 121; in Italy in 1846, 138, 145; in Papal States, 252; in Ireland, 423, 424, 427, 430; in France, 501.
Society, Christian, warfare of Revolution against, 321; evil state of, in 1878, 322, cause, 323, 324; mediæval and modern, compared, 325; labors of Holy See for, 326. domestic, nursery of Christian virtues, 330; cause of modern dangers of, 337.
Spain, ambassador of, offers homage to Leo XIII., 308; pilgrims from, to Leo XIII., quarantined by Italian government, 356, 357; title of, to Carolinas Islands, 541, 542; excitement in, at occupancy of Carolinas, 544, 545; cabinet of, protest to Powers, German flag insulted, 545; asks Holy See to arbitrate, 546; result, 546, 549–552, 610, 613; relations of, with Holy See, 547; exercises right of veto in conclave, 609, 610.
Spiritualism, character of, on continent, 197.
States of the Church, absorbed by Italy, 33; position of clergy of, in 1866, 174; violated by France and Italy, 197; the school of sciences and arts, 200; part taken by, in Pius IX.'s Jubilee, 271, 272; usurpation of, not sanctioned by Powers, 443.
Stockmar, Baron von, solicits Mgr. Pecci to visit London, 128.
Syria—see *Turkey*.

Talleyrand, Prince, share of, in robbery of Papal States, 92.
Times, London, quoted, 471; on spoliation of Propaganda, 535.

Tertullian quoted, 413.
Tessandori, Father, holy life of, 95; aid of, in recovery of Mgr. Pecci, 96.
Turkey, loyalty of Catholics in, 383; acknowledges benefit of Church, schism in Mesopotamia healed, 384; feud in Syria terminated, 384, 385; Armenian schism healed, 385, 387; Armenian College founded in Rome, 387; colonies of regulars in, 387, 388; proposed Catholic school at Constantinople, 462, 463.

Umbria, Italy, reformed by Mgr. Pecci, 107, 108; civil marriage imposed on, 193, the result, 220; acts of hierarchy of, 194; bishops of, protest against government decrees, 215–218; "Declaration" of bishops of, on civil marriage, 221; ecclesiastical courts in, abolished, Church deprived of control of education, 238; Monastic Orders in, suppressed, 240; commissary of, disregards restrictions of king, 241.
Unbelief—see *Irreligion*.
Union of Preachers founded by Mgr. Pecci, 147.
United States, Congress of, suppresses legation at Vatican, 34; school system in, 114, and in Belgium compared, 121; joy of non-Catholics in, at seizure of Rome, 289; satisfaction in, at election of Leo XIII., 305; convenes Third Plenary Council of, 445; early troubles of, 446; a religious people, 446; and conservative, 448; condition of, after Revolution, 449; foresight of people of, 450; and France compared, 450; Catholicism in, 451, 452; foreign element in, 452; growth of Church in, 456; irreligion in, 457; Church and institutions of, 459; Catholic University for, started, 461; Leo XIII. on, 462; work of French priests in, 498; civil war in, could have been averted, 552, 553; ambassador to Holy See probable, 554.
University of Perugia reorganized by Mgr. Pecci, 158.
Urban College, Rome, mission of, annual academy held in, 520; ceremonies at, nationalities represented, 521; country-house of, sequestrated, 524.

Vanucci, Pietro (Perugino), works of, in Perugia, 103.
Vatican, access given to Library of, 360; palace of, 561, 563; in times of pilgrimage, 572.
Vico, Professor A. di, death of, 68.
Vienna, Congress of, its treatment of Belgians, 111.
Virgin of Graces, church of, in Benevento, 95; Mgr. Pecci lays cornerstone for new church, 96, 97.
Viterbo College, Vincent Pecci at, 52–55, 58, 59, 65, 70.
Voltaire, doctrines of in Italy, 47, 50, 103, 104; hatred of followers of, for St. Francis, 266; centenary of, at Rome, 345, blasphemous sessions of, 346; doctrines of, in France, 495; on Holy See as mediator, 538.

Walsh, Archbishop William, elected to See of Dublin, 431; unites clergy and people, 432.
Weishaupt, Adam, doctrines of, in Belgium, 112.
William I. of Germany says Catholics must obey laws, 469; ambassador of, not received by Pius IX., 470; changed views of, regarding Catholics, 548.
William of Orange, Belgians resist educational system of, 118.
Windthorst, Ludwig von, Catholic leader in Germany, 468; bill of, for relieving priests, 475.
Wiseman, Cardinal Nicholas, estimate of, 129; his opinion of Gregory XVI., 132.

Xavier, St. Francis, catechism classes of, in East, 144.

Zel-el-Sultan, of Persia, character of, friendly to Catholics, 395; decorated by Leo XIII., 396.

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CONTENTS.

INTRODUCTION.—Man, how born, naturally and spiritually.—What is a sacrament?—Different classes of sacraments.—Ceremonies of the sacraments.—Matter and form of the sacraments.—The minister of the sacraments.—Intention in the minister.—Effects of the sacraments.—The character they impress on the soul.—Receiver of the sacraments.—Apostolic Liturgies.—Liturgies of St. James, of the Copts, Alexandrian, of St. John, the Mozarabic, the Gallican, of Salisbury, of Egbert of York, the Anglican, Episcopalian, Latin or Roman, Abyssinians, Albigenses, Armenians, Baptists, Congregationalists, Copts, Episcopalians, Greeks, Jacobites, Lutherans, Maronites, Nestorians, Presbyterians, Syrians, Councils, etc.

BAPTISM.—Meaning of the word.—Definitions of baptism.—Prophets on, figures of baptism.—Traditions of all nations relating to.—The wonders of water.—Baptism of Christ.—Traditions of the Church.—Necessity of baptism, of desire, of blood, and of water.—Effects of baptism.—Infant baptism.—The matter and form of baptism of water, baptism by sprinkling, pouring, and by immersion.—Baptism among Catholics, Protestants, and Orientals.—The minister of baptism.—Bishops, priests, laymen, and ladies baptizing.—Early troubles relating to re-baptizing heretics.—Vestments worn in various Churches when baptizing.—Time and place of baptism.—Baptismal fonts and baptisteries.—Godfather and godmother.—Origin and history of the ceremonies [illegible]

CONFIRMATION.—Makes us perfect.—Figures of, among the Jews.—The Fathers on.—Instituted by Christ.—Early Church on.—Imposition of hands.—Anointing with chrism in the East and West.—Form of in East and West.—Among the Episcopalians.—Chrism among the Orientals.—Sponsors.—In the East, priest or bishop, in the West, only bishops confirm.—How the Episcopalians confirm.—Essential parts of.—Minister of.—History, ancient customs, and preparations.—Effects of.—Origin, history, and meaning of ceremonies of confirmation, etc.

EUCHARIST.—Names, figures, and definitions.—Bodily and spiritual foods.—Fathers and St. Paul on.—Christ's promise.—The last supper.—How the change takes place.—Communion in the early Church.—Chalice once given the laity.—Reasons for changing the custom in early Church.—Oriental customs.—The chalice.—Grecian and Oriental ways and manners.—The bread and wine.—Words, customs, and ceremonies at Communion.—Condemned abuses.—Laity once gave Communion.—Reasons for changing that.—Communion of the sick.—Where kept.—Tabernacle.—How necessary for salvation.—First Communion.—Holy vessels.—Words of, in Protestant Churches.—Minister and receiver, and preparations.—Effects of.—Time and place of.—Laws relating to Communion, etc.

PENANCE.—Nature of.—Satisfying for sin.—Penance a virtue.—Sin the object of penance.—Perfect and imperfect contrition.—Penance as a sacrament.—Early Church.—Fathers on.—History of penance in the Eastern and Western Churches.—Changes of discipline.—The keys.—Minister of penance.—Public penances in past ages.—Material and words of penance.—Contrition necessary.—Early customs.—Confessions among Copts, Greeks, and Orientals.—Places where heard.—Changed disciplines.—Object of.—Satisfaction for sin.—Severity of the early penances.—Penitents in the early Church.—Ancient penitential customs.—Public sinners.—Oriental confessions.—Receiver of this sacrament.—Necessity of penance.—Its effects.—Examination of conscience.—Manner of confessing sin.—Jurisdiction.—The priest a father, physician, a teacher, and a judge.—The secrets of the confessional, etc.

EXTREME UNCTION.—How called by early writers.—When established by Christ.—Fathers on.—Matter and form of.—Parts anointed in all Churches.—Effects of.—Ministers and receivers of.—History of, in all ages.—Changes of discipline, and peculiar customs of other Churches, etc.

HOLY ORDERS.—Nature of orders.—Ranks of clergymen in early Churches.—Orders a sacrament.—Scriptures, Fathers, and early traditions on.—What orders Christ established.—Propagated by external rites.—Bishops, priests, deacons, subdeacons, acolytes, exorcists, readers, porters, tonsured.—Election of bishops in all ages and countries.—Election of lower ministers.—Bishops superior to priests.—Episcopalians, Orientals, etc.—Ordination in various Churches.—Imposition of hands.—Minister and subject of orders.—Hierarchy of orders and jurisdiction.—Christ head of all orders.—Effects of orders.—Celibacy of clergy.—Exceptions to law of celibacy.—Rules of the English Church.—Election, ordination, and mission of the clergy.—Vocation.—Customs of early Church.—Time and place.—Obstacles.—Origin, ceremonies, and history of lower orders.—Consecration of bishops in all Churches, etc.

MATRIMONY.—Generation of creatures.—Adam and Eve's marriage figured union of Christ with his Church.—Why Eve was made from a rib.—Object of marriage, courtship, engagements.—Rules relating to.—Bans, and time and place of, publication of.—Nature of.—Marriage a sacrament.—Matter, form and unity of.—Of widowers and widows.—What marriages can be dissolved.—Rules for married people.—Time and place of marriage.—Receiver of nuptial mass and blessing.—Oriental rules and ceremonies of.—The crowns in the East.—Impediments of some, rendering marriage invalid.—Others forbidding.—Dispensations, etc.

INDEX.—From pages 462 to 473.

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